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ANNEX



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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. CCXXXVIII. AD PASCENT.

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THE CHRISTIAN AGNOSTIC AND THE CHRISTIAN GNOSTIC.

THE term Agnostic has been very much used of late. The form of the word, by adding the *A* privative to *Gnostic*, shows that it is a negative term. An A-gnostic is one who is not a Gnostic. A *Gnostic* is one professing to have *Gnosis*. This is a Greek word meaning knowledge. The use of the terms *Gnosis* and *Gnostic* is restricted to knowledge of the deepest and highest causes of being, and to that class of persons who profess to have this knowledge.

The *Agnostic* professes ignorance of these deepest causes, namely, of First and Final Cause, of the origin and end of the universe, particularly of this world, and of the beings contained in what is called, in a wide and general sense, Nature. This is not merely an accidental ignorance, or the ignorance of some men concerning some things which can be known and are known by other men. For instance, one who is ignorant of mathematics or Greek is not thereby called an Agnostic. The ignorance must be universal and necessary, arising from the nature of that which is unknown, and from the nature of the human mind. The Agnostic professes that he cannot know, that no man can know that, in respect to which he is an Agnostic. That is to say, there is an *unknowable*, in respect to which the profession of knowledge is a mere pretence. This unknowable, in the language of agnosticism, is origin and end, or First Cause and Final Cause. The Christian philosopher is first, and before all, a Theist. That is, his funda-

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mental thesis and doctrine, underlying his entire philosophy, theology, and ethics, is: That God is the First and Final Cause, the origin and the end of all being. The Agnostic affirms that God is unknowable. To be a Christian Agnostic one must affirm the same thing, in some sense. That is, he must say that God, the First and Final Cause, is, in His essence, unknowable to the human mind, by reason of the nature of the human mind which is destitute of a faculty by which it does or can know God, as its direct and immediate object. Does this mean that he has no kind of actual or possible knowledge of God? Certainly not; for he is a Christian Theist. It means only to deny the possibility of a certain kind of *Gnosis* or knowledge.

The Agnostic pure and simple cannot deny some sort of notion of the unknowable. If he had not the notion, he could not have the word. He does not assert positively that what he calls the unknowable has no real existence. He only says that we cannot know that it exists, or, if it exists, what it is. He neither affirms nor denies. But what is the object in regard to which he professes ignorance? How does he know that it cannot be affirmed or denied? He must have the notions of First and Final Cause in order to be able to argue about them, to make any mental act in respect to them, to doubt or to deny their reality.

The Christian Agnostic, for a much stronger reason, when he affirms that there is in God the Unknowable, must say this and think it by reason of something which is knowable, and known, in respect to the origin and end of nature, of first cause and final cause, of God as the author of nature.

The unknowable is what is called in theology the *supernatural*. It is above and beyond all nature; it transcends the scope, therefore, of the human intellect, which is itself a part of nature, and cannot have any operation or any end transcending nature; unless it is raised up into a supernatural order.

Christianity is a supernatural religion. It is founded upon faith in a supernatural revelation. The Christian Agnostic, therefore, by the unknowable in God, intends the unknowable by the mere unaided light of natural intelligence and reason. He intends that ideal object which is disclosed only by revelation.

We can now explain what is the object and scope of the present article. Its object is the supernatural order, in which man is elevated from the purely human plane of being and operation to the divine. Its scope is the presentation of the true idea of the supernatural.

A sublime and difficult work, indeed, it is, to soar into such a region of thought, to ascend above the stars, above the highest heaven of rational philosophy, to that super-celestial domain which

is beyond the ken of any human intelligence, unless enlightened by the rays which come from the light inaccessible in which God dwells.

The true idea of the supernatural order is the one and only key to open the door through which we can point our telescope upon that cluster of mysteries and problems concerning the ways of God toward man, and the relations of man toward God, with which the minds and hearts of so many are busy, and by which they are so much perplexed. It cannot be found anywhere except in Catholic theology. We can remember when first we discovered it, and what a flood of light it poured upon the darkest parts of the Christian creed, such as the origin and reason of evil, the original destination of man, the fall and original sin, human probation, the two contrary final states of rational beings, and similar topics.

The only metaphysical and logical theology to be found among Christians separated from the Catholic Church is the one taught by John Calvin and Jonathan Edwards. This system is incredible. The milder and more humane form of doctrine, which is more generally prevalent, is obscure, indefinite and unsatisfactory. In consequence of the exaggerations and shortcomings of all these imperfect theologies, there is a perpetual unrest, a continual vacillation and change, an unceasing but fruitless endeavor to come to a better understanding of what the Christian religion really is. The striving is after a true conception of the supernatural and divine; a correct understanding of the relations which the natural and human bear to it; a reconciliation between the actual condition of the world and mankind, with its moral and physical evils, and the wisdom, power, goodness and benevolence of God. It is a striving after the true *Gnosis*; to become Christian *Gnostics*. What this *Gnosis* is, and how one becomes a Christian Gnostic, will be considered later on. The topic under immediate consideration is the Christian *Agnostic*. For the present, therefore, we must go back to the discussion of the sense of the proposition: that God is the *Unknowable*: as a proposition of Christian philosophy.

The sense of the proposition is, that the essence of God is invisible and unknowable to the created intellect in its natural state, endowed with only its natural faculty of intelligence, by any act of direct and immediate intuition.

It is necessary, before giving a positive explanation and proof of this statement, to make some preliminary observations on knowledge and the knowable in general.

What, then, is cognition in its most universal sense? We know what it is practically and by experience. We are conscious of having sensitive cognition. We see objects, we hear sounds, we feel by touch material, extended things. So also do irrational ani-

mals. We have also a cognition of immaterial objects, of abstract truths, of self-evident and primary principles, of conclusions drawn from premises by reasoning. We have a cognition of our own acts and of ourselves as suffering impressions from without and originating acts from within, as existing continuously and identical with ourselves in the present and the remembered past.

But how shall we define and describe our cognition and our self-consciousness? What is there plainer, clearer, better known by which we can understand and define what is so immediately evident? There is nothing except consciousness, sensation, thought and knowledge, by which we can understand and explain what these phenomena are. We can, however, by reflection and analysis, gain a more distinct notion of that which we mean by cognition, whether sensitive or intellectual, and by self-consciousness.

Let us compare a sensitive being with one which has no sensitive life. How can we express the difference? We cannot define precisely what the vital principle is. We perceive, however, that the not-living being, water, air, rock, merely exists in and by itself; is acted on and acts in a purely mechanical way. The plant does more. It germinates and grows, produces flowers and fruits, and propagates its kind. There is some mysterious principle, called the *vital* principle, at work, producing a kind of being much better than the aggregations of dead, inorganic matter. Still, there is no sign of a reflection or turning back of the plant upon itself; no sign of sensation; no sign of the feeling of the existence of other things around it, of its own existence; no manifestation of desire, pleasure, pain, or any semblance of consciousness.

The animal has all that is in the plant, and more. It has sensation, and is aware of feeling impressions from other objects. It thus returns on itself, and has a kind of consciousness. Its life is enjoyable. It is moved to act by pleasure, pain, desire, appetites and impulses which are felt. The rational human spirit returns on itself by a perfect return. It is united with an animal organism, and in conjunction with it has sensations and all the operations of animal life.

But it has more. It has a life and operation which are super-organic. It has intellect and reason, knowledge of immaterial objects, a reflex consciousness of its own spiritual operations, and of itself as the subject and principle of its acts.

If we analyze all these acts of sensitive and intellectual cognition, we find that sense and intellect receive into themselves the objects of which they take cognizance. The landscape and the starry heavens are received into our faculty of vision; the music of the band or the choir is received into our faculty of hearing. Truths and ideas are in our minds. Our soul contains the world.

They do not enter into us by their physical being. They come ideally, by certain images, as objects are reflected in a mirror.

So, then, the objects of our knowledge must be proportioned and accommodated to the nature and faculties by which they are received. We cannot see with our ears or hear with our eyes. We cannot plane boards with our memory, or feel a poetic sentiment with our fingers. No nature or faculty can go out of its limits or diverge from its own line. Inorganic bodies cannot share the phenomena of life. Plants cannot have sensation. Those beings which have the faculty of cognition have it according to their own specific nature. Sensible cognition is the apprehension of single, concrete, sensible phenomena, and through the phenomena of the sensible objects. The intellectual cognition of man is the apprehension, in the sensible object, of its immaterial and universal contents; species, genus, substance, number, quantity, truth, beauty, goodness, being, relation of cause and effect, etc. The cognition of the intellectual being who is pure spirit is of spiritual substances, and of truth in its pure essence, free from the sensible envelope.

Let us return now to the notion of cognition as the reception into the being who has the faculty of cognition, of the objects which he apprehends, not according to the mode of being in the received, but according to the mode of the receiver. It is plain that the faculty of receiving is limited by its nature. The sensitive, organic faculty, limited by the nature of bodily organs, can receive only single, sensible objects, but not those which are immaterial. The human intellect, being the faculty of a spirit substantially united to an organic, animal body, can receive only those immaterial objects which it perceives in the sensible, or through the universal ideas which it apprehends by means of the sensible images presented to it by the faculties of sense which minister to its intellectual operation. We cannot see our own souls directly as we see our bodies, or see spirits, or receive ideas into our intellect before we have received sensible images as the starting-point of intellectual operation. The purely intellectual being cannot receive that which transcends the measure of his nature and capacity. Every created being is finite. His capacity is finite. He has received his being from God, and his nature is only in proportion to other created beings which are finite, and have only a being received from the Creator.

It is plain from all this that the creature cannot have a natural capacity for receiving ideally into himself the essence of God. This reception is the same thing with cognition. The creature cannot, therefore, have the direct, immediate cognition, the intuition, the vision of the Divine essence. For the essence of God is infinite. It is not received, but self-existent; it is incompre-

hensible ; it is light inaccessible. As well might you attempt to make an adequate image of the Atlantic Ocean in a dressing-room mirror as to imagine that the largest and clearest created intellect could reflect the being of God as He is in Himself, and as He is known to Himself. The intellectual mirror can receive the image of every being equal or inferior to itself in a manner proportioned to the excellence of its own nature. Even those which are superior to it, if they are finite, are equal to it in a certain sense, since all created things have in common a being which has been received. Being, in all its latitude, is the adequate object of intelligence. Its essence is intelligible to every intellect when duly presented to it and brought within its range.

But the essence of God is beyond its range. And this is what the Christian agnostic means by saying that God is the unknowable. No man and no spirit hath seen or can see God so long as he remains within the limit of the nature which he has received by the act which has created him an intelligent being. He is a part of the universal nature which has received a participated and finite being from God. His range of vision and knowledge is within the limit of this universe. He may go on increasing in knowledge for all eternity, but he can never develop from the principles of intelligence implanted in his nature into that proportion to an infinite object which will enable him to contemplate God directly.

To return to our first proposition. In the natural order, God is the Unknowable. The natural order is that state, constitution and arrangement of the universe and all the beings contained in it, which places them in their due relation to their first and final cause and in harmony with each other. Every one has its own specific nature and endowments, its proper qualities and operations, received from the First Cause, sustained and directed by it. Each one and all together have a place, a purpose, an end, that is, a Final Cause, which are for all the reason of their being.

The intellectual and rational creation is by far the highest and noblest part of the universe. Its end is the highest possible natural end, and is attained in the best, the most elevated, the most excellent manner, *i.e.*, in an intelligent and voluntary manner, by a conscious understanding and desire of the highest object, the most perfect good, and a spontaneous movement towards it.

Beings of this order, whatever inferior elements may enter into their nature, are chiefly intellectual. They find their chief and ultimate object, their final perfection, their supreme happiness, their last end in the Knowable.

To the Unknowable they cannot attain, and therefore they do not aspire to it ; for there is no desire or aspiration which is vain

and fruitless in nature. It cannot be, therefore, that the immediate intuition or vision of God as He is in His divine essence is the natural destiny and end of intellectual creatures. They have no right to it, no capacity for it, no possibility of even initiating a movement toward a region of being and beatitude, which is altogether above the plane of their existence and activity. One might as well attempt to swim the Atlantic Ocean or to go in a balloon to Arcturus, as to soar up into the region of the immediate contemplation of God by the exercise of any natural power which he possesses.

But yet the Christian Agnostic, while denying the possibility of a natural Gnosis of this sublime sort, acknowledges that there is an inferior and properly human mode of knowing the deepest causes, the origin and the end of things, the Creator and Sovereign of the universe, the relations of creatures to their Lord. That is, there is a science of philosophy and theology, which is purely natural.

God is knowable in an indirect and mediate way through the image and representation of Himself which He has made in the creation, and especially in those intellectual and rational natures which He has created after His own likeness.

We are now prepared to state what is meant by the purely natural order in a clearer and more distinct manner.

It is the order which reduces to unity of plan the whole and all the parts of the universe as created by God in certain determinate essences, in a certain determinate extent and quantity and grade of being, with a destination to a certain fixed final end, towards which all things are directed by the harmonious actions of second causes, and by laws proportioned to the nature of the existing creatures and the end prefixed to the universe.

In this natural order, the laws which govern intellectual and rational beings are those which regulate their action and movement, toward their proper perfection on the line of intelligence and virtue; toward the attainment of their ultimate degree of excellence and felicity.

This felicity consists in the knowledge of the true and the good so far as it is knowable, and complacency of the will in this object of knowledge.

This object of knowledge is co-extensive with being, in so far as being is brought within the scope of intellect and presented to its contemplation. All nature, all the universe, and all its parts are within the scope of the power of intellect, of its capacity of knowing and understanding. This capacity can be brought into actual exercise indefinitely without any limits except the bounds of the universe. Such is the wide range of created intelligence.

It is co-extensive with nature. It has the capacity of receiv-

ing ideally whatever does not transcend its nature and measure, the universal truth, goodness and beauty which are in the creation.

The human mind, which in our present state of being on this earth is only an inchoate intelligence, is in the lowest stage of development, and is bound to a sensitive, organic, corporeal mode of being and operation, has only the beginning and the imperfect possession of this natural knowledge and felicity. It is in a state of transit and on the way to its ultimate destination. It has glimpses and glimmerings only of its connatural object of contemplation and love. By these glimpses and glimmerings we can get some faint, inadequate conception of what the human mind is destined to become in its perfect state, of what purely intellectual beings are, and of what the adequate object is, of intelligence and will, according to their nature and intrinsic potency.

We are now prepared to consider how far and in what way God, who is directly and immediately unknowable to the created intellect according to its natural capacity, is indirectly and mediately the object of natural knowledge and natural love. In so far as the apprehension and knowledge of God is contained in the knowledge of the creation, as the First Cause of all finite, contingent effects and their sufficient reason; as the source and origin of all being, truth, goodness and beauty; and as Final Cause; thus far God is knowable by the light of nature, and is known to minds duly educated and in a state of rectitude.

God has made the universe to disclose His existence and perfections as First and Final Cause, in the effects of His efficient causality. He has made it an expression of His own eternal ideas. The human mind, although it makes sensitive cognition its starting point, is not confined to it. It looks into the sensible objects of nature with an intelligent perception by the aid of an intellectual light. It perceives in them necessary and eternal truths. It perceives the principle of causality by intuition; in the effects of infinite wisdom and power, it perceives by reasoning the existence of the first cause; it perceives the true, the good and the beautiful in nature, and by reasoning ascends to the contemplation of the One who is being, truth, goodness, beauty in His essence. In the eternal and necessary truths it perceives by reasoning the infinite intelligence in whom they have their seat and origin. In the laws of the universe it perceives the Lawgiver. In conscience it recognizes the Sovereign Lord to whom the rational creature is accountable. This is the highest rational philosophy. It is natural theology, which is based on self-evident truths and constructed by the deductions of pure reason.

When we regard great works of science and art, we become acquainted through them with the great philosophers, mathema-

ticians, architects, poets, sculptors, painters and musicians, who were the authors of these wonderful works, although we have never seen them. The subject of a kingdom knows the existence and power of his sovereign, though he has never seen him, by the laws, the political order, the exercise of sovereign power, which he sees around him, and amid which he lives.. In the same way we know the great architect, poet, sovereign and lawgiver of the universe in the seas and mountains, in the sun and stars, in the flowers and landscapes, in the music of nature, in the moral order of human society, in the movement of history, in the aspiration after universal truth and a supreme felicity. Through the knowledge of nature we know its author; by means of the creation we know God in the mode and degree proportioned to our capacity. The will naturally follows the intellect, and loves the object proposed by the intellect as good. Consequently, the inclination to love God supremely naturally follows upon the knowledge of God as the supreme good.

What has been said of human nature specifically, must be true of all intellectual or rational nature generically. That is, each intellectual species, according to its nature and mode, is made perfect by the knowledge and love of God as known through the creation.

The natural end and destination of intelligent beings, their supreme felicity, consists in the attainment of their due perfection, which is chiefly the perfection of their intellectual faculty and of their knowledge.

This natural destiny, in the natural order, is the contemplation of God and the love of God as made known by the natural light of intelligence and reason, mediately through the universe which He has created. This is the summit of being attainable by the complete development of intelligent creatures.

Their highest felicity, when they have reached their ultimate perfection, is in the loving contemplation of God, and in the security from all liability to sin and the loss of their supreme good. Their perfect and happy state includes also the good which can be enjoyed from all other sources, *i.e.*, from all created objects in the universe.

Even when this ultimate and perpetual state of perfection and felicity has been attained, God is still the Unknowable in the sense we have already explained. Suppose all nature to suffer an eclipse, and to become invisible to these exalted intelligences so that they see no created thing, not even themselves. All acts of intellect and will would be suspended. There would be no self-consciousness. They would not see God in this oblivion of the world and themselves. For they have no direct and immediate cognition of

God. They can see Him only as we can see the sun when it is below the horizon, reflected from the clouds of sun-rising and sun-setting, from the moon and the planets. Shut out this reflected light and they are in total darkness, in an intellectual syncope or sleep.

I have explained the sense in which a Christian Agnostic affirms that God is Unknowable. This affirmation it is which makes him an Agnostic. But he is very different from an Agnostic who is not a Christian. In the first place he is a Theist, and therefore includes natural theology within the circle of philosophical science. In the second place he is a Christian, and therefore believes in a supernatural religion. He professes that there is a supernatural Gnosis, and he is therefore a Christian Gnostic. The meaning of this proposition, and the reconciliation of the apparent opposition of what he affirms as an Agnostic, with that which he professes as a Gnostic, now becomes the topic for our consideration.

After the explanation of the natural order and the natural destiny of intellectual and rational beings in that order, follows the explanation of the supernatural order and the destiny of those intelligent natures which are elevated to that higher order of being.

The term *supernatural* is used in different senses. In general it denotes something above some kind of specific nature, and especially human nature.

In the specific sense of the present discussion it denotes that which is above all created nature, whether actual or possible. Of course, if we speak of the essence and nature of God, there can be nothing above that. In respect to created nature God, and God alone, is by His essence above all nature. In this sense He is a supernatural being. If a creature can be raised to a supernatural plane of existence and operation, it can only be by raising him above his nature to a participation in the divine nature, or by his divinisation. If this elevation can be and actually is effected by the divine power, when it is fully accomplished and the creature reaches his acme, the Unknowable in God is made knowable and known as an object of intuitive, immediate contemplation, followed by a proportionate complacency and love. This is the divine Gnosis and the essence of supernatural beatitude.

The supernatural order is one which is arranged for bringing creatures to this sublime destiny, and subordinating all created nature to the fulfilment of this supreme end and culmination of the universe.

The possibility of such an elevation of the creature could never be known or suspected by the light of nature. Intelligent beings are confined within the finite bounds of nature. To pure reason it

does not appear possible that they should transcend those bounds. They have only *esse receptum*, and its measure is incapable of ideally receiving the *esse irreceptum*, as St. Thomas teaches. The finite cannot receive the infinite. The created intellect cannot directly and immediately see God in and through its ideal mirror.

If it can see God it must be so united with God that it can see God in and through God. It must receive a divinisation by which it is brought within the sphere of the divine being, though not absorbed or losing its substantial identity with its own nature, and its own distinct individuality. Is this possible even to Omnipotence? God alone can know whether it is possible or whether He intends to effect it in any of his creatures. Created beings can only know that this supernatural destiny and order are possible, and that they are really intended and effected by the divine power, through a revelation made to them by God. Before they actually attain to the vision of God and the consciousness of possessing the supreme good, they can only know it by faith in the divine veracity. The Unknowable remains a mystery above reason, not directly intelligible, but apprehended through symbols and analogies, yet credible in a rational manner because of the evidence which God has given, that He truly reveals it.

That which makes a man a Christian is the belief in this divine revelation as made through our Lord Jesus Christ. The Christian is a believer in divine mysteries and their correlated truths on the veracity of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. He is a Gnostic, one having knowledge of divine things, according to a certain mode of knowledge; that is, he has a rational certainty of the grounds of his belief, a certain knowledge of that which is proposed to his belief, and some degree of understanding of the harmony between the truths of faith and the facts and truths of natural, rational science. His Gnosis is inchoate and imperfect so long as he is a wayfarer on the earth. He sees as through a glass, darkly. Perfect vision and knowledge are reserved for the state of future and final beatitude.

Let a person be introduced into a vast and superb hall, its ceiling adorned with brilliant frescoes, its walls covered with masterpieces of the great painters. It is night, and the room is dimly lighted. He has an obscure view of the objects of beauty contained within the hall and longs for the day and the bright sunlight to see them clearly and distinctly. The light of faith is an obscure light, dimly disclosing the revealed mysteries which are invisible to the natural intellect, before the day dawns and the day-star arises to cast a bright light upon the objects of the beatific vision.

The supernatural beatitude, together with the order which is

arranged with reference to it, is a purely gratuitous benefit conferred on creatures by the goodness of God, and not in any way due to them in justice or benevolence. Creation itself is a free and gratuitous communication of being and good to the universe. But, when God determines to create, wisdom and goodness must necessarily give to creatures a destination and an end congruous to their nature, which satisfies their natural exigency. Rational creatures receive with their nature a right to that perfection and beatitude of which they have the capacity and to which they aspire. This is due to their nature, and not gratuitous or a pure grace, in addition to the original free gift of rational nature and immortal existence.

All these rights, exigencies and aspirations are fully satisfied in the natural order. God might not only in justice, but in benevolence and wisdom, leave them eternally in this state of pure nature. They have in their nature no intrinsic capacity, exigency or aspiration for the supernatural elevation to this higher and divine plane. It is, therefore, absolutely gratuitous; it is a pure grace, and if given, may be given to as few or as many as God pleases to favor in this special manner, and on any conditions not impairing any natural right, which He may, according to his sovereign will, see fit to appoint.

It is Christian doctrine that God has actually introduced this supernatural order into the universe, and constituted all angels and the human race in that inchoate, initial state of grace, the consummation of which is celestial glory and beatitude.

The culmination of this order of being is in the Incarnation. Jesus Christ is not only the author and finisher of the Christian faith, He is also its primary and immediate object. To be a Christian is in sum, to believe in Christ. The Christian has his eye fixed in the contemplation of "Him first, Him last, Him midst, and without end." The Incarnation, as a mystery of faith, presupposes and depends from that other sublime mystery of revelation, the Trinity. God, the One in essence, subsists with all His divine perfection in Three Persons. The Second Person, the Son, has assumed a perfect human nature into a union with His divine nature, so intimate that he is one Person in two distinct natures. He is man as well as God. The Creator of the universe was conceived and born of the Virgin. Jesus, the son of Mary, of David, of Adam, is strictly and properly God. This is the divinisation of humanity in the highest sense. The uncreated nature and a created nature are joined in one personality. A finite human nature is taken into the inmost circle of the Godhead. God and man are made one. The same person is both the Son of God and the Son of Man, consubstantial with God the Father, and with the Virgin

Mary. The Incarnation is the masterpiece of divine wisdom, the ultimatum of divine power. It is divine goodness and love, carried to the utmost limit of possibility. God cannot condescend any lower, humanity and created nature cannot ascend any higher. God descended to the lowest level of his creation, the corporeal and material, by assuming a nature one of whose components is material body. Man, in body as well as in soul, ascended to the highest level of being, to the Godhead. Spirit, intellect, reason, sensation, vegetative life, organic structure, and the elements of inorganic matter, were all contained in the human nature of Jesus Christ, which is a microcosm, a complex union of all the distinct, specific essences of the universe. Thus, the universal creation, in its representative, a perfect specimen of the whole, was united to the divine nature, and the creation which proceeded from God as its first efficient cause, returned to Him again as its final cause, making His extrinsic glory to correspond as far as possible to His intrinsic glory.

It is the doctrine of Pantheism that God is everything and everything is God. The All-God is the imaginary being of Pantheistic worship. This is an absurdity and a contradiction. It destroys the nature of God, and the nature of all created beings, blending all into one confused and impossible monster, which is being and no being, infinite and finite, ever becoming and never reaching real fulness of existence. The Incarnation realizes that intimate presence of God in His creation, that union of created being with the uncreated, infinite Being, of which Pantheism is a travesty. God remains unchanged in His essence and personality. The divine nature is not altered and changed into a human nature. The person who assumes humanity does not become a human person, but remains a divine person. The human essence remains unchanged. The human nature is not changed into the divine nature or blended with it, but remains distinct in its own substance and qualities. The human self-consciousness, intellect, will, and body, all that constitutes or flows from humanity, all human attributes, qualities, and perfections, are there in their sum total, as completely as they are in any merely human person. They do not result in a distinct and human personality, because the human nature is taken up and appropriated by a divine Person, who makes it His own, and thus becomes Man without ceasing to be God. This human nature is a microcosm, containing every kind of created being, from matter to spirit, in its composite essence. In this mysterious union of the divine and human natures in the Person of the Son of God and Man, God becomes the All and the All becomes God. The most perfect union is effected between God and His creation, which is

summed up in the masterpiece of His divine wisdom, the humanity of Christ.

In the Incarnation, the supernatural order reaches its summit and apex. The rest of the created universe participates in the elevation of nature to the supernatural in various degrees, in proportion to the relation which different species and individuals in it bear to the Incarnate Son of God.

All the glory which is concentrated in His Person is derived from His character as the only-begotten Son of God the Father. This glory is communicated to His human nature as a natural right. That is to say, although the hypostatic union was a gratuitous gift of grace, which could not be due to a human nature, or merited by human acts, as soon as this human nature was united to the divine nature, the Son of God had a right to endow His human nature with the privileges of the divine Sonship, with the fulness of grace and perfection, the primacy among all created beings, and a participation in divine beatitude.

But He is not simply the *Only Begotten* of the Father; he is also the *First Begotten*, holding the primogeniture among many sons of God who are made sons by adoption, an adoption which is not merely extrinsic, but which is founded on a true *regeneration*. This regeneration gives an intrinsic and inherent mode of being to those who receive it, which elevates their nature to a real likeness with God, and a capacity for being heirs with Christ in His glory and beatitude.

Those pure spirits who are called angels, in their various degrees of intelligence and splendor, have been called to this sublime destination. Men also—the Adamic race—have been called to the same high destiny, and honored above the angels by consanguinity with the Son of God in the same specific nature. All other creatures, all orders of intelligent and rational beings, if there are such in the universe, and all organic and inorganic creatures, the universe, in fine, are subordinated to these, its highest classes, so that the incarnate Son of God rules over all as king, and all are glorified in His glory.

This is the supernatural order; which does not remove the natural order or change the nature of things, but takes it as its basis, erecting upon it the marvellous superstructure of grace, and bringing it back to God as the final cause in the most perfect manner conceivable.

The state, and the highest act of those intelligent beings who have attained their end in supernatural beatitude, is called a state and an act of Gnosis, and those who have attained it are called Gnostics, because the state is intellectual, and the act is an act of intellect. The perfection of an intelligent being is essentially in

his intellect, because intellect is his highest, most God-like endowment. In beatitude he has the immediate intuition, the vision of God as he is in His essence, without any interposing medium. He contemplates the divine being as God contemplates His own divine being, with a complacency which constitutes his supreme felicity, and gives him the fruition of the sovereign good.

We have already seen that to the rational creature, left in his pure nature, God is Unknowable according to this mode of knowledge. And, in the initial state of supernatural grace and life on the earth, this Unknowable object is not apprehended by the clear light of vision, but by faith, which is the evidence of things not seen. It is not visible to the wayfarer who is on the road to the gate of heaven but has not yet passed through it.

Our consciousness assures us that we do not see God, or even see any created spirit immediately, as we see bodies, as we see landscapes, the sun and the stars. If we did, He would appear to us continually from the first instant of conscious existence, surpassing in brightness all created objects more than brilliant sunshine surpasses the light of glow-worms and candles. It would be impossible to doubt His existence, or to err in our conceptions of His attributes, or of His subsistence in Three Persons, or of any of the truths of theology. We are conscious only of perceiving sensible objects and the universal ideas abstracted from them, by which through discursive reasoning we ascend as high in the knowledge and contemplation of spiritual and eternal realities as the limit of our powers will permit. Being, truth, goodness, beauty are knowable in so far as they are manifested in the creation; God is knowable as the first cause, origin, source and archetype, and final cause of all that is revealed in and through the universe that is open to the contemplation of the intellect.

We are perfectly well aware, also, that faith does not give direct and clear *Gnosis* or knowledge of the mysteries of religion believed in by Christians, so that they become evident to the intellect of the believer, even though he be the most enlightened philosopher and theologian. The intellect must receive the light of glory to make it capable of the vision of God and the hidden mysteries of His being. This light is given to those who have attained and are in their eternal, celestial home, but not to wayfarers on the road. Faith which is founded on His veracity gives firm assent to truths revealed by God and leaves the objects obscure.

It is plain that this is the only way in which the Unknowable can be made an object of apprehension and intellectual assent to any intelligent being who has not been raised to the state of beatitude. The angels, in the beginning of their existence, while still on the way and in the state of probation, were capable of illumination

concerning the mysteries of God and their own destination only by a divine revelation proposed to them as an object of faith. They had to gain heaven by faith, believing on the word of God that which was not evident to their natural intelligence. Men are far inferior to angels in intellectual capacity, and therefore in a much more obvious need of receiving by faith a divine revelation as the necessary means of preparing them for a destination similar and equal to that for which the pure spirits of the highest spheres were created.

We remarked at the outset that the correct idea of the supernatural opens the way to a solution of several religious problems about which many minds are perplexed.

The first of these has now come up of itself. It is, namely, the question about the reason and necessity of divine revelation for men. It is asked: Why should not the disclosure which God makes through the universe, through intelligence, through reason, and through human science and history, suffice? This is the suggestion of Theistic rationalists, who would have philosophy and natural theology as taught by sages and men of genius, instead of the Bible and the creeds of the Church, as the guide of mankind toward perfection and happiness in this and in the future world. Accordingly, they reject revelation altogether as a childish imagination, to be cast aside as humanity progresses toward its adult age.

This rationalistic conclusion is derived from premises which are mere assumptions, contradicted by history and evidence.

On the supposition which is the antecedent of all the reasoning of rationalists, viz., that man is in a purely natural order, having a merely natural destiny, the rationalistic conclusion may be allowed to follow logically from its premises. A natural order does not require supernatural means and agencies. Man, in the state of pure nature, would not need an environment and means of development and perfectibility superior to those with which nature furnishes him. Science, art, philosophy, social and political organization, the products of the earth, human industry, the exercise of the rational faculties, would furnish the elements and instruments of civilization, of natural ethics and religion, of progress toward an ideal state of virtue and felicity, and of preparation for transition to a higher state of being in another world.

But if God had actually placed the world and mankind in such an order for such an end, a much better provision for the felicity and development of humanity on this line than the existing one, would have been required by the wisdom and benevolence of God. Men would have known and understood their real condition and

destiny. They would have been satisfied with nature, and would never have dreamed of the supernatural.

History proves that purely rational and natural means for the perfection and felicity of mankind have always proved inadequate. Their failure proves the need of the supernatural even for the natural and temporal welfare and felicity of mankind. It has been the great source of all the good which has ever been in the world. There has always been, since the beginning of the historic period, the presence and explicit belief of an order above nature, or a reminiscence, an aspiration and a dream of such an order. The supernatural obtrudes itself everywhere into the natural. As Cardinal Newman has said, revelation is an universal and not a particular fact. The assertion that it was otherwise in a pre-historic time is pure conjecture and unworthy of notice. All the monuments and records of the human race testify to the universal belief in the supernatural and the aspiration for it. This can only be accounted for on the principle of causality and the sufficient reason, by referring it to the Creator. As the uniform movement of the earth from west to east proves an original impulse in that direction, intended by the Creator to give the earth its law of revolution on its axis and around the sun, so this uniform direction of humanity toward a supernatural end proves that the Creator has given it that destination.

The necessity of revelation and the sufficient reason for it are obvious as soon as the correct idea of supernatural order and destiny is gained. The actual condition of the human race makes it *morally* necessary, even for the instruction of the mass of mankind in religious and ethical truths, which are knowable by reason. For those which are naturally unknowable it is *absolutely* necessary. Once admit that the unknowable to natural intelligence and the unattainable by natural effort is the real object towards which the human mind and will are intended to take their direction, and the congruity of a supernatural revelation with the entire system of things becomes apparent.

The astronomer needs a telescope because he wishes to view objects in the heavens invisible or only dimly visible to the naked eye.

The mind and heart of man have need to be directed to the contemplation of the heavens which are his destined future home. His future beatitude consists in the vision of God in Unity and Trinity and in the Second Person of the Trinity united by the hypostatic union to the humanity of Jesus Christ. This sublime, infinite object of contemplation is the Unknowable to natural reason. But those who are destined to see God with a clear, intuitive vision ought to make acquaintance with the mysteries of

His being while they are on the way, by an initial and obscure knowledge, that they may have the desire and hope of their future beatitude, and may walk in the way which leads to it. Those who will be Gnostics hereafter in reality ought to be Gnostics here in faith and hope, in desire and aspiration. Nothing can be willed unless it is first known. Of the unknown there is no desire; much more of the unknowable. The reason why we must believe in the Trinity, the Incarnation, the supernatural order, the divine beatitude of the future life is, that we are bound to strive after the possession of the sovereign good in God in this order by living a supernatural life and by doing its acts. The root and vital principle of this life is faith. This faith cannot reasonably rest on any ground except the veracity of God, the essential truth in being, in knowing and in manifesting Himself. The intellect cannot come into contact with this Divine Truth, except by a revelation. This revelation must be made credible by sufficient and certain motives of credibility. The fact of divine revelation and the true meaning of the revelation must be made known in such a way as to exclude all error and all doubt. God is omniscient. Whatever He reveals is the Truth. When He is known to have revealed certain mysteries and other connected truths the conclusion logically follows that all which is revealed is infallibly true and certain and credible on the divine veracity. To believe on this authority is a rational act, and to doubt or disbelieve is irrational and immoral.

Who will say that it is impossible for God to reveal truths which are naturally unknowable to the human intellect? God is omnipotent. He is the Creator and the sovereign lord of the beings whom He has created. He can do everything with the human mind which does not imply a contradiction to its nature. Is it a contradiction to the nature of an intellectual creature, and especially to the rational nature of man, that God should raise it to the immediate, intuitive vision of His divine essence, or even to a hypostatic union with the divine nature, as we believe He has done in the Incarnation? How can we know that this is impossible? We cannot, indeed, naturally know that it is possible. If God knows it to be possible, and has determined to effect it, what can make it a contradiction to the nature of our intellect that God should disclose to us the possibility and reality of this divine condescension? Is it true that our intellect is not receptive of these ideas? It is, indeed, impossible that a stone, a tree, or an irrational animal should receive a revelation from God. It is a contradiction to their nature, because their nature is not intellectual and not receptive of anything which is rationally intelligible. But intellect has for its adequate object universal being and universal truth, in so far as that

is presented before it. The Unknowable is naturally Unknowable because, in the natural order, it is not presented to the intellect. But in the supernatural order it is knowable, because God presents Himself immediately before the intellect, and so enhances and intensifies the intellectual capacity that it is able to receive the intimate presence of God, in and through which it can know Him as He is.

The precise question is, whether, in our present state, we can receive an idea of these mysteries, and elicit an act of assent to their truth? That we can is manifest from the fact that we have these ideas in our minds; that we can reflect upon them, reason about them; that some doubt or deny their conformity to objective truth, and that multitudes of persons give an undoubting assent to the objects represented by these ideas. We have an idea of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the supernatural order, of the beatific vision. Men can present these ideas before our minds, can discuss them, can affirm their truth, and present the evidence of their credibility.

If men can talk and reason with us about these things, God can. He can speak with his creatures, if He will. He can disclose to them any truth which they are capable of apprehending. He can give them evidence that He has spoken, and certitude of what the word He has spoken truly signifies. Having done so, the fact proves the possibility. *Ab actu ad posse valet consequentia.* The fact of divine revelation, the divine origin of Christianity, are established by a numerous array of *evidences* which are irrefragable. It is certain that God has revealed the mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the supernatural order of grace, the eternal beatitude of the angels and saints in an ineffable union with God. It is irrational to go behind these evidences of divine revelation, to question the possibility of the supernatural. The only rational procedure, for one who does not already possess but is seeking to find the truth, is to look these evidences in the face; and when convinced, to give assent to the divine revelation; to inquire into its genuine and authentic sense, and to believe firmly what God has revealed. Such an one is the Christian Gnostic. He knows what and why he believes. He assents to its truth on the veracity of God, who knows all things, and has given His word for the truth of all that which the Christian believes, on divine testimony, without immediate evidence of its intrinsic truth.

This is the explanation of the sense of the proposition: That a Christian is both an A-gnostic and a Gnostic; that the unknowable in God is apprehensible and credible by Faith, and will be intuitively known in Vision.

CHURCH AND STATE.

I.

SOCIETY as we now find it, and as far back as history reveals it to us, lives and moves, and has hitherto lived and moved, under the influence of the two-fold principle of Church and State. It is not simply the State, nor is it simply the Church, but it is made up of a union of both Church and State.¹ Association for the pursuit of temporal happiness gives rise to the State; association in a community of spiritual goods for the pursuit of eternal happiness gives rise to the Church.² Just as a man is not all body nor all soul, but the intimate union of body and soul, even so is society composed of the intimate and inseparable union of a temporal organization and a spiritual informing principle. For what the soul is to the body, religion is to the State. "No State," says Walter, "can subsist without religion, which fills and interpenetrates every sphere of life with the sense of the obligation of duty. Religion, which respects and maintains every right of high and low, of strong and weak, is the conservative element of society. . . . By the strength of character which she forms, she preserves the youth of nations, and when they fall away and decay, keeps them from the withering up of mind and heart. Religion is the groundwork of family life, and of the purity and piety nurtured therein. . . . She brings rich and poor nearer together, urging upon the rich sympathy and active help to the poor, and instilling into the poor gratitude and consolation. Thus she softens every condition of life, and teaches man that he can be elevated and ennobled by submission. Religion, then, is the true bond which holds the State together, makes it strong, and saves it from degeneracy."³ Now, religion without a Church is a mere abstraction. "The Church is the external manifestation, the realization and the expression of the Christian religion in an independent organism."⁴ The early Fathers recognized this intimate union of Church and State. St. Isidor of Pelusium, wrote from his hermitage in Egypt: "The government of the world rests on kingdom and on priesthood; although the two differ widely—for one is as the body, the other as the soul—they are nevertheless destined to one end, the

¹ Brownson's Works, vol. xiii., p. 265.

² Cardinal Mazzella, *De Religione et Ecclesia*, p. 449.

³ *Naturrecht und Politik*, p. 237, Bonn, 1871.

⁴ Schema concerning the Church prepared by the Fathers of the Vatican Council, apud Hergenröther, *Church and State*, vol. i., p. 52.

well-being of their subjects."¹ And St. John Chrysostom boldly carries out the metaphor of soul and body to its limits: "The Church," he says, "is above the State, in the same way the soul is above the body."²

II.

Going back to pagan days we find that philosophers never dreamed of separating religion from the State. Plato strives to impress the citizens of his ideal republic with the necessity of keeping the Divine law if they would preserve the State: "God, as the old tradition declares, holding in His hand the beginning, middle and end of all that is, moves, according to His nature, in a straight line towards the accomplishment of His end. Justice always follows Him, and is the punisher of those who fall short of the Divine law. To that law he who would be happy holds fast, and follows it in all humility and order. . . . Wherefore, seeing human things are thus ordered, . . . every man ought to make up his mind that he will be one of the followers of God. Henceforth all citizens must be profoundly convinced that the gods are lords and rulers of all that exists, that all events depend upon their word and will, and that mankind is largely indebted to them."³ Aristotle, with less unction, though not with less conviction, pronounces worship to be the first of the six leading administrations without which the State cannot subsist, assigns the first rank to the priesthood, would have special edifices dedicated to worship, and the fourth part of the soil and land devoted to purposes of religion.⁴

The relations of Church and State vary with times and occasions. In the gentile world the Church was absorbed by the State. It was the tool and instrument of the State. The number and nature of the household gods were regulated by the State. The ceremonies connected with the worship of them were enjoined by the State. The titular deities of the State were carefully served; they were to be placated in times of calamity, appealed to for aid in times of war; their ire was to be appeased in the hour of defeat, or they were to receive public thanksgiving in the hour of victory. Every ceremony was legislated for by the State. The ruler was also the Pontifex Maximus. He united in himself the plenitude of civil and priestly power. In all else was the State equally paramount. The family was absorbed in the State. The individual lived for the State, continued to breathe by favor of the State, and died when the State so decreed. The State was the source whence all things drew the breath of life, and the seat of all wisdom and authority.

¹ *Isid. Pelus.*, l., iii, ep. 249.

² *Hom.* 15, in 2 Cor., n. 5; *Migne* xi., 509.

³ *De Legg.*, iv., p. 288.

⁴ *Politics*, viii., 8-12.

Such was the condition of things when Christianity first dawned upon the world's horizon, and revealed another order of things. It revealed to man a kingdom other than the kingdoms of this world, to which he had a flawless title. It taught him the value of his immortal soul, redeemed by the blood of Christ. It taught him how to pray and how to overcome his passions. How much there was in this teaching we will let Döllinger explain: "When," he says, "the attention of a thinking heathen was directed to the new religion spreading in the Roman Empire, the first thing to strike him as extraordinary would be, that a religion of prayer was superseding the religion of ceremonies and invocations of gods; that it encouraged all, even the humblest and most uneducated to pray, or, in other words, to meditate and exercise the mind in self-scrutiny and contemplation of God. . . . This region of Christian metaphysics was open even to the mind of one who had no intellectual culture before conversion. In this school of prayer he learned what philosophy had declared to be as necessary as it was difficult, and only attainable by few—to know himself as God knew him. And from that self-knowledge prayer carried him on to self-mastery. If the heathen called upon his gods to gratify his passions, for the Christian tranquility of soul, moderation, and purifying of the affections were at once the preparation and the fruit of prayer. And thus, prayer became a motive-power of moral renewal and inward civilization, to which nothing else could be compared for efficacy."¹ Justin Martyr called attention to this benign influence of Christianity in his day: "We Christians contribute most to the tranquillity of the State, since we teach that God governs all; that the evil-doer, the avaricious, the assassin, as well as the virtuous man are known to Him; that each one who passes out of this life will receive an eternal reward or an eternal punishment according to his deserts. Now, if all believed these truths, assuredly none would continue a moment longer in sin, but all would restrain themselves, and strive to do right, in order finally to obtain the promised reward and to escape punishment. For those who do evil know that they can escape from your laws; but if they had learnt, and were fully convinced, that nothing, not an action, nor even a thought can remain hidden from God, they would, at least from fear of punishment, strive to do right."² In this manner did Christianity become a new civilizing element. Now, society is perfect in proportion as the individuals composing society are perfect. But the perfection of the individual consists in submission to the Divine law. "When we

¹ *The First Age of the Church*, vol. ii., pp. 216, 217.

² *Apol. I., pro Christ* xii.

revere and honor God," says the Angelical Doctor, "our mind is subject to Him, and in this our perfection consists. For everything is perfected by its subjection to that which is above it, as the body when it is vivified by the soul."¹

III.

Let us now endeavor to make clear to ourselves the meaning both of Church and of State. We will begin with the Church. The Church is an organism. It is a visible embodiment of Divine influences addressing itself with authority to the souls of men in the name of God and for an eternal and supernatural end. It is the visible custodian of the natural law and the revealed or positive law. It has not created or invented or discovered these laws. They are eternal. The Church could not change them if it would. But every church, be it true or false, speaks to man in the name of Divine authority, and every true member of that Church recognizes the Divine sanction. A church without such sanction and such authority is meaningless. A church on a human basis, promulgating a purely human doctrine, looking no higher than human reason, bears upon it the impress of its own fallible, short-lived nature. It is branded with the seal of imposition. Not the combined genius of a Comte, a Littré and a Frederick Harrison can make the church of positivism other than a religious by-play. Gautama and Mohammed established their doctrines and built up their churches only in the name of God and as His ministers. Had they presented themselves upon a purely human basis they would have passed away unheeded. But they were in earnest; they believed themselves sent of God; therefore, they were accepted for what they represented themselves to be, and accordingly they succeeded. The Protestant synod of Alain, in 1620, excommunicated by virtue of the Divine authority which it conceived to be vested in it: "We, ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ, whom God hath furnished with spiritual arms . . . to whom the eternal Son of God hath given the power to bind and to loose upon earth, declare that what we shall bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven."² The Puritan fathers would not and dare not make laws opposed to the teachings of their church. They recognized its supremacy. Believing that they alone were right and the favored ones of God's providence, they stood out against the whole world and persecuted and outlawed all who presumed to hold religious opinions different from the tenets which they believed to be God's

¹ *Summa Theologiae*, II., ii., qu. xxxi., art. 7.

² *Actes eccles. et civiles de tous les Synodes nationaux de l'Eglise réformée de France*, ii, 181, 182.

own teaching. They stood upon an elevated but a very narrow spiritual plane of religious opinion.

Of course, not everybody speaking as the mouthpiece of the Divinity is inspired. Brigham Young made thousands believe that he had a divinely-inspired mission; few believe in the Divinity of that mission to-day. But we are not here concerned with determining the notes by which true inspiration is to be distinguished from pure illusion and imposition. We are simply calling attention to the fact that every church has meaning only by reason of its Divine origin and the Divine authority in whose name it teaches. We will define the Christian Church as it appears to us in its oldest and most authentic form.

Christ organized the Church. The Apostles were the first bishops. From the beginning was a hierarchy established. Peter was made head of the Church and was recognized as such by his colleagues; priests and deacons, and the other clerical orders were established. The Church as thus organized is endowed with a three-fold power; namely, the power to administer the sacraments, the power of jurisdiction and the power of teaching. Of the seven sacraments recognized by the Church as the seven channels instituted by Christ, by which His grace is conveyed to the soul and man is raised up into the sphere of the supernatural, five can be administered by none other than a bishop or priest. Therefore it has been with the most scrupulous care that succession in the orders of bishops and priests has been preserved in the Church from the days of the Apostles. And so the faithful of every period in this visible organism, the Church, have had these seven sacraments and a duly ordained and properly authorized priesthood to administer them.

The Church has a power of jurisdiction, that is to say, she has the right to exercise authority over Christians in those things which belong to religion. This power flows directly from the authority of the Divine Founder. It alone makes licit the sacramental power of the clergy. Indeed, no pastoral act may be performed within the Church without participation in ecclesiastical authority. That authority may be delegated or it may belong to the office for which one has been ordained. But the main point to hold in view is this: That no jot or tittle of ecclesiastical jurisdiction is derived from the laity within the Church or from the State or from any source other than the Divine authority on which the Church is founded. Therefore, wherever there is lay or State interference in the matter of the sacraments, or of doctrine or of religious jurisdiction, there is an element foreign to the Divine institution established by Christ. A Church, for instance, that would be organized and legislated for by Congress could

scarcely command the respect and submission of men. It might, indeed, be a very wise human institution, but no one would dare call its Congressional enactments the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Equally human and equally fallible would be a Church created by act of Parliament.

The jurisdiction of the Church is, then, the jurisdiction of a visible independent organism, and is judicial, legislative and executive. She has the right to make laws within her own spiritual sphere of action, and to execute those laws. She has the right to impose upon her members the obligation of accepting without reserve her declarations concerning faith and morals under ecclesiastical penalties. As the custodian of the natural law and of the revealed law, she is entitled to interpret and administer them in religious matters. She has, moreover, the power to make and to enforce laws of her own. These laws, be it remembered, contain within themselves so much of a purely human element that they may be changed, or dispensed with, or abrogated. Thus it is that in certain countries certain holidays of obligation have been abrogated. Thus it is that the Church daily grants dispensation regarding marriage within certain degrees of kindred. In like manner does she dispense persons from vows or commute their vows under certain circumstances and with sufficient reason. All this she could not do with regard to the Divine law, whether it be natural or positive. She could not, for instance, permit or tolerate an act of injustice as between man and man, nor could she allow her highest dignitaries, any more than her humblest laymen, to injure their neighbor's reputation by any act, overt or covert, direct or indirect; nor in such supposition could she dispense them from making such reparation as is within their power. She cannot change the eternal principle of right and wrong.¹ All these are primary truths.

IV.

Next, consider the teaching power of the Church. Her Divine Founder gave her the mission to go forth and teach all nations in His name. *He that heareth you heareth me.* This mission extends to all subjects bearing upon religion. It includes both the natural and the positive law of God, as well as the revealed truths and mysteries of faith. The teaching power resides in its plenitude in the Roman pontiff as it did in his predecessor, the Apostle Peter. He is unerring in defining matters pertaining to faith and

¹ "But all theologians and laymen know that the Pope can do nothing against the Divine law; that he cannot dispense from the observance of the Fourth Commandment; that all Papal laws, even if they must be regarded as irreformable, still do not cease to be human."—CARDINAL HERGENROETHER, *Anti-Janus*, p. 42.

morals. His infallibility does not extend beyond this domain. In all matters of political action or of private opinion the Pope is as liable to err as any layman equally instructed. An ecumenical council is also unerring when defining matters of faith and morals; but it is only the papal approval that renders the council ecumenical and stamps its decrees with the seal of authority. The teaching power is communicated to bishops and priests, but not in its plenitude. They may err in their teachings, even as they may be culpable in their conduct. Their words have authority only in proportion to the accuracy with which they transmit the doctrines of the Church. Personally, the weight of their utterance depends on the learning and the soundness of judgment they bring to bear upon their subject-matter.

And here, we would dwell upon a grave misconception entertained of our mental attitude as Catholics by those not of the body. We give the misconception as stated by an American writer who would not voluntarily do us an injustice. Speaking of the Church in America this writer says: "There is almost as much dissent, agnosticism, free thought—call it what you will—among educated Catholics as among other people in America. This is at once the source of peculiar strength and of unique weakness to the Catholic Church."¹ We do not see how this can be a source of anything real, since it is a condition of things that does not exist outside of the writer's mind. We Catholics—the ignorant layman no less than the learned theologian—all profess the same creed and hold by the same truths of faith, upon the same ground of belief, namely, upon the veracity of God revealing them to us through the Holy Roman Catholic Church. This and nothing more. The learned theologian may attempt to account for the faith that is in him; he may seek to reconcile it with his reason; he may answer objections raised against certain articles of his faith; but he cannot pare away or minimize that faith; he cannot drop a single jot or tittle of that faith without ceasing to be a Catholic. He accepts it all—neither more nor less—with the same sincerity with which his unlettered brother accepts it. The mental attitude of Catholics towards their faith is simply one of absolute certitude. In matters of opinion, or of credence, or of speculation, or of mere probability, we exercise our own judgments like the rest of men on those same matters, and come to our own conclusions according to personal bias and the tone of our intellectual training. Even in matters of faith our explanations of the various articles of our creed may vary and some may even be erroneous. There are men, for instance, who find the presence of design in the material

¹ *The Westminster Review*, June, 1888.

world a strong argument for the existence of God; others refuse to be convinced by that argument, but find their strongest demonstration in a recognition of the moral sense. But it is clearly an abuse of terms to call our honest divergence of opinion concerning all matters upon which we are free to diverge, free thinking or agnosticism in the accepted meaning of these words. You cannot conceive a Catholic agnostic. As well might you think a positive negation. One term is as meaningless as the other. You might conceive a minister of the Church, whether priest or bishop, continuing to exercise the functions of his ministry long after he has ceased to believe in their efficacy, but sooner or later he shirks the discipline of his position, and the world takes at his worth the man who sails under false colors or who dares not assume the responsibility of his convictions. Now, it would be a vile slander upon the Catholic priesthood in America—and the writer from whom we have quoted would be the last to put it upon them intentionally—to say that any number of them were praying to a God in whose existence they did not believe, or administering sacraments in whose efficacy they had no faith.

Our Catholic writers are of all shades of opinion upon the issues of the day, and they may be so without incurring ecclesiastical censure. Take, for instance, the burning questions of modern science and modern thought. Some there are who think that as children of the age it is their duty to face the problems of the age and effect their solution as best they may. Others, again, are alarmed at the hostile attitude of certain leaders of modern thought towards the Church, and, identifying the person with the cause, condemn the whole without a fair hearing. They seek refuge in extreme rigidity of doctrine. In their opinion the Decalogue is incomplete, the sermon on the mount too mild, and Rome too lenient. The non-Catholic world is only too prone to identify this class of writers with the Church. Their extreme views bring odium upon religion. They seem incapable of learning from the blunders of the past. They speak and write as though the Inquisition had never made Galileo say that the earth did not move round the sun, or the Sorbonne had not dictated to Buffon what he should write concerning this world's formation. Every educated Catholic knows that neither the Inquisition nor the Sorbonne is the Church, and though both were formidable bodies, they had no claim to infallibility. Why should these over-hasty writers attempt to force a repetition of such blunders? They are misleading, and are not to be considered in any respect representative. You will find other Catholic writers holding views as broad as theirs are narrow. The children of the Church have great liberty of action and opinion. It is the liberty of children in a well-regulated

household. They know the limit beyond which they must not pass.

The doctrinal life of the Church consists in this, that she at all times and under all circumstances preserves unity of doctrine in the midst of multiplicity of opinion. The doctrine she teaches to-day she has always and everywhere and to all men taught from the beginning. This is the secret of her strength and her endurance as a teaching body. Permit me to quote for you an impartial witness to the fact. Speaking of the characteristic of absolute infallibility Mr. Mallock says: "Any supernatural religion that renounces its claim to this, it is clear can profess to be a semi-revelation only. It is a hybrid thing, partly natural and partly supernatural, and it thus practically has all the qualities of a religion that is wholly natural. In so far as it professes to be revealed, it of course professes to be infallible; but if the revealed part be in the first place hard to distinguish, and in the second place hard to understand—if it may mean many things, and many of those things contradictory—it might just as well have been never made at all. To make it in any sense an infallible revelation, or in other words, a revelation at all, *to us*, we need a power to interpret the testament that shall have equal authority with that testament itself. Simple as this truth seems, mankind have been a long time learning it. Indeed, it is only in the present day that its practical meaning has come generally to be recognized. But now, at this moment, upon all sides of us, history is teaching it to us by an example so clearly that we can no longer mistake it. That example is Protestant Christianity, and the condition to which, after three centuries, it is now visibly bringing itself. It is at last beginning to exhibit to us the true results of the denial of infallibility to a religion that professes to be supernatural. We are at last beginning to see in it neither the purifier of a corrupted revelation, nor the corrupter of a pure revelation, but the practical denier of all revelation whatsoever. It is fast evaporating into a mere natural theism, and is thus showing us what, as a governing power, natural theism is. Let us look at England, Europe and America and consider the condition of the entire Protestant world. Religion, it is true, we shall find in it; but it is religion from which not only the supernatural element is disappearing, but in which the natural element is fast becoming nebulous. It is, indeed, growing, as Mr. Leslie Stephen says it is, into a religion of dreams. All its doctrines are growing vague as dreams, and like dreams their outlines are forever changing. . . . There is hardly any conceivable aberration of moral license that has not in some quarter or other embodied itself into a rule of life and claimed to be the proper outcome of Protestant

Christianity.”¹ So far Mr. Mallock. His remarks make it clear to us that a church regarding itself as Divine in its origin and inspiration and at the same time not unerring as a guide would be a self contradiction.

But there are limitations to the teaching mission of the Church. The fulfilment of Christ's promise to be with His Church and to guide and direct her in her mission extends only to those things for which she has been commissioned. She has no mission to teach purely secular science. She may utilize the science she finds her children possessed of, and speak to them in the language of that science, but she never descends to take issue upon every new scientific theory. Should science trespass upon her domain and assert anything opposed to her fixed and immutable principles she cautions her children against such teachings. Individual members of the Church may dispute over certain issues, but the Church bides her own time with the patient tranquility of one who has outlived many disputes and seen many brilliant and aggressive theories dashed to spray at her feet. And when science shall have winnowed the chaff from the grain and human reason shall have become possessed of an additional fact or an additional law of nature, the Church shall be found precisely where she stood before the discovery. She is not the one who has been obliged to shift her lines. It is in this attitude of the Church that we have the clue to her whole bearing towards science in the course of its development and its variations.

Here it may be asked: Since the teaching mission of the Church is thus circumscribed, why does she make such persistent efforts to control education in all its roots and branches? To this we would say: The Church cannot recognize any system of training for the child from which religion is excluded. With her religion is an essential factor in education. Among Christian peoples the child has always combined Christian doctrine and Christian practices with purely secular teaching in the school-room. The child of Christian parents is entitled to this Christian education. To impose upon him any system of education calculated to weaken his hold upon the Christian heritage into which he was born, were an act of gross injustice. Our Catholic clergy, as the pastors of souls, answerable to God for those confided to their care, are in duty bound to see that the children of their parish are instructed in the doctrines and practices of that Church which they believe to be the pillar and the ground of Truth. This can be properly and efficiently done only by means of a system of education especially provided for the purpose. Given a clergy believing in the Divine

¹ *Is Life Worth Living?* pp. 274, 275.

origin of their religion, believing that religion to be so great a boon that they would gladly die for it, believing that unless the child is at an early age taught religious doctrine and religious practices he runs the risk of growing up wholly indifferent to the priceless value of his Christian heritage, and you cannot conceive that clergy holding any other attitude towards a purely secular education for their Catholic children than one of hostility. It were a betrayal of their trust, an abandonment of the birthright of those confided to them, to acquiesce in a school system from which Catholic doctrine, Catholic prayer, and Catholic practices of devotion had been banished. Therefore it is that the Church binds the consciences of pastors and of people to keep their Catholic children aloof from such schools, and to establish parochial schools whenever and wherever it is possible.

Her mission to teach gives the Church the right to safeguard the child against any influence that would be injurious to faith and morals. Hers is the right to see that the books made use of, the men and women imparting instruction, and the character of the instruction given, be such as aid in the work of spiritualizing and elevating the child, and making his soul worthy of its future heavenly abode. Hers is the duty to forbid to her children the use of books in which there is doctrine contrary to that which she teaches, in which is to be found any system or principle of mental philosophy that she has condemned, or in which history is compiled with a view to misrepresenting Catholicity or undermining Catholic influences. Children, or even young men and young women, are not in position to take in both sides of religious, philosophical or historical questions; they lack maturity of judgment and the information essential to determine truth from error. It were folly to leave their weak, half-trained, ill-informed minds to grapple alone with issues that exercise the most ripened scholars to comparatively little purpose. And so it happens that while the Church has no mission as regards the imparting of purely secular education, it belongs to her function to exercise due vigilance over every branch of science and letters that would be likely, directly or indirectly, to affect religious belief.

V.

We now come to the State. The State is also a social organism. It grows out of the very nature of society. The family, and not the individual, is the unit of the State. "The human family," says Cardinal Manning, "contains the first principles and laws of authority, obedience, and order. These three conditions of society are of Divine origin; and they are the constructive laws of all civil

or political society."¹ Therefore, the State is of Divine origin. It is organized for the protection of society and the common weal. It has rights and duties and responsibilities. Its rights are embodied in the natural law, and come not from society, nor from its own intrinsic nature, but from God who is the source and sanction of all authority, obedience and order. The State is organized directly for the happiness and well-being of man in this life. It protects his person and property; it guarantees him liberty of action in the fulfilment of his duties; it frames such laws as promote his welfare and the welfare of the nation. The form of government established in the State is determined by the people. There is no Divine ordinance as to what that form may be. Nor has the Church a preference. If our theologians speak of the king and the kingly form of government, it is because that is the form with which when writing they were most familiar. But the present Pope, Leo XIII., has clearly defined the position of the Church as regards form of government: "While being the guardian of her rights," he says, "and most careful against encroachment, *the Church has no care what form of government exists in a State, or by what custom the civil order of Christian nations is directed; of the various kinds of government there is none of which she disapproves, so long as religion and moral discipline live untouched.*"² But while the form is determined by external circumstances, the authority and the sanction come from God. No man, for instance, has the power of life and death over another; and yet in the interests of society, the State condemns the criminal to be hanged. Whence derives it this dread power? Not from society, for the command *Thou shall not kill* is as applicable to a body of individuals as to a single person. Not in the State itself, for the State is only the society composing it, and society cannot give what it does not possess. The power and the sanction of that power come to the State from God alone. And since the State is of God as well as the Church, complete harmony should exist in all their relations. But the history of modern civilization is the history of unintermitting struggle between Church and State. Whence arises this struggle? The sphere of action of each is distinct. "Both Church and State have each an individual domain; wherefore in fulfilling their separate duties neither is subject to the other within the limits fixed by their boundary lines."¹ So speaks the reigning pontiff. To understand the struggle we must go back to the origin of Christianity. Christianity found itself face to face with Pagan Rome. Its Divine Founder counselled His disciples to

¹ *The Vatican Decrees in Their Bearing on Civil Allegiance*, p. 46. Am. ed.

² Encyclical, January 10, 1890.

³ *Ibid.*

render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's and to God the things that were God's. And St. Paul threw the whole force of his energetic soul into insistence on obedience to the State. "Let every soul be subject to higher powers; for there is no power but from God; and those that are are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation. . . . Render therefore to all men their dues. Tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor."¹ But there were clearly defined limitations beyond which the Christian could not submit. He could not worship the false gods of the pagan world. He could not share in the national rites and ceremonies that cloaked the most disgusting orgies and crimes. The Christian had learned the holy nature of the living God, the heinousness of sin and the necessity of keeping his soul spotless before the all-penetrating Presence. He had learned that many pagan practices, sanctioned by religion, were sinful, and he preferred death to sin. This gave rise to a bitter struggle between the State and the early Christian Church. There was no compromise. Under all circumstances God is to be obeyed rather than men. And so the Roman empire reeked with the blood of martyrs. It was a death-struggle. On the one side was the all-powerful, all-absorbing empire of the world, and on the other were a few scattered Christians, weak in numbers, weak in rank and position, weak in every respect but in the moral courage to live up to their convictions. But moral courage, animated by a burning idea, is an irresistible force. The vast material resources of the Roman Empire could not withstand its progress. Rome under Constantine proclaimed herself Christian. Her very law became regenerated.

St. Augustine had said—and his words bore with them great weight throughout the Middle Ages—that true justice has no existence save in that republic whose founder and ruler is Christ.² In the light of Christian truth and in the practice of Christian justice, always tempered by Christian mercy, the absolute law of pagan Rome came to be regarded as supreme injustice. Public opinion was gradually educated up to a higher conception of right and equity. Men became impressed with the sanctity of human life. From the beginning the Church had set her face against abortion and infanticide. In the course of time the State imbibed the same horror for these crimes and enacted laws against them. Gladiatorial games, in which lives were cast away to pander to a depraved taste, were abolished. A sense of universal brotherhood

¹ Romans xiii., 1-7.² *De Civ. Dei.*, ii., 4.

grew apace. The dignity of labor became recognized. Charity extended a helping hand in many directions to the relief of want and the assuaging of misery and suffering. Immediately after the days of Constantine it is no longer the emperor who is remembered in men's last will and testament; it is the Church as the dispenser of charities. Here is already a great revolution of ideas. But the greatest of all revolutions in Roman jurisprudence is the recognition of the woman's rights in the marriage law as standing upon an equal footing with those of the man. This change renders the Justinian Code an immortal landmark in the history of human progress. The world has ceased to be Roman; the Galilean has conquered.

In like manner did the Church educate the barbarian up to the same sense of the sanctity of human life, the same respect for others' rights and others' goods, and the same idea of a universal brotherhood. In legislating for sin she was legislating for crime. The early Christian kings frequently made the Penitentials the basis of their criminal code. Her bishops and clergy in their councils enacted laws as beneficial to the State as they were helpful to souls. And so almost imperceptibly did modern jurisprudence receive a Christian tone till in its whole substance and meaning it has become solely and peculiarly Christian.¹ Well might Lecky write of the influence of the Church: "She exercised for many centuries an almost absolute empire over the thoughts and actions of mankind and created a civilization which was permeated in every part with ecclesiastical influence."² Let us not close our eyes to the nature of that influence. It was an influence achieved only after a long and patient struggle. The Church begins by teaching the barbarian his letters. By means of literature and ritual and ceremonial and plain chant she speaks to his imagination, and he understands and appreciates her language and his nature grows refined beneath the refining influence. By means of prayer and the grace of the sacraments she moulds his character and forms his soul to virtue. Her mission was one of civilization. It was the effort of mind to predominate over matter, the taming of lawless natures, the lifting up into a higher plane of thought, exertion and aspiration, a humanity that had otherwise been content to live within the most circumscribed sphere of earthly existence. An Ambrose stays the footsteps of Theodosius at the Church-door because his hands were stained with wanton bloodshed. This sublime act embodies the spirit and the mission of the Church towards the State. "The resistance,"

¹ See Bluntschli, *Allgemeines Statsrecht*, p. 6.

² *History of European Morals*, ii. p. 15.

says Bryce, "and final triumph of Athanasius proved that the new society could put forth a power of opinion such as had never been known before; the abasement of Theodosius the emperor before Ambrose the bishop admitted the supremacy of spiritual authority."¹ And so we find the Church at all times and under all circumstances, without respect of persons, regulating conduct and preserving purity of faith and morals.

VI.

In the midst of this civilizing process there loom up two powers, each the embodiment of a distinct idea, each claiming supremacy. In the struggle between these two powers we have the clue to all mediæval and modern history. One is the Papacy; the other is the Holy Roman Empire. From the days of Constantine, according as the people became Christian, bishops exercised more and more influence in temporal affairs. They performed the functions of magistrates and judges, and so even-handed were they in administering the law the very pagans brought suit before them in preference to the civil courts. They were the counsellors and ministers of rulers. It was the bishops of France who made of France a nation. Her kings in consequence recognized their jurisdiction. Charles the Bald (A.D. 859) said that "by them he had been crowned, and to their paternal corrections and chastisements he was willing to submit."² What bishops were in their respective dioceses, the Pope came to be regarded by all Christendom. How else keep international relations upon a footing of equity? A weaker nation was helpless to right the wrongs inflicted by one more powerful. Countries far apart would find difficulty in coming to a mutual understanding. But, under the authority and through the mediation of the Supreme Head of Christendom, whom all looked upon as the father of the whole Christian family, the representative of justice and the avenger of evil-doing, wrongs might be righted and reconciliations effected under difficulties which might otherwise lead to disastrous results. And so the Pope became, by virtue of public law and by the consent of the Christian people—not by Divine right—the arbiter between sovereigns and the peacemaker among nations. His power as then recognized scarcely knew a limit. He could for sufficient reason depose kings, absolve people from allegiance to their rulers, place whole nations under interdict, quell wars, decide upon the justice of a cause, and more than once have we seen rulers place their kingdoms in fiefdom at his feet, as their only protection against a too-powerful enemy. Thus in 1214, we find Innocent III. for-

¹ *Holy Roman Empire*, 3d ed., p. 120.

² Hefele, iv., p. 197.

bidding any bishop or cleric, without a special mandate from the Holy See, to censure King John of England, as he had become a vassal of the Pope.¹

Side by side with the Papacy, stood the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperor was the champion of the Church, pledged to her defence against all secular enemies. According to Frederick I., "Divine Providence had especially appointed the Roman Empire to prevent the continuance of schism in the Church."² The Empire was the creation of the Pope; it was not hereditary. The first Emperor was Charlemagne, crowned such at the Christmas of the year 800, by Leo III. It was Leo's own work, done for the peace and protection of the Church. The office was, like that of the Papacy itself, non-hereditary. "Each of these lofty offices," says Freeman, "is open to every baptized man; each alike is purely elective; each may be the reward of merit in any rank of life or in any corner of Christendom. While smaller offices were closely confined by local or aristocratic restrictions, the Throne of Augustus and the Chair of Peter were, in theory at least, open to the ambition of every man of orthodox belief. Even in the darkest times of aristocratic exclusiveness, no one dared to lay down as a principle that the Roman Emperor, any more than the Roman Bishop, need be of princely or Roman ancestry. Freedom of birth—Roman citizenship, in short, to clothe mediæval ideas in classical words—was all that was needed."³ And so the Holy Roman Empire, now a shadow, now a power, continued to exist by the grace of the Holy See, sometimes to aid, more frequently to hinder, the Church in the exercise of her functions and prerogatives. With the hereditary title came an hereditary tendency of reversion to the absolutism of the Cæsars. Ecclesiastical privileges at first granted the emperors by the Popes, their successors in the Holy Roman Empire sought to convert into rights beyond the jurisdiction of the Papacy. The quarrel may read to us like a story of petty spites and personal squabbles; but its meaning is deeper. The very existence of the Church was involved. When bishoprics were put up for sale to the highest bidder, or were kept vacant for years that their revenues might flow into the royal or imperial coffers, it becomes evident that religion, and spiritual life, and morality must suffer, and the whole mission of the Church be frustrated. Upon more than one Pope must we accept the verdict of Neander concerning the indomitable Hildebrand: "Gregory VII. was animated by something higher than by self-seeking and selfish ambition; it was an idea which swayed him and to which he sac-

¹ Migne, ccxvii., p. 226. Supplem. ep. 185.

² Letter to the Prelates of Germany.

³ *Historical Essays*, vi., p. 136.

rificed all other interests. It was the idea of the independence of the Church, and of a tribunal to exercise judgment over all other human relations; the idea of a religious and ethical sovereignty over the world to be exercised by the Papacy."¹ Those were stormy times, and it took a strong hand to curb the headlong career of the powerful when they would ride roughshod over the most sacred rights. When Philip Augustus, of France, violated the sanctity and indissolubility of the marriage-bond, it was the Popes who brought him to a sense of his duty, and compelled him to undo the great wrong he had done his injured wife, the beautiful and virtuous Ingeburge. Instances might be multiplied, in which the Popes shall be found struggling against might and prestige in the cause of the honor and dignity of womanhood. "Go through the long annals of Church history," says Cardinal Newman, "century after century, and say, was there ever a time when her bishops, and notably the Bishop of Rome, were slow to give their testimony in behalf of the moral and revealed law and to suffer for their obedience to it, or forgot that they had a message to deliver to the world? Not the task merely of administering spiritual consolation, or of making the sick-bed easy, or of training up good members of society, and of 'serving tables' (though all this was included in their range of duty); but specially and directly to deliver a message to the world, a definite message to high and low, from the world's Maker, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear. The history, surely, of the Church, in all past times, ancient as well as mediæval, is the very embodiment of that tradition of Apostolical independence and freedom of speech, which in the eyes of man is her great offence now."²

Great is the debt the nations owe the Church for having preserved throughout the ages this independence of action and of speech. Despotism and tyranny would have had little respect for any or every element that enters into our modern civilization, if there were no authority to call a halt and say in tones that were unmistakeable and that commanded respect: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther!" This was the temporal mission of the Papacy. How staunchly and how efficiently she fulfilled her mission has been recognized by all competent historians. Few there are who are not willing to subscribe to the verdict of Ancillon: "In the Middle Ages, when there was no social order, the Papacy, and perhaps the Papacy alone, saved Europe from a state of absolute barbarism. It created relations amongst nations far removed from each other, was a common centre for all, a point of union for States otherwise iso-

¹ *Church History*, ii., p. 375. Third edition.

² Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, p. 24.

lated. It was a supreme court of justice raised in the midst of universal anarchy. Its judgments were from time to time received with the respect they merited. It fenced in and restrained the despotism of emperors. It compensated for the want of a due balance of power and lessened the injurious effects of feudal governments."¹ Let us add that the Papacy was more than a merely compensating principle. Based upon the supremacy of the spiritual over the material, recognized and acted upon by Christian nations possessing the same faith, it was a most secure, a most economic and a most impartial tribunal of arbitration. Has modern political science been able to furnish a better substitute?

When kings ceased to look to the Papacy for recognition and sanction, and no longer feared interdict or excommunication, they sought shelter in the Divine right of royalty to do all things. They refused to hold themselves amenable to any tribunal. "It is notorious," says the late Henry Sumner Maine, "that as soon as the decay of the Feudal System had thrown the mediæval constitutions out of working order, and when the Reformation had discredited the authority of the Pope, the doctrine of the Divine right of kings rose immediately into an importance which had never before attended it."² We all know how that doctrine brought a Charles I. to the block. Where else is despotism likely to lead? The kings of France complained of Papal interference; they found theologians to exaggerate the Papal pretensions; they sighed for the freedom of the Caliph. Well, they reduced that interference to a minimum; they endeavored to make every bishop a pope in his own diocese; they placed their tools in the diocesan seats. The theory of a national Church became popular; Gallicanism reigned; Rome received but scant respect, and what was the result? The people, exasperated against the oppressions of a century, rose in defence of rights and liberties which they were denied, and in the reeking horrors of the Revolution, became intoxicated with the blood of king and priest. Were there no Gallican Church identified with a long record of tyrannies and oppressions—had Rome been uniformly free to select its own bishops—its clergy would have been wholly identified with the people; their power and influence would have guided the storm, and instead of the guillotine and the orgies with which every student of history is familiar, a peaceful adjustment of the difficulties between king and people might have been made. This is all the more evident when we remember that the principle of the Revolution is the great underlying idea of modern times. All modern thought, all great political movements, all great social reforms are based upon the

¹ *Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de l'Europe*, ti., introd. p. 133.

² *Ancient Law*, p. 334.

sublime principle of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity rightly understood. Now, this principle has in it nothing to alarm. All the nations of the earth are marching towards its realization. In some, the awakening is earlier than in others. This was the underlying idea of the old Republic of Florence, "which would have no king because its king was Jesus Christ;"¹ it was the underlying idea that led to the Constitution of 1688, in England; it nerved the cantons of Switzerland to struggle against Austrian domination till they were free as the chamois ranging their beloved Alps; it gave birth to our own republic. Its spirit is in the air and will not down. Statesmen and governments may slight or ignore or even resist it; but such a course is one of folly. They who will not recognize it and give it direction and prepare men for its coming, will be borne down by its fierce impetus.

Again, since the treaty of Westphalia, Europe has been adjusted by what is known as balance of power. According to this principle, no one nation will be allowed to assume control beyond a certain limit. She may absorb a certain number of districts or provinces belonging to a weaker power, but, in order to preserve an equilibrium, she must not destroy that power. Or, a weaker power is a source of trouble to more powerful nations in her neighborhood. As a solution to the difficulty, why may they not—even as happened to Poland—carve the weaker nation up and distribute a share to each, still preserving, the equilibrium? These are events that could not have occurred under the arbitration of the Popes. A merely mechanical principle, with no other basis than expedience, no other motive than policy, such as is this principle of balance of power, must needs be immoral in its very nature and lead to acts of gross injustice. It is bearing its fruits to-day in Europe. Look at the attitude of all the great powers on the Continent! Each is in arms, grimly awaiting war. The strong and the young are idly consuming the products of the soil, and the nations are becoming impoverished. All human ingenuity and all triumphs of physical science are concentrated upon the discovery of the most rapid and most effectual methods of destroying human life. This state of affairs is radically wrong. Who would not rejoice to see every nation of Europe disarm, go back to the arts of peace, and leave the arbitration of all international difficulties to the Pope?

The Holy Roman Empire has passed into shadow-land. The doctrine of the absolute right of kings to perpetrate all acts in God's name, and under the Divine sanction, is no more. Even where crowned heads still exist in Europe, not they, but their peoples—Russia being excepted—rule. The world's future is altogether in the hands of the people. The relations of Church

¹ Cardinal Capecepolo: *Life of St. Philip Neri*, vol. i., p. 34.

and State in the new order of things may easily prove far more satisfactory than in the old order. In our own American Republic these relations are almost ideal. We know that purely ideal relations between Church and State obtain only where religion is one in society. Then might the secular power be subject to the spiritual power, as the body is subject to the soul; then might the State co-operate with the Church, aiding her when necessary in her work of establishing the kingdom of God in souls, knowing that all else, bearing upon temporal happiness, will surely follow. Here, where the forms of Christian belief are many, this order of things is impossible. But the order of things, guaranteed us by our Constitution and our laws, is admirable.

The noble patriots who framed our Constitution and laid so firmly the foundations of our republic, built upon the rights and liberties inherent in man. Now these rights and liberties with their accompanying duties and responsibilities, as between man and man, are not of the State. They are above and beyond the State. They are the vital principle that gives being to the State. They are the natural law, which is a participation in the eternal law of God. The State is simply the mouth-piece to proclaim this law, and the instrument to enforce it. The principles of right and wrong existed before they were made to enter into statutory decrees, just as the Decalogue was engraved on the hearts of men before Moses inscribed it on tablets of stone. Those principles are eternal, and it is our pride and our glory and the secret of our prosperity as a people that the great charter of our liberties is based upon them. In consequence the State admits the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. Every man has his rights of conscience not as privileges conceded by the State, but as rights existing among his other natural rights, recognized and acknowledged by the State as held under a higher law than its own. Church and State do not here exist upon a system of mutual concessions or privileges. There is here no absorption of one into the other. They are distinct, but they are not separated. On the contrary, their union is most intimate and most harmonious. "There is nothing," says Brownson, "which Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII. and other great popes struggled for against the German emperors, the kings of France, Aragon and England, and the Italian republics that is not recognized here by our republic to be the right of the spiritual order. Here the old antagonism between Church and State does not exist. There is here a certain antagonism, no doubt, between the Church and the sects, but none between the Church and the State or civil society. Here the Church has, so far as civil society is concerned, all that she has ever claimed, all that she has ever struggled for. Here

she is perfectly free. She summons her prelates to meet in council when she pleases, and promulgates her decrees for the spiritual government of her children without leave asked or obtained. The *placet* of the civil power is not needed, is neither solicited nor accepted. She erects and fills sees as she judges proper, founds and conducts schools, colleges, and seminaries in her own way, without let or hindrance; she manages her own temporalities, not by virtue of a grant or concession of the State, but as her acknowledged right, held as the right of conscience, independently of the State."¹

Where society is split up into a diversity of creeds, there is supreme wisdom in the attitude of the State towards all, granting freedom of conscience so long as conscience dictates nothing contrary to the principles of natural right, or calculated to outrage the moral sense of society. We ask no closer relations of Church and State. So far as our religion is concerned, our sole cry is: "Hands off!" The State is incompetent to pronounce upon religious matters; it has no mission to determine the validity of a religious creed. To discriminate in favor of any one to the exclusion of all the others, were an act of injustice to every citizen not holding the favored creed. It were un-American because it were unconstitutional. It is a primary duty of the State to aid and protect its citizens in the fulfilment of their respective duties, to secure to them their inalienable rights, to see that justice is done between man and man; above all is it a duty of the State to safe-guard the weak minorities in their rights and immunities against the more powerful majorities.

In every man and woman there is an inseparable union of Church and State. Each holds certain religious tenets; many belong to some visible form of Christianity; but in proportion as all live up to their religious convictions, in that proportion are they good citizens, faithful in the performance of their civic duties—honest and honorable and just in all relations of life. Christian virtue in Christian society has never dimmed the civic virtues. Tell us, would the New England Puritans—the revered ancestors of many whom we now address—have left so lasting an impression upon this republic if they had been less intensely religious? The fierceness and asperity and intolerance that entered into their religious convictions and dictated the Colonial Blue Laws, also shaped the rigid honesty and integrity of character that would die rather than deviate a hair's breadth from the path of rectitude. When that noble son of Connecticut, Nathan Hale, was about to be hanged as a spy, his sole regret was that he had not other lives to give

¹ *Works*, vol. xiii., p. 142.

for his country. Think you he was any the less sturdy a patriot because he had been strictly and religiously brought up in the stern tenets of his Puritan father? Can you imagine Charles Carroll of Carrollton, throwing his broad acres and his spotless name into the country's cause, any the less a patriot because he had been carefully trained by the Jesuits? Did he find any difficulty in reconciling his allegiance to Rome with his allegiance to the new-born republic? Was his cousin John Carroll, the first Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, less a patriot, when he accompanied the commission who sought the alliance of Canada in the cause of independence, than John Jay, when by his fanatical address to the people of Great Britain, he rendered that alliance an impossibility?¹ This is a subject over which men have needlessly waxed wroth. Let us raise ourselves above prejudice and look facts full in the face, and we will find, each in his own person, complete reconciliation between Church and State. Is not every full and perfect life an harmonious blending of these two orders of duties?" In this fact is the solution to the whole problem of Church and State. The name of God may not be in our Constitution, but His hand is discernible in every line of it. With far-seeing wisdom was that first amendment inserted: *Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*

¹ See a valuable article by John Gilmary Shea, in the *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. iii., No. x., "Why Canada is not a Part of the United States."

GOD'S SAINTS THE TRUE REFORMERS IN HIS CHURCH.

IN the article on the family, early education, and first monastic labors of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the reader has only seen, faintly and rapidly outlined, the preparatory period of the Saint's extraordinary mission in the Church. We have now to follow him through the principal phases of the providential career fulfilled by him from 1127 till his death in 1153.

The effect produced by his "Apology," or Defence of Citeaux, and his brief work on the "Duties of Bishops," was not limited to the total change wrought in the life of the great French Chancellor, the Abbot Suger of Saint Denis; the lecture of these writings made a no less deep and salutary impression on other prelates, whom the influence of feudalism had raised to eminent positions in the Church, and whose lives, at first, had only been governed by feudal notions and the maxims of a worldly ambition.

The Bishop of Paris, in 1127, happened to be another feudal noble, Etienne de Senlis, who had been thrust into the Church by his family, without any vocation, and whose conduct, in his high office, had been altogether worldly and unedifying. The conversion of the Abbot Suger was soon followed by that of the Bishop of Paris, who retired from the gay and splendid court circles, and devoted himself entirely to the discharge of his duties as pastor. As this prelate was a great favorite with Louis VI., and one of the brightest ornaments of his court, the prince, as in the case of Suger, took the withdrawal of the former as a personal grievance. Suger, however, was persuaded to retain his office of Chancellor and Prime Minister. But no persuasion availed to make Etienne de Senlis resume his place near the monarch.

He went further: he reduced his household to what was absolutely indispensable, both in numbers and in expenditure, only retaining in his service such persons as were distinguished by piety and learning. This reform he consistently endeavored to introduce in all the religious houses of his diocese, both secular and regular. He failed to bring back the canons of his cathedral to the practices of common life once in use among the clergy of collegiate churches. The canons of Paris stoutly refused to adopt the new life proposed by their bishop, although he nobly proposed to set them the example.

At length, wearied by their resistance, the bishop deprived them of their benefices, and called the reformed clerics of the Abbey of

St. Victor to fill the places thus left vacant. Inasmuch, however, as the revenues of the cathedral chapter, like those of the See of Paris itself, were derived from the feudal property allotted to them by the crown, the canons had some legal right to appeal for redress to the king. Louis, deeply wounded as he had been, by the disappearance from court of the bishop, whom he had cherished as his bosom friend, warmly espoused the cause of the canons. The bishop's property of every description was therefore seized and all his revenues were confiscated.

This was one of the miserable results of feudalism in its relations with the Church. And modern statecraft, as we know from too many contemporary examples, is only doing in the 19th century what Louis VI. did in the 12th.

The Bishop of Paris, driven from his See, and left without a roof to cover him, took refuge with his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Sens. But, before leaving Paris, he had launched an interdict against the king.

As the latter had sought, in the beginning of his reign, to become affiliated, in so far as he could, with the monks of Citeaux, these were fain to make peace between the sovereign and the bishop. The General Chapter of the Order remonstrated in vain; and, at length, it was thought that the Abbot of Clairvaux should be deputed to Paris as a peacemaker.

Bernard was welcomed in the capital of France with the most extraordinary enthusiasm. The king yielded somewhat, or seemed to yield, and a momentary peace was obtained. But the quarrel soon broke out anew, and there appeared no way of settling the difficulty but by having recourse to Rome. Meanwhile, the Pope, Honorius II., had been induced to raise, unconditionally, the interdict pronounced by the Bishop of Paris. The king was emboldened by this to proceed against the latter with merciless rigor.

The Abbot of Clairvaux at once undertook to defend what he considered to be the cause of right and of ecclesiastical liberty against both the King and the Pope.

"The complaints of the episcopal body," the Saint writes to the Pontiff, "and the tears of the universal Church . . . must surely have reached you. Compelled by necessity to leave the silence of my solitude and to go forth into the world, I now make bold to tell you what I have seen. What I have seen,—let me say it with grief,—is that the honor of the Church is imperiled during the Pontificate of Honorius II. The respectful but firm attitude of the Bishops had already overcome the royal resentment, when the Sovereign Pontiff, by interposing his supreme authority, discouraged their episcopal constancy and furnished the king with new motives for his arrogance. We know that your conscience

has been misled, and that people have not scrupled to lay before you false statements, as is evident from the tenor of your letters,—and all that for the purpose of inducing you to raise the interdict which had been so justly fulminated.

“Now, however, that the falsehood is made manifest, let it be used us a weapon against its author. Will Your Holiness permit iniquity to pervert your judgment? What astonishes us is that you have judged both parties without hearing them, and that you have condemned the absent.”¹

Meanwhile all the prelates who approved of the conduct of the Bishop of Paris, or who did not openly condemn him, were involved in the violent measures employed by Louis VI. against his former favorite. The Archbishop of Sens and the Abbot of Clairvaux undertook together a second mission of conciliation to the Court. It was all in vain. Then it was that the Saint, like one of the prophets of old sent to the prevaricating princes of Samaria or Jerusalem, uttered this terrible threat: “Since you despise the voice of God himself,” he said to Louis, “by turning a deaf ear to the supplications of your bishops, expect a fearful chastisement. Ere long the hand of death shall suddenly snatch away the heir to your throne, now so tenderly beloved.”² The event fulfilled the Saint’s prediction. But Louis VI. paused not a moment in his career of unrighteous and sacrilegious vindictiveness. Nor did the courageous Abbot cease to urge Honorius II. to set aside the considerations of worldly prudence and policy and to come out boldly in the defense of the persecuted Bishops.

At length the Pope sent a legate to France, and a council was convened at Troyes, the capital of the powerful Count of Champagne. To this assembly the legate invited the Abbot of Clairvaux, who, on his return from Paris, was once more prostrated by fever. A first refusal, though based on the peremptory reason of what seemed a hopeless illness, was attributed by the King’s partisans to resentment against Rome. And this determined the sick man to accept, at all risks, the second invitation of the Cardinal Legate.

“My heart was ever ready to obey you,” he writes to the latter, “but my weak body did not share the willingness of the spirit. Consumed by a violent and burning fever and deprived of all strength, this poor frame of mine could not respond to your desire. Nevertheless, I only wished to obey you. . . . Illness, not caprice, dictated my first answer. . . .

“You say that we have to decide a matter of supreme importance. For that you need a man in every way equal to what

¹ Letter 46.

² Chevallier, I., 187.

the occasion requires. If you have deemed me to be such a man I must tell you candidly that I am not the person you need. Either the solution you seek, and which you want to trust to the skill of your friend, while drawing him forth from his solitude, is an easy solution, or it is not. If it is an easy one, there is no need of my agency. If it is a truly difficult one, it surely is beyond my ability. You cannot convince me that I can compass what others despair of.

"Should it be otherwise, I would ask thee, O, my God, why thou hast erred in calling me to my present profession by hiding under a bushel the light which should have been placed on the candlestick? Why, indeed, have sought to make of me a monk? Why bury, far away from every danger, in the silence of the cloister, the man needed by the whole world, the man without whom our bishops can accomplish nothing? But enough of excuses. Be it as it may, rest assured that I go to you through obedience alone. Only, in future, I pray you, spare me as much as ever you can."¹

The King, apparently, only waited for the meeting of the council to comply with what St. Bernard had so eloquently urged him to do long before. But his tardy acquiescence did not repair the injury done to religion and to his own subjects. Innocent blood had been shed. The calamity foretold by St. Bernard soon afterward fell upon king and kingdom,—an awful warning to the princes and nobles of that day not to trust to might alone in their contentions with the unarmed spiritual power.

In that same council another bishop, whose worldly extravagance had made him sadly notorious, was compelled to submit to canonical discipline, and soon afterwards deprived of his See. Thus the spirit which the Abbot of Clairvaux had evoked was working for the reform of Church and State. A worldly-minded abbot, who had allowed indisciplin and a lax morality to creep into his monastery, was also deposed from his office.

This same council, held in the year 1128, will be ever memorable as the assemblage which sanctioned the establishment of the Military Religious Order of Knights Templars. Hugh de Payens and the five noble soldiers, who formed the nucleus of this far-famed society, had begun their devoted services in Palestine in 1118. The King of Jerusalem had lodged them in his own palace near the ruins of Solomon's Temple. And after two years of heroic labor and spotless lives the six founders asked the Council of Troyes and the legate of the Holy See to accept their services officially, and to sanction them by giving to themselves and their future

¹ Letter 21.

companions a Rule of Life and Constitutions in conformity with their purpose.

The Council entrusted to the Abbot of Clairvaux the task of drawing up this body of by-laws for an order destined to be half soldiers and half monks. He did so in obedience to the commands of the august assembly, and framed for the Templars Constitutions so full of the spirit of God and so admirably adapted to the dual life these men were to lead, that so long as they remained faithful to their Rule and its spirit, they were the admiration of all Christendom, uniting the exalted heroism of the Christian soldier with the supernatural virtues of the cloister.

They looked up to St. Bernard as their true founder and spiritual parent. And thus once more did Providence make the light of the Valley of Bitterness shine forth with surpassing splendor and prove that the man whose life seemed to hang on so slender a thread was in very truth, the man needed by the whole world.

No sooner had the Council of Troyes ended its labors than the Abbot of Clairvaux hastened to bury himself in his beloved solitude. The fever which still clung to him, and which was the result both of his extreme bodily austerities and of his superhuman labors, had made him an object of anxious concern to the prelates and nobles assembled at Troyes. When these separated, and the saint was free to return home, the energy which supported him through the sittings of the Council and through the manifold work devolved on himself, suddenly gave way, and the monks of Clairvaux only welcomed back what they thought was a dying man.

But the very atmosphere of the cloister, with its penitential rigors, its silence broken in upon by the psalmody of the divine office, and the holy ardor with which the abbot daily sought to feed with the bread of life the souls of his brethren, lifted the frail body above itself. The light which Bernard of Clairvaux shed unceasingly around him, and the words of heavenly instruction which fell from his lips, seemed to come from a being always hovering between the confines of this visible world of ours and the eternal world unseen.

It was during the intervals of comparative rest allowed him by the termination of some mighty public affair, and by the extreme feebleness unfitting him for the ordinary fatigues of monastic life, that St. Bernard embodied in hastily written treatises the teachings required by the errors which were abroad, or by the aspirations of his contemporaries toward a higher spirituality. Thus were written the two books on "The Love of God" and "The Free Will of Man." When we say that he wrote such works hastily, we do not mean that the composition bore marks of undue haste and consequent incorrectness in the matter and imperfection in the form.

There is in all the writings of this holy doctor of the Church a glow of inspiration which makes the reader feel that the instruction therein contained was poured forth under the pressure of a heavenly and overpowering force. The saint's well-disciplined mind moulded, naturally and instinctively, all his conceptions into perfect form. His beautiful style gave these an easy and graceful expression. When he wrote he obeyed the impulsion of the Spirit; he seemed in haste to give vent to thoughts which he could no longer contain. His mind flowed forth with a force that was irresistible, as the accumulated waters of an Alpine lake rush impetuously downward to the valleys beneath.

But while restored, helpless and feeble in body as an infant, to Clairvaux after the Council of Troyes, the saint was not long permitted to enjoy the sweets of uninterrupted communion with the Divine Majesty, and with the great religious family who worshipped him with more than filial love and reverence. The severe disciplinary decrees enacted by the late Council, and the reforms effected in more than one class of persons, met with a sturdy resistance in men whose ideas of propriety and morality were regulated by feudal pride and tradition much more than by that beauty of holiness so loved by the Church of God, and so ardently cherished by her true children. The worldlings in the Church whom Bernard sought to reform or to expel from the sanctuary, and the worldlings outside of the sanctuary, whose code of morals was framed in accordance with their own love and earthly ideals, soon raised a loud clamor throughout France. The Abbot of Clairvaux, it was said, had been the soul of the Council of Troyes. Nothing had been done there save by his dictation. Louis VI., apparently, had yielded without even a show of reluctance to the wishes of the Holy See and the righteous demands of the French prelates. But the courtier prelates,—and there were not a few of them,—together with the members of the inferior clergy, both regular and secular, to whom the new discipline seemed an intolerable hardship, complained, protested and appealed to Rome.

Papal Rome in every age, and under every Pontificate, likes not to be annoyed by dissensions in distant countries which the wisdom and mutual forbearance of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities might compose between themselves. The secular clergy of France, in 1128, did not want to have the monks of either Citeaux or Clairvaux continually called upon to arbitrate in the differences which arose in Church or State. How, said they, should men buried away in the seclusion of the cloister know better than seculars how to treat of difficulties occurring in the common paths of every-day life in the world? So the discontented and the aggrieved besieged with their complaints the Court of Rome, and, as the

Abbot of Clairvaux was accused of having done all the mischief by interfering in worldly matters which concerned him not, it was judged to be a proper thing to admonish him. "These noisy and importunate frogs must not again come out of their marshes to disturb the Holy See and the Cardinals!" Thus wrote the Cardinal-Chancellor Haimeric to St. Bernard by order of the Pope.

Pope and cardinal were sadly mistaken in the man if they thought that they could disturb his equanimity or quench his zeal for the beauty of God's house by such unseemly reproaches, which, moreover, savored of ingratitude.

"Ought I to regret or to congratulate myself," the saint replies, "that I have raised up enemies by upholding the truth,—nay, by accomplishing a good work and fulfilling a duty? Can people not find in me enough of real defects without imputing to me a praiseworthy deed as if it were a crime? If I have done wrong in anything, it is in being present at these assemblages instead of remaining buried in my chosen solitude, of sitting in judgment on my own conduct alone, of subjecting my own conscience to a severe examination. I do not lose sight of the fact that my calling is to live the life of a monk, that is, to be a recluse in reality as well as in repute.

"Well, I have mixed myself up with the affairs of which you write. What induced me to do so? I was called thither and compelled perforce to go. My friends regretted that I yielded, but my regret was greater than theirs. Rest assured that I sincerely wish I had never consented, even as I now do, never to find myself under a like necessity. And who is better able than you, my excellent friend, to relieve me of such a necessity? You have the power to do so, and I know you have also the will.

"I am happy to think that you judge me to be unfit for the management of such affairs. In this you are right. I see in it a proof of your friendship. Yes; forbid 'these noisy and troublesome frogs' to leave their obscure and marshy abode. Let them never again be heard to croak in public assemblies. Let them not dare to obtrude themselves into the palaces of the great. Let no necessity, no authority, prevail on them to be mixed up with disputes or important transactions.

"Thereby will your friend be enabled to escape any just suspicion of being presumptuous. I cannot foresee what should justify the reproach of his being so. For I am firmly resolved never again to set foot outside of my abbey, unless compelled to do so in the interests of our Order, or by the formal command of the Holy See, or that of my own bishop. These are the only cases in which to refuse would be sinful.

"Never send me such commands. I shall then live in peace; and I shall let others do the same.

"Nevertheless, it will be in vain to bury myself here, in vain to keep silence; the whole Church will meanwhile cry out against the Court of Rome, if it condemns the absent to please its own familiars."¹

Certain it is that the brief interval which elapsed between their correspondence and the death of Honorius II., on February 14, 1130, was employed to good purpose by the Abbot of Clairvaux. But the schism which followed fast on the election of the successor of Honorius, Innocent II., and the distracted state of Christendom, divided between the claims of two rival Popes, soon forced St. Bernard to quit his retreat.

Louis VI. determined to put a speedy stop to the schism, and summoned a general meeting of bishops and prelates at Etampes; he wrote to the Abbot of Clairvaux, in particular, begging him to be present with his brother-abbots. When this assembly met, toward the end of April, St. Bernard failed not to be there. His early biographer relates that on his way to Etampes the Saint had a vision, in which he beheld the assembled universal Church singing with one voice the praises of the Most High.

At any rate, no sooner did the Council of Etampes meet, than the prelates unanimously besought the Abbot of Clairvaux to pronounce on the rival claims of Innocent and Anacletus, pledging themselves to abide by his decision. The judgment of the assembled bishops was also to be ratified by the king.

Bernard pronounced in favor of Innocent II., who had been the first chosen by a part of the Sacred College. The bishops at once ratified the judgment of the Saint, which was also sanctioned by the king; and thus was France won to the obedience of the lawful pontiff.

Meanwhile, Innocent, obliged to quit Rome and Italy, by the feudal nobles and the Italian Free Cities, who supported Anacletus, had crossed the Alps, and was welcomed by Louis VI. and the majority of his people. The ambitious Bishop of Angoulême, disappointed at not being maintained in his office of Papal Legate by Pope Innocent, afterward went over to Anacletus, and carried with him the Duke of Aquitaine. But this local schism was, in due time, to be healed by the eloquence and miracles of St. Bernard. In 1130 all France was at the feet of Innocent II.

The king of England held aloof, uncertain as to whom he should pay the homage due to the Vicar of Christ. But he, too, soon yielded to the arguments and influence of the Abbot of Clairvaux.

¹ Letter 48, as quoted by Chevallier.

Then came the turn of Germany, where the emperor-elect, Lothaire, was first partly won over to the legitimate Pope by St. Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg.

This happened after the Assembly of Etampes. Innocent, who gladly acknowledged in the Abbot of Clairvaux the man specially raised up by God to heal the wounds of the Church, and to reunite divided Christendom, would not part with him, and would have him constantly by his side as the counsellor and guide in whose inspired wisdom he could wholly trust. The Chancellor Haimeric, also, who had been chiefly instrumental in the election of Innocent II., was but too glad to make the Saint forget the unjust and offensive letter about frogs quitting their marshes and annoying Pope and Cardinals by their croaking.

We need no other assurance, however, than our knowledge of St. Bernard's own unselfish character and entire devotion to the dearest interests of religion, to believe that he needed no apology from the Chancellor or the Pontiff before he espoused the cause of Innocent as that of the true successor of St. Peter.

Innocent had arranged to meet the emperor-elect, Lothaire, at Liège, on March 24, 1130. The meeting was one to be long remembered. The Pope entered the city having St. Bernard by his side, and followed by a cortege of Cardinals, prelates and nobles. Lothaire, on foot, led by the bridle the Pope's white hackney, and with a wand made way among the dense throng for the Holy Father.

The next day, the 25th of March, the Pope celebrated pontifical mass, and Lothaire paid him solemn homage as to the lawful head of the Church, binding himself by oath to restore him to the peaceful possession of Rome.

But in the very midst of this solemn scene, the Emperor-elect demands, as the reward of his services, that Innocent shall acknowledge the imperial right of *investiture*. This was reopening the old bitter quarrel between Church and State, between the temporal power and the spiritual—the feudal lord demanding that the Church shall do him homage for its temporal possessions, and that Pope and bishop shall hold themselves his vassals and inferiors in the political order. To resist this unhallowed claim, Pope St. Gregory VII. had resisted to the utmost the pretensions of the German emperors, and died in exile.

St. Bernard, who had been the guide and stay of Innocent II. up to that moment, then stood forth as the defender of the most sacred rights of the Papacy and of the Church. He appealed to the entire assembly, laymen and clergymen, setting briefly and luminously before them the grounds of the Imperial claim, and the imprescriptible rights of the spiritual authority. Recalling eloquently

the deplorable and sanguinary dissensions which had arisen in Europe from the urging of the pretensions now again put forth, the Saint asks his hearers to give their judgment fearlessly.

With one voice, repeated again and again, they declare that the Emperor-elect is wrong. The latter was too much of a politician to persist in pressing a demand which the popular voice thus energetically condemned. He openly declared that he would abide by the Concordat of Worms, concluded in 1122 under the pontificate of Calixtus II., and by which the Emperor had renounced the assumed right of investing bishops with the ring and the crozier.

The sovereigns of Spain and Portugal, then struggling heroically with the Moors, were not long in giving in their adhesion to the cause of Innocent II. And here again history attests that it was the influence of the Abbot of Clairvaux and the fame of his transcendent virtues, which were the determining motives of this accession to the party of the lawful Pope.

In October, 1131, Innocent II. held the Council of Rheims, in which all these sovereigns renewed their homage to him, thus practically condemning the schismatic Anacletus. In this Council, Louis VI., who was still plunged in grief for the loss of his son, cut off suddenly by a tragic death, as St. Bernard had foretold, caused the Pope to crown his second son, Louis VII. This solemn ceremony reminded all present of the prophetic warning given to a tyrannical king, and of the crimes against the Church, which drew down on royalty such an awful punishment.

That same year the Pope visited Clairvaux, wishing not only to give the Abbot a public testimony of his gratitude, but to see with his own eyes an establishment of which universal fame spoke such wonders.

The monks came forth to meet the splendid pontifical cortege, and it was a sight which neither Innocent nor his companions could ever afterward recall without the deepest emotion. At Clairvaux, monastery and church were spacious enough to contain the ever-increasing family, from which, as from a teeming hive, swarms of holy religious were continually issuing, bearing with them wherever they settled the sweet odor of Christ and the supernatural spirit of self-sacrifice received from the lessons and examples of their saintly parent. From the lowly gates of the great monastery, Innocent II. beheld issuing to meet him a long train of white-robed monks, who, with eyes never raised from the ground, chanted the prescribed anthems of the ritual, and welcomed him as the one who came to them in the name of the Lord. There was in the sacred songs sung in Clairvaux nothing resembling our harmonized nineteenth century music. But the Gregorian music

of anthem, psalm and hymn was the echo of Eastern harmonies coming from far-distant ages, reminding one of St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Martin of Tours, of St. Benedict and St. Maur. The grave and unearthly melody lifted the soul upwards, and as one looked upon the pale, emaciated, spiritualized and love-lit features of the singers, with their downcast eyes and angelic modesty, one thought not of earth but of heaven, and fancied that the life here led was indeed supernatural.

At the head of the white-robed procession was borne aloft a cross composed of a knotted pole with a transverse arm of the same wood and shape. There was no sculptured image of the Crucified. His likeness was deeply impressed on the heart and the life of every one of these blessed solitaries. Aye, blessed, and most blessed, in very truth were they deemed and called by those who looked on them as on some vision of the regions nearest Paradise!

They lead the Pontiff to the Church. There, too, everything his eye rests upon is unlike anything ever yet seen in such holy places. The walls are naked; the very altars speak of poverty. Their sole ornament is a simple crucifix, reminding the beholder of the God of Calvary, the Guest of our Tabernacles. The stalls for the monks are made of rough planks, and so are the benches on which they support themselves during the long psalmody. Everything is wanting in their sanctuary in the wilderness, save the one TREASURE which is to the inmates all in all, their Emmanuel, the God ever with them to inspire them continually to higher aims and holier deeds, and to give them by His abiding presence the foretaste of the everlasting possession.

"Joy filled all hearts on that day," says Ernaldus in his "Life of St. Bernard."¹ "It was a great feast in the Abbey. But it was not one celebrated by the fare usual in worldly banquets. The bread on the tables was made of coarse flour. The wine was thin and sour. Instead of turbot the dishes contained the vegetables grown in the monks' garden. Before the Pope was placed a poor fish that had been sent from a distance and which no one remarked."

Innocent could not restrain his admiration. Clairvaux surpassed all that he had heard of monastic austerity and religious heroism. He could not leave it without recording his grateful sense of the Abbot's services. He drew up on the spot a bull conferring on the Cistercians special privileges which Bernard neither asked for nor could decline.

"It is to thee, Bernard," the Pontiff says, "it is to thy invinci-

¹ Letter 352.

ble constancy and zeal in the dark days of schism; it is to the courage shown by thee in defending our Israel; it is to the authority begotten of thy influence, bringing back to the fold of Peter kings, princes, and all powers ecclesiastical and secular, that we owe the triumph of the Church and the peace of the Holy See."¹

The work accomplished up to that moment by the Abbot of Clairvaux was only half the work yet to be done, to extinguish the schism totally.

Innocent II. returned to Italy in the spring of 1132, taking St. Bernard with him, much against the will of the latter, and to the great regret of the monks of Clairvaux. The Pope relied on the solemn promise of the Emperor-elect Lothaire, who was, at the head of an army, to expel Anacletus from Rome, to restore Innocent to his See, and to receive from the hands of the latter the imperial crown. But the Pope relied more on the preternatural influence exercised by the Abbot of Clairvaux than on the support of the German armies.

The anti-Pope had for his allies Roger of Sicily and his Normans, the Republic of Milan, whose archbishop, Anselmo di Pusterla, had warmly espoused the cause of the schismatics, and the powerful Roman barons devoted to Anacletus, and who counted numerous adherents among the nobles of the Free Cities of Italy. Florence, Bologna and Siena were still to be won, and far more important was it to gain the maritime republics of Pisa or Genoa, whose fleets swept the Mediterranean.

Innocent rightly believed that the very appearance in Italy of the saintly Abbot of Clairvaux would act like a spell on the populations,—that the prestige of his sanctity and of the miracles which he wrought everywhere, much more than his marvellous eloquence, would overcome all opposition and secure the triumph of the Holy See.

And the event justified the hopes of the Pontiff. Piedmont and Piacenza gave Innocent and his companion an enthusiastic welcome. Pisa opened her gates to them, and pledged to the exiled Pope a fidelity that never afterwards wavered. Genoa, meanwhile, watched with no friendly eye the proceedings of her neighbor and rival. The adhesion of Pisa to the cause of Innocent was, in the state of feeling which then prevailed, a good reason why Genoa should declare for Anacletus.

To prevent such a calamity, Bernard hastened to Genoa. His progress along the Riviera was what might have marked the advance of an archangel had one come down visibly from heaven to visit the northern shore of the Peninsula. The proud Genoese restrained at first their true feelings. The Saint was received re-

spectfully, joyfully even, but there was a shade of distrust in the popular joy. No sooner, however, did the white frock of the Cistercian show itself in the pulpit of the Cathedral, no sooner did the pale, emaciated features of the man of God look down on the rapt multitude beneath, than the usual spell began to work. His words fell like electric sparks on the hearts of his hearers.

The fame of his sanctity, as well as that of his learning, had long ago crossed the Alps. Learned men Italy possessed in abundance. But the very appearance of Bernard brought with it the conviction that he was one of God's messengers, sent to bring peace to troubled souls, and to make peace as well between warring peoples. Nevertheless, the Abbot of Clairvaux, accustomed to thoroughly instruct his audience, whether in his own monastery or in the cities of France and Germany, on the great truths he expounded, had resolved to enlighten the Genoese on the true origin of the existing schism, and the grounds on which Pope and anti-Pope rested their claims to the obedience of Christendom. Three times each day he called the citizens to the Cathedral. It needed not many days' labor to convince them who was the rightful Pontiff.

Having gained this first victory, the Saint profited by the enthusiasm and veneration manifested by the multitude to bind Pisa and Genoa together by a true sisterly feeling. The chords of brotherly charity in these Christian hearts, touched by the hand of a saint, break forth in divinest harmony. The prisons in which the captive soldiers of Pisa have so long languished, unransomed and despairing, are at once thrown open. Genoa can refuse nothing to Innocent II. and his eloquent representative.

Innocent, on his side, raises the See of Genoa to Archiepiscopal rank. The occupant of the See, carried away by the current of generosity which sweeps over the warlike city, declares that he will vacate his position, and asks the Abbot of Clairvaux to take his place. The people, moved by the spontaneous act of their Bishop, with one voice demand of the saintly Abbot to be the first Archbishop of Genoa, and close the gates of the city lest he should escape the honor thus thrust upon him. It is all in vain. Friends who appreciate the Saint's humility help him out of this new danger. And he returns to Pisa to receive the grateful thanks of the Pope and the citizens.

It is, for us especially, who have so lately visited Pisa and Genoa, studying their annals and examining the splendid monuments of the bygone days of Catholic living faith, of heroic and fruitful liberty inspired by faith, unspeakably sad to think of what these two glorious little republics were in 1132 and what they are to-day. We cannot read without emotion the noble letter which St.

Bernard hastened to write to the Genoese on his safe arrival in Pisa :

"With what blessed results for the Church my mission to you has been attended," he says. "With what demonstrations of honor you received and treated me during my too brief stay. . . . May the Almighty take on Himself to repay you. For how can I make you a fitting return for that love of yours so full of reverence, trust and devotion. . . . O happy days that have passed away all too rapidly ! No, indeed, never can I forget you, devoted people, great-hearted commonwealth, illustrious city ! . . .

"I had come to sow the good seed among you. See what an abundant harvest has come of it. A single day, as it were, has witnessed the scattering of the seed and the ripening of the grain. It was such a blessed mission, bringing to the exile and the prisoner the hope of recovering their liberty and beholding once more their native land ; a mission which filled our adversaries with dismay, which covered the schismatics with confusion, while it was fruitful in glory to the Church and happiness to the nations.

"What remains to me now to do, O beloved ones, but to exhort you to persevere. Perseverance alone, as you know, secures the glory won by the brave of heart and the crown due to the heroic. . . . Treasure up jealously, therefore, the teachings to which you listened with so much fervor.

"Foster peace with your brethren of Pisa. Continue in your obedience to the Pope. Be faithful to the Emperor, and careful to promote the glory of your city. . . . Should you enter upon warlike enterprises, let them not be directed against your neighbors or your friends. Attack rather the enemies of the Church. Then shall your conquests be both more glorious and more just. May the God of peace and love be ever with you."¹

Meanwhile, Anacletus, the better to secure the support of Roger II., of Sicily, gave over or guaranteed to the latter, by the treaty of Avellino, the possession of Sicily and of all southern Italy, together with Capua and Naples.² Conrad of Hohenstauffen, the rival of Lothaire, who was also pledged to the anti-Pope, had received the Iron Crown of Italy, at Monza and Milan, from the hands of Archbishop Anselmo. So the odds stood formidable in the Peninsula in favor of the Schism. And when Lothaire crossed the Alps, in August, 1132, with his German army, this only amounted to a body of 2000 cavalry. Verona closed its gates against him as he arrived in the plains of upper Italy, and Cremona only received him to insult and deride himself and his escort.

Innocent and St. Bernard joined the Emperor-elect at Roncaglia,

¹ Letter 129.

² Chevallier, i., 260.

and the little army set out for Rome, while the united fleets of Genoa and Pisa watched the mouths of the Tiber to prevent the Sicilians from landing any forces along the coast. The anti-Pope, terrified by the approach of Lothaire, shut himself up in the Castle Sant Angelo, leaving the rest of the city to Innocent and his ally.

Thus it happened that Lothaire was crowned Emperor by the Pope at St. John Lateran on the fourth of June. This was all Lothaire wanted. He forthwith set out for Germany, leaving the Pope to face his enemies singlehanded. Unwilling to shed the blood of his own people, the lawful Pontiff returned at once to Pisa. There, at least, he would be safe from the attacks of the schismatical Italians. And there the Abbot of Clairvaux left him until the spring-tide of 1134.

Innocent had convened a council in Pisa with the well-founded hope that the deliberations of such an assemblage would contribute to put an end to the scandalous division in the Church. The King of France, however, would not allow the prelates of his kingdom to obey the summons of the Pope. He fell back on the pretension of the Byzantine Emperors, that to the secular power belonged the privilege of assembling such councils. It was a claim as old as Cæsarism itself, both ancient and modern, that the Church is the servant of the State, and that both Pope and bishops should act, meet, deliberate and legislate only in conformity with the Imperial or Royal will. Here again St. Bernard stepped in to enlighten Louis VI., and to dissuade him from his purpose.

The Council of Pisa met on May 30, 1134. The Abbot of Clairvaux, who had faced and accomplished gigantic labors since he had parted with the Pope toward the close of 1132, hesitated not to cross the Alps once more, and to be at the Council of Pisa what he had been in those of Troyes and Rheims, the oracle of the assembled Fathers. Pope and Bishops seemed to have as much reverence for the man of God as the lowliest priest and layman. In the Council he spoke while all listened. Outside the Council, the monastery where he lodged was besieged night and day by the multitudes who came from far and near to consult him, to lay before him the wants and sores of soul and body.

"How describe the worshipful veneration of which he was the object," says his biographer, Ernaldus. "The crowd of persons ever anxious to see him was so great that the priests themselves had to wait the whole night at his door in order to be received in their turn. There was no end to those who went in and came out. So that this man, the very embodiment of humility, who would not allow that he was worthy of any honor, was not only burdened

with the affairs of the Church universal, but held as one clothed with the loftiest secular power."¹

Then it was that Bernard resolved to extinguish the schism by facing its partisans in their chief strongholds. Clothed with the title of Legate á latere, and accompanied by two Cardinals and the Bishop of Chartres, he sets out for Milan. Here, again, the fame of his sanctity and the miracles which attested it preceded him at every stage of his journey. It was in vain that the powerful feudal nobles, who followed the leadership of Anselmo di Pusterla, tried to stir up the populations against the envoys of Innocent II. The popular heart, whose instincts in divining and acknowledging genuine holiness in man or woman, are infallible, had already been won. How could Bernard perform the prodigies which marked his every footstep on both sides of the Alps if God were not with him?

At his approach all Milan went out to greet him. The nobles and clergy were carried away in the stream of popular enthusiasm. He is soon surrounded by the worshiping crowd. The nearest kiss his hands, his feet, the very hem of his garments. Those farther off kneel and beseech his blessing. Nay, when he comes down from horseback, the pressure is so great that his cloak having fallen off it is immediately seized upon and torn into fragments by the crowd, "who," says his historian, "draw out the very threads of the cloth in order to bear home with them something that has belonged to the Saint."

Of course, under such circumstances it needed no long discourse to persuade the Milanese republicans that the cause for which the Abbot of Clairvaux was sent to them was the cause of God, that of the Church, that of the lawful Pope.

The very day after his arrival is marked by the miraculous cure of a woman who, for seven entire years, had been a prey to the terrible, demoniacal sufferings described in the Gospel. She had been brought into the presence of St. Bernard by a crowd of her fellow-citizens, who earnestly besought him to have pity on her. He at first hesitated, says his biographer, but seeing the ardent faith of the people around him, he knelt in prayer, and they knelt with him. The woman was cured instantaneously.

Another extraordinary cure was effected in the Basilica of St. Ambrose, and in the presence of the worshippers who filled it.

Anselmo di Pusterla had fled from the city. The Milanese, whose avidity to hear and see the holy man, drew the citizens of every degree and attached them to his footsteps, now began to wish that God might give them for chief pastor one whose golden elo-

¹ Erialdus, lib. ii., cap. 2, n. 8.

quence and miracles reminded them of their own great St. Ambrose. One day when he was celebrating some solemn office in the Church of San Lorenzo, a voice suddenly shouted, "Bernard, Bernard for our Archbishop!" The cry was taken up by all present, and there was no stilling it. At length, the Saint told them that on the morrow they should have his decision. He should mount on horseback in their presence and leave the animal he rode to go his own way. If he remained in the city then they should be gratified. If the animal left the city behind, then they must be content to seek another man for their prelate.

On the morrow the animal the Abbot of Clairvaux rode started off at full gallop toward the gate leading to Pavia. The people, disappointed, bewailed their loss; but they remained true to Innocent II.

Bernard was to return later to the noble city of St. Ambrose, and to meet with a still more triumphant reception. But the image of the white-robed man of God, with his etherealized features all radiant with the light of another sphere, with those modest blue eyes of his which kindled all hearts with a fire from above when he spoke to them in the name of God, was a vision which never could fade from their souls.

Pavia and the other cities of upper Italy soon followed the example of Milan. Then the Pope sent Bernard across the Alps to Germany to reconcile Conrad and the other Hohenstauffen princes with the Emperor Lothaire, and thereby to extinguish in that country the last embers of the schism. From Germany the Saint was recalled to Pisa, his journey, going and returning, being one continuous series of ovations, marked everywhere by the conversion of sinners, by the revival among the people of a living faith and practical piety.

Innocent II., after the successful accomplishment of the Saint's mission to Germany, yielded to his entreaties and permitted him to return for a time to his beloved Clairvaux. But his path through Lombardy and Switzerland was beset by the eager multitudes whom the report of his passage drew together from every side. Flocks in the plains and herds high up on the flowery Alpine slopes were forsaken by their guardians, who could not, would not forego the opportunity of seeing the Messenger of God to the Christendom of the twelfth century. No one will be surprised to learn that in that distant age of bad roads slow travelling and intolerable hardships in traversing a whole continent, the worn-out frame of the Abbot of Clairvaux should have succumbed to all this succession of labor and endless journeyings.

In very truth as he left Geneva and turned himself toward Burgundy and Champagne, Bernard, scarcely able to keep his seat

on horseback with the aid of his companions, looked more like a dying man than one who had any prospect of living through the long years of trial which might await a man of forty-three.

Among his companions on this memorable return to Clairvaux was another Bernard, a Canon of Pisa, who yearned for the solitude and austerities of the Valley of Bitterness, and whom we shall presently meet again as Pope Eugenius III.

The monastery of Clairvaux was now too narrow for the numbers which the fame of its Abbot and the holy thirst for suffering and sanctity which he had kindled in the souls of the *élite* of the European youth, had attracted to the angelic life of the Cistercians. Besides, the site first chosen for the monastery was both insalubrious and unfavorable to the wide culture necessary toward feeding a large community of monks. So, yielding to the solicitations of the most experienced of his companions, Bernard consented to accept from the Count of Champagne another site with a wider range of cultivable lands and a better soil, and the second Clairvaux was built where the State Prison of that name stands in the France of 1890-91.

The half-hearted support given by the German Emperor to the lawful Pope and the powerful aid given, on the other hand, by Roger of Sicily to that of the anti-Pope, prolonged the schism till the death of Anacletus in the beginning of 1138. Meanwhile the Abbot of Clairvaux labored unceasingly to make of the new monastery built for himself and his community a spiritual paradise more marvellous even and more fragrant with the bloom of every supernatural virtue than had been their first blessed abode in the Vale of Bitterness. During these years of comparative repose the Saint, among other instructions daily delivered to his brethren, commented for them the Canticle of Canticles, with an elevation and purity of thought, with a most perfect chasteness of diction, which are worthy of the admiration of all ages. These sermons, preserved for us and all time by the painstaking monks of Clairvaux, should serve as a model to all commentators of Scripture, who presume to treat of the mysteries of Christ's love for His Church, and of the return made to Him for His unspeakable charity by that Church and by the privileged souls on whom He vouchsafes to bestow the divinest graces of His predilection. We have seen certain treatises of mystical theology and certain biographies of modern saints written with such a total disregard of what is due to innocent and virginal souls among their readers, that it is hard to look upon their books in any other light than that they are a calamity.

The sermons of St. Bernard, a Doctor of Holy Church and the last of the Fathers, ought to satisfy even the most learned, and

teach the most experienced in spirituality how to treat holily of the holiest things.

Toward the middle of 1137 the Emperor Lothaire, whose title was challenged by the warlike and skilful King of Sicily, resolved to return to Italy with an army which should bear down all resistance, while compelling Roger II. and his adherents to do homage to the Imperial Crown and to acknowledge Innocent II. as the sole legitimate Pontiff. This would, the Emperor thought, end all divisions in Church and State. But Lothaire, ever intent on obtaining from the Pope the concession of the right of *investiture* and such privileges as would leave the spiritual power at the mercy of the temporal, was determined to wrest from Innocent II. in his extremity the rights so long contested or denied. This, Innocent was well apprised of, and as St. Bernard had been the most efficient auxiliary of the Holy See in defeating Lothaire's former pretensions, so the Saint was now summoned once more to Italy. This time also Bernard's presence in the opposite camps, and his eloquence in dealing with the churchmen, statesmen and warriors who upheld the cause of Anacletus served most efficaciously, under the divine blessing, toward the victory of right and the pacification of the Church.

In the last battle between the Sicilian and the Imperial forces, the Abbot of Clairvaux betook himself to a neighboring monastery, where he ceased not to pray, till, against all expectations, the Sicilians were utterly routed. The victory was attributed, on both sides, to the prayers of the Saint, who also prevailed on King Roger to have the rival claims of Pope and anti-Pope discussed in public conference at Salerno. There, again, the eloquence of St. Bernard, inspired by his ardent faith, triumphed over the arguments of Peter of Pisa, the great orator of the schismatics, whose wonderful discourse seemed to have carried away the very supporters of Innocent.

No one ventured to reply to the Saint, who, taking Peter of Pisa by the hand, led him to the feet of the lawful Pope. Roger of Sicily still hesitated, when the death of Anacletus, forsaken by his own partisans, ended this long schism of eight years' duration. The anti-Pope, Victor IV., whom the schismatic Cardinals selected in the place of Anacletus, soon gave up his pretensions, and was pardoned by Innocent.

"On the eighth day after Pentecost," writes St. Bernard to his brethren of Clairvaux, "God crowned all my wishes, by giving unity to the Church and peace to Rome. On that day, all who had favored the schism of Pietro de Leone (Anacletus) came to kneel before the pope, and swear to him fidelity and obedience. . . . What joy this event caused the Roman people! For some time past I had foreseen this issue. And the hope of it kept me

far away from you. Nothing now requires me to stay in Rome. . . . So I return to you. I leave this rewarded for all my labors. Christ has conquered, and the Church is pacified."¹

The General Council of Lateran, held by the Pope in 1139, fulfilled one of the most cherished desires of the Abbot of Clairvaux, the reform of the clergy. If one looks back from the year 1139, down to the days of Constantine the Great, it will be seen, on perusing the acts of each succeeding Pontificate, how large a space is taken up by the records of the uninterrupted battle of the Popes and the Catholic hierarchy everywhere against the usurpations of imperial and kingly power, which, while pretending to protect the Church, labored persistently to take away from her and her ministers everything that resembled true liberty and independent action, even in spirituals. Feudalism, after the invasion of the barbarians, only contributed to make more intolerable the yoke imposed by Cæsarism. Century after century, the powers of this world practically denied to the Church the proper freedom of action essential to a society constituted by Christ Himself, and holding its authority from Him. And the Cæsarism of feudalism, which oppressed the Church, encouraged, fostered, protected in the clergy the vices condemned by the Gospel, and reproved by the decrees of the succeeding Councils.

Every Pope, during his Pontificate, had to fight with Cæsar, king, and feudal lord, for the very life proper of the Church of Christ, while his efforts to reform the morals of cloister and sanctuary met with invincible resistance from the great of this world, whose sons were thrust, perforce, into all high stations and offices of honor and emolument. The Pope, during each successive reign, was like a man continually called to defend his house against brigands, or to extinguish the flames kindled by incendiaries. What time or opportunity had he to attend to its external or internal beauty and order, when his whole strength was wasted in repairing the breaches committed by the foe, in protecting the lives and liberty of his family, and in keeping a roof above them?

When Innocent II., after getting possession of Rome and extinguishing a long and disastrous schism, attempted to reform the clergy, he met with but little assistance from the reigning sovereigns of Christendom.

While the Council of Lateran was sitting in the cathedral church of the Popes, the king of Sicily, relieved from the presence of the Imperial armies, had repossessed himself of the kingdom of Naples and all southern Italy, and was threatening Rome itself and the patrimony of St. Peter.

Innocent II., who, it must be said, was getting tired of the aid and counsels of St. Bernard, collected an army, marched against

¹ Letter 317, quoted by Chevallier.

the Sicilian monarch, who took the Pope prisoner, and wrung from his captive an acknowledgment of his sovereignty over all the dominions held by his arms.

But even then, Roger proclaimed openly that in submitting to Innocent as the lawful successor of St. Peter, he was only yielding to the salutary influence exercised over him by the words and saintly example of the Abbot of Clairvaux. He solicited from the Pope the favor of having a colony of Cistercians in Sicily, and Innocent willingly yielded to his prayer.

Thus Sicily was blessed, as Portugal had lately been, as Milan and all Lombardy would soon be, by the possession of these sons of St. Bernard, who would effect at Alcobaça, Chiaravalle, and Morimondo, what they had achieved in the Valley of Bitterness—make the desert bloom like the springtide of Eden, and fill the cloister with the virtues of the angelic spheres. Now is the time to tell a too forgetful age that it is to the Cistercian recluses that Lombardy, and all upper Italy, owe the culture which transformed the land from a marshy wilderness and unproductive upland waste into a region of waving cornfields and fruitful vineyards, literally flowing with milk and honey; the home of agriculture, and every peaceful industry, where a faithful, pious, liberty-loving people made every foot of God's earth beautiful, every one of their cities the cradle of learning, art, and song, every one of its teeming homes the dwelling of laborious, thrifty, contented freemen. Let Cesare Cantù teach Europe what it owes to the sons of St. Bernard; Mariana and his brother-historians will also tell us what marvellous changes in agriculture, even, these poor, despised monks wrought in the Portugal of Affonso-Henriquez, as well as in the Sicily of Roger II.

If there is decay in France, in Italy, in Spain, and Portugal, the historian may trace the beginning and progress of such decay to the decline of the virtues which St. Bernard and his glorious disciples taught by word and example, wherever they were left free to exercise an influence the most salutary ever felt by the generations of mankind.

It is the influence of the supernatural Gospel virtues. Let governments favor and foster to-morrow the men who inherit the spirit of St. Bernard, and you will see Burgundy, Champagne, and all France, renew their Christian youth, and repeat the heroic achievements of the twelfth century. Let the divine freemasonry of self-sacrifice be allowed to do its work in the Italian and the Iberian peninsulas; let Christian Faith, and Hope, and Charity, be encouraged once more to speak to our modern generations of toilers, to elevate their aims and their lives above the low level of the prevailing naturalism and egotism, and the world shall behold beautiful Italy repeating the history of her mediæval wonders; Spain and Portu-

gal reascending to the level of the prosperity and greatness from which they fell by allowing irreligion to poison all the springs of their social life.

Distant Ireland, at the western extremity of Europe, had heard long before 1138 of the fame of St. Bernard. And Ireland, since the days of St. Patrick, had never ceased to yearn for that supernatural life with which the name of Clairvaux was identified.

During the summer of 1138, the successor of St. Patrick, Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, knocked one day at the gate of the new Clairvaux. He was on his way to Rome to ask the pallium from Innocent II., the successor of that Celestine who, in the fifth century had sent Patrick to evangelize the Celts of Erin. On his way through Gaul, the venerable pilgrim had turned aside to the abode of St. Bernard, drawn to that great kindred soul by the magnetism of sanctity. Malachy also hungered and thirsted insatiably for that life of sublime self-sacrifice taught and practiced in Clairvaux. The first meeting of the two Saints bound their souls together in a friendship which was to live forever.

From Clairvaux the Archbishop sped to Rome buoyed up by a great hope. He besought Innocent II. to allow him to lay aside the burden of his episcopal dignity and to become at Clairvaux the last and lowliest of the Cistercian novices. But Innocent knew too well how much Ireland, so long desolated by the heathen and ferocious Danes, and even in 1138 still coveted by the Northmen who had conquered England, needed such holy pastors as Malachy. So his petition was refused. One consolation was left the great Archbishop as he returned, disappointed but submissive, to his church beyond the seas, that he might soon possess in the Isle of Saints a colony of Cistercians. For this purpose, on arriving in Armagh, he selected among the clerical youth around him several of the most fervent and promising, whom he sent to Clairvaux. There they were carefully trained by the great master of spiritual life, and when they had made their religious profession, they were sent back to Malachy with the blessing of his friend. How it fared with them, and what plentiful fruit they bore on that soil, where all the flowers of holiness blossom and ripen under God's most special grace, we need not tell the reader.

Malachy, ere he quitted Clairvaux, had obtained permission to wear the white Cistercian robes. He had always emulated in his conduct the virtues which distinguished Citeaux. In 1148 St. Malachy, who still yearned for the life of the cloister and the companionship of his twin soul, St. Bernard, once more reappeared at Clairvaux. This time the Archbishop of Armagh was sustained by a new hope. There then sat on the chair of Peter Eugenius III., that same Bernard of Pisa whom the Abbot of Clairvaux had formed with such fatherly care till he sent him to Rome at the head

of the colony of Cistercians whom the Pope wished to establish in the Eternal City. On Bernard of Pisa the choice of the Sacred College fell in 1145, at the death of Lucius II.

Would not a Cistercian Pope, the favorite disciple of the Abbot of Clairvaux, favor the suit of Malachy, and allow him to end his days in the cloister where Eugenius had himself spent his happiest days?

The yearning of the gentle Irish saint was to be satisfied at length, though in a way he little anticipated. He arrived in Clairvaux footsore and wearied. The joy of meeting his friend, the more than brother of his soul, and the happiness of breathing once more an atmosphere redolent of Heaven, made the aged prelate forget, at first, the fatigues of his long journey across sea and land. But the end had come for him. One supreme happiness on this side of the grave was vouchsafed him,—to die clothed with the white tunic of Clairvaux, with St. Bernard by his side, and ministered to in his last hours by the loving hands of those whom he had longed to call by the sweet name of brothers.

On the very evening of the day which witnessed the departure from earth of that saintly soul, the Abbot of Clairvaux made of this most edifying death the subject of his homily to the monks:

"We must see a special design of Providence in His permitting Malachy to die in our midst," the Abbot says. "It was by a favor of Heaven that he thus fulfilled the wish so often expressed of closing his life here. He came from the ends of the earth to put off his mortal coil in this house. This was the secret hope which he so fondly cherished when he set out on the long journey that ended at Clairvaux.

"On his arrival we welcomed him as if he were God's angel, so deep was the veneration which the holy man inspired. He, on his side, impelled by his charity and his characteristic modesty and gentleness, lavished on us the marks of a friendship which we did not deserve. . . .

"It remains for us to deplore the cruel death which, in cutting off this one man, inflicts such a loss on the whole Church. Cruel indeed and pitiless is death which causes our tears to flow so abundantly; blind and undiscerning is that death which froze the tongue of Malachy, paralyzed his feet, struck down his hands, and closed forever these eyes which were wont to fascinate the sinner and draw him to the sweet joys of repentance. These blessed hands of his never ceased from austere labor save when they offered up in sacrifice the Victim of our salvation, or were raised in supplication toward the throne of mercy. Blessed hands, that showered so many graces on the sick and the needy, and were the instruments of so many miracles. Blessed feet, so beautiful on the hills of Erin as they bore everywhere the Gospel of Christ; feet so often

wearied with their apostolic journeyings, and whose prints on the earth we should kiss with devout rapture. Blessed those priestly lips which were the guardians of knowledge; blessed the mouth of the just man who meditated science ere he poured forth its treasures, and blessed the tongue whose every utterance was a benediction and a consolation. . . .

"Let us congratulate, O brethren, this father of ours as it now becometh us. If filial piety impels us to weep over Malachy dead, a higher piety should prompt us to rejoice with Malachy living. Yes, he truly liveth. He is everlastingly the fellow-citizen of the saints, and the most happy inmate of God's own household on high."¹

We have in this extract a sample of the style of St. Bernard's addresses when some great loss deeply touched his heart, and made it pour forth in unpremeditated eloquence the sentiments which filled it to overflowing. St. Malachy had expressed before dying the wish that he should be buried in the poor, white tunic of the Cistercians, as the lowliest of the community, a member of which he had ever yearned to be. But St. Bernard would not permit the successor of St. Patrick, the Primate of a Church so renowned as that of Ireland, to be consigned to the grave like a brother of Clairvaux. The body of the Saint was clothed in pontifical vestments, a solemn funeral service was performed, and all that was earthly of Malachy was put in a tomb in the chancel of the monastery church. Later, Bernard himself, on his death-bed, directed that he should be buried by the side of Malachy. The poor, white tunic in which the Irish Archbishop died the Abbot of Clairvaux kept for himself as a relic and a treasure beyond price. When in August, 1153, five years after the death of his friend, the great Doctor of the twelfth century, lay at death's door, the brilliant light of God's House upon earth as it was about to be extinguished forever, Bernard asked for the tunic of Malachy, was clad in it, and in it received the last Sacraments of the Church, and breathed his gentle and mighty spirit into the bosom of his Maker. Who can doubt that Malachy's glorified spirit stood invisibly by that bedside; by the side of the hard pallet on which expired the most wonderful man ever born within the limits of ancient Gaul or modern France?

By the side of St. Malachy's tomb the weeping monks of Clairvaux raised another for their great parent. Both shrines were in the very shadow of the Altar on which Christ descended in the morning sacrifice, and on which He dwelt in His sacramental Presence evermore. Both tombs were the united object of veneration to the inmates of the monastery and the population far and wide.

¹ Sermon on the day of St. Malachy's death, nn. 3-5.

The two sepulchres were rifled by the French Revolutionists of 1793, and their contents cast forth into one indiscriminate heap. Thus the ashes of the saintly dead were mingled together. A pious monk of Clairvaux, however, gathered up these precious remains, which, after various vicissitudes, are now enshrined in the not far distant church of Ville-sous-La Ferté. Several well-authenticated portions of the relics of St. Bernard, together with what time has spared of the hard pallet on which he died, and a portion of the chasuble worn by him at the altar, are at present enclosed in a magnificent shrine at Fontaine-les-Dijon.

As we mentioned in a preceding article, the heads of both St. Malachy and St. Bernard belong to the Cathedral Church of Troyes, where pilgrims venerate them side by side in the same beautiful reliquary.

Are not these remains of the saints a pledge that France and Ireland shall ever be united in the Faith, and united as well in undying friendship? Shall we not believe that no violence of the persecutor, no length of time, shall ever extinguish in the Green Isle or the Kingdom of St. Louis the religion glorified by the lives of St. Malachy of Armagh and St. Bernard of Clairvaux?

O sister nations, bound to each other through the centuries by the ties of a love God-given, who shall separate you now from HIM or from each other? O Churches, united so long by sympathies stronger than those of blood or earthly interest, how the hearts of your exiles go forth to you from beyond the seas in the deep and bitter trials which assail you. A thousand grateful and glorious memories ever live in the land of St. Malachy recalling what France did or dared for Ireland in the darkest hours of her need. The very mention of France has still power to move the Irish heart. Nor has the decline of the Catholic faith among so many Frenchmen killed in their souls the traditional sympathy with suffering Ireland. But among the believing millions of St. Bernard's countrymen the love of Catholic Ireland, ever suffering and ever true to the ancient faith, is still a religion for the French heart in its incomparable generosity.

Oh! that the clouds of distress were lifted from sorely-tried Ireland in the year of grace 1891, instead of lowering so terribly on a people threatened chronically with famine and extermination; how gladly would the children of the Green Isle flock to France to celebrate the eighth centenary of St. Bernard's birth. How they, too, would glory in contributing to restore to somewhat of its former splendor the Sanctuary at Fontaines-les-Dijon, where was born the great son of the Blessed Alèthe de Montbard and Blessed Tescelin-le-Roux.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.

1. "Le Grand Schisme d'Occident d'après les documents contemporains déposées aux archives secrètes du Vatican : par M. l'abbé Louis Gayet, chapelain de Saint Louis des Francais. Tomes I.-II., Les Origines." Florence and Berlin, 1889.
2. "Conciliengeschichte nach den Quellen bearbeitet : von Carl Joseph von Hefelé : Band VI. ; zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, besorgt von Dr. Alois Knöpfler. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1890.

BENEDICT XIV. does not hesitate in his work on the "Canonization of the Saints"¹ to attach to the Popes who resided in Avignon during the deplorable schism of the West the stigma of *Pseudo-pontificum Avenionensium*. Had the great Lambertini thus pronounced in his capacity of Head of the Church speaking *ex cathedra*, we should acquiesce very cheerfully in a judgment which is historically probable; and we should conclude with Palma (c. 32) and the body of Italian historians, that "there is no longer any doubt that Urban VI. was legitimately elected," and that "unquestionably the line of lawful Pontiffs has been continued through him and his successors." But since Benedict XIV. wrote his immortal work as a private theologian, his views on the controversy are worth no more than are the arguments with which he enforces them; and in our humble opinion his arguments tell rather against him. For, first, if Martin V. had regarded Bonifacius IX. or John XXIII. as lawful Popes he would scarcely have proceeded *ad cautelam* to a third canonization of St. Bridget; and, second, if Pius II., at a period considerably later, had been as certain about the lawful succession as Benedict professes to be, why should he have pronounced it providential that the canonization of St. Catharine of Siena had been postponed until the re-establishment of peace?

"The darkness is now 'dispelled,'" says Lambertini,² but what "clear light" has newly arisen to dispel it? What facts relating to the tumultuous scenes enacted in Rome in April, 1378, was he, or are we possessed of which were not equally and far more vividly and more painfully present to the perplexed minds of the

¹ Book i., c. 9, n. 10.

² "Depulsa temporum caligine, in clara luce hodie positum est, legitimum jus Pontificatus penes Urbanum VI. ejusque successores Bonifacium IX. Innocentium VII., etc., stetit." Ubi supra.

Fathers of Constance and of the doctors and canonists of the fifteenth century? As well might we say that our countrymen four hundred years from now will be in better condition than we are to pass judgment upon the contested election of Messrs. Tilden and Hayes. All that can fairly be concluded is that as time has rolled on the Italians have grown bolder and are become more and more disposed to condone and extenuate the outrageous violence concededly done by their ancestors to a sacred college composed mainly of French cardinals; and in their admiration for the old watchword, "*Romano lo volemo o Italiano*," they pass lightly over the gross illegalities committed in order to secure its triumph.

Gibbon, with his habitual "philosopher's smile," suggests that the "ordinal numbers of the popes seem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII."¹ In other words, those Popes who in after times selected the name of Urban, or Innocent, or Gregory, or even Alexander, respected the titles of the Roman and Pisan contestants, whereas the Clements and the Benedicts ignored the existence of the Popes of Avignon. But the circumstance, while it proves (that which is otherwise perfectly certain) that the Italians have consistently adhered to their first choice, Urban VI. does not constitute a dogmatic fact which can modify the state of the controversy. The catalogue of the Popes is not an official document of the Catholic Church. As Gayet justly observes, St. Leo IX. ought, properly speaking, to be called Leo VIII., for the Leo VIII. of the list was notoriously an anti-Pope. For a similar reason Boniface VIII. ought to have been called Boniface VII. (or more likely Boniface VI.).² This argument, therefore, carries no weight, nor can it have any influence upon a critical mind in forming an opinion on the question. At the time of the Council of Constance the three competitors were equally regarded as *doubtful Popes*, and *de jure* such they will most probably ever remain. The anxiety of Italian writers to snatch at hasty phrases like that of Benedict XIV. and to appeal to the vague *sensus ecclesiæ*, instead of standing firmly upon the evidence of history betrays a nervous trepidation as to the clear justice of their cause.

Indeed, to us (an American Catholic who can feel no sympathy with either Frenchmen or Italians in their petty national jealousies) it has always seemed that the weakest point in the armor of the Italians is their insisting that we should rule out of court the sworn depositions of the cardinal electors, and look upon an entire sacred college as made up of unprincipled and unscrupulous

¹ C. 70

² Gayet, p. xvii.

hypocrites, perjurers and villains. We may surely be pardoned if we pronounce that such a conclusion is revolting alike to our loyal Catholic faith and to our belief in the substantial integrity of human nature. Among them all, ward-politicians, mobs, cardinals and Papal candidates, they made a pretty mess of it, and they came as near to destroying the Church of God as it is possible for human agency to come. But give them all their due. They were all deeply in earnest. There were many sides to the question, and each party was thoroughly sincere in looking exclusively and narrow-mindedly only at *one* side. The Romans had registered a vow in heaven that the Bishop of Rome should be a Roman "*o almanco Italiano*." The sacred college was equally resolved not to submit to the dictation of an Italian mob. Urban, when elected *taliter qualiter* and enthroned, determined, in spite of his unstable foothold, that he would show himself from the very first day every inch a Pope. Such being the respective dispositions of the interested parties, what wonder is it that there ensued a "*schisma omnium schismatum, quæ ante fuerunt, pessimum et subtilissimum?*" Let us content ourselves with reproaching them all that they were not solicitous to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. But let us regard them, not as fiends, but as human beings, encompassed indeed with human weaknesses, but actuated throughout by the motives which are wont to appeal to human nature. Had not all the actors in the lamentable tragedy been so deadly in earnest the dissension might have been healed in a very short time. The turbulent conclave of 1378 was but child's play in point of confusion and disorder, if compared with many another in the preceding history of Papal elections. That which gave to this particular election its fatal distinction was the international interest which it excited. The long residence of the Popes in Avignon (so foolishly styled by many their Babylonish captivity) had vastly enhanced the dignity of the Papacy by disentangling it from the shackles of a degraded and decayed municipality and by divulging the great secret that the city of Rome was of slight importance when compared with the Church of God.¹ The "Bishop of Rome," "the Primate of Italy," the "Patriarch of the West," the "Head of the Church," had for upwards of seventy years got along wonderfully well without the "Eternal City;" but Rome had meanwhile become a veritable Ichabod,—her glory had departed. It was not her chief misfortune that she had shrunk to the humble proportions of a provincial town; that her basilicas stood roofless;

¹ Cf. Tacitus. *Histor. Lib. I., c. 4.* "*Evulgato imperii arcano posse principem alibi quam Romæ fieri.*"

and that her ancient monuments had become the lairs of wild beasts and of wilder brigands. It was a far keener humiliation that Christendom was now disenchanted respecting the eternity and indestructibility of her charms, and looked on at her frenzied and Rienzied attempts to resuscitate the defunct Mistress of the World with amusement rather than pity. This utter degradation and desolation of the capital of Christendom was the just and long-delayed retribution for the ungovernable fury and intolerable petulance of its inhabitants who seemed to grow more and more barbarous as the ages went on. A careful and minute study of the dates of papal documents has enabled Gayet to show that of the two hundred and four years which elapsed between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1304, the year previous to the election of the first Pope of Avignon, the Supreme Pontiffs had been in intermittent exile from their See for a period aggregating one hundred and twenty-two years, that is, forty years in excess of the total space of time they had spent during those two centuries in Rome. Nor did they finally abandon the city of St. Peter with the deliberate purpose not to return. When Clement V., after several migrations, established himself in Avignon, this town did not belong to the Holy See, and the Pope remained until death the guest of the Dominicans. When the septuagenarian Bishop of Avignon was chosen as Clement's successor in the Papacy, it was but natural that he should continue to reside in his humble episcopal residence, where, as John XXII. he gained immortal renown by his towering genius, his indefatigable energy and his crotchety pugnaciousness. It was only the third of the Avignonesse Pontiffs, Benedict XII., who, after making an ineffectual attempt to find a lodgment in Italy, finally ordered the erection of a new pontifical palace on the banks of the Rhone. The "captivity" of the Holy See might seem to be settled beyond redemption when the next Pope, Clement VI. purchased the sovereignty of Avignon from Queen Joan of Naples at the very time, A.D., 1348, when Rienzi was playing his mad pranks on the shores of the Tiber.

Thus, we see, it took the Popes upwards of forty years to become acclimated in Avignon, and, strange to say, they began forthwith to pave the way for a return to their ancient capital. In 1353, Pope Innocent VI. despatched the great warrior-statesman, Cardinal Alborno, into Italy with legatine powers and a small army, with the view to the restoration of order and of the Papal authority throughout the ruined patrimony of the Church. This gigantic task engaged the vigor and abilities of the legate during the nine remaining years of Innocent's pontificate. In the conclave of 1362, Alborno modestly declined the proffered tiara; and delivered up to the new Vicar of Christ a wagon-load of keys of the towns and

fortresses which he had re-conquered by his address or by force of arms. Blessed Urban V. immediately formed the design of returning to Rome; announced his intention to the Christian world in 1366; and in spite of the strenuous opposition of Charles V. of France and the murmurs of his doubting and reluctant cardinals, embarked at Marseilles on May 19, 1367. The unbounded and unbridled enthusiasm of his first reception by the Italians was soon succeeded by the usual street-brawls and faction fights, in one of which the Pope and his cardinals narrowly escaped with their lives, and in all of which they felt that the apostolic dignity was insulted and outraged. After a three years' sojourn in different parts of his dominion, Blessed Urban determined that he should endure it no longer; and, in spite of the earnest warnings of St. Bridget, he returned to Avignon and died the death of the just, December 19, 1370.

One would have supposed that this humiliating failure of a wise and saintly Pope would have effectually deterred his successors from again entrusting their personal safety and their pontifical dignity to the tender mercies of an Italian mob. Yet the very next Pontiff, Gregory XI., conceived the heroic resolution to repeat the perilous attempt. What were the considerations which influenced him? The Italian writers supply him with one set of motives, the French writers with another. Fortunate Pope Gregory! Both nations represent thee to have been a young man of sincere piety and stainless integrity. Would that the chattering tongue of gossip had dealt as lightly with the characters of all the members of thy august dynasty! And yet, what charge advanced by Italians or Protestants against the Popes of Avignon is better established than this; that Clement VI., the purchaser of Avignon, made thee a cardinal at the absurdly premature age of eighteen and loaded thee down with an accumulation of succulent benefices, simply because thou wast his nephew!

Cardinal Pierre Roger, the Italians tell us, was a man infinitely above the intellectual and moral level of his colleagues. So conspicuous were his merits that he received the unanimous votes of the Sacred College on the very first day of the conclave.¹ Roger, deploring the degradation of the Papacy and the widowhood of Rome, had made a secret vow that, in case he should be the choice of the cardinals, he would at any cost re-establish the Holy See near the tomb of the Apostle. As Gregory XI., however, he allowed this vow to slumber long in his bosom. Indeed, his first great official act was probably the most misguided and disastrous

¹ We have never been able satisfactorily to reconcile the phenomenon that the "wicked" Cardinals of Avignon almost invariably selected most excellent Popes with the great law of nature that *omne animal creat simile sibi*.

to the Church of any which has ever emanated from a Vicar of Christ; for he elevated to the Cardinalate those eighteen Frenchmen who are responsible for the Great Schism. After six years of Pontificate he was roused from his lethargy by the fervent exhortations (enforced by prophecies, revelations and miracles) of St. Catharine of Siena; and on September 13, 1376, after surmounting very formidable obstacles, he discharged his personal vow and his prime official duty by bidding, and forcing his unwilling Court to bid, Avignon an eternal farewell.

The writers of the opposite party while admitting that the words and miracles of the saintly Florentine virgin exercised a great influence upon the mind of Pope Gregory, draw our attention to the following considerations. First, it can scarcely be true that the Pope definitively abandoned Avignon; for he left behind him his Chancellor, the Cardinal of Pampeluna, and five other cardinals, viz.: Albano, Boulogne, Nîmes, Mende and St. Martial. Why did he thus imitate the prudent Jacob in dividing his flock, unless he harbored a strong presentiment that his sojourn in Rome, like that of his predecessor would be brief and stormy?¹

Secondly, although ten years is a very short period in the life of a civilized nation, yet ten years used to be amply sufficient to transform the ever-varying features of Mediæval Italy. In the year 1376 the Italy of 1366 existed no longer. The work of Albornoz was completely undone. The old tyrants, the old communes, the old factions were again in the ascendant. The provinces of the Papal states had one after another renounced their allegiance and were leagued with Florence in a bitter warfare against the legates of the Pontiff. Rome was wavering as to its political course, but had finally determined either to force the Holy Father to take up his residence in the city of St. Peter or elect a new spiritual chieftain. Pope Gregory was informed of the disposition of the Romans by the missives of his legate, the Cardinal of St. Peter, and still more impressively by a solemn embassy sent by the senate and people of Rome, whose spokesman, Luke Savelli, "exhorted, conjured and finally summoned" the Vicar of Christ to transfer the Papal court to its proper seat. That the Romans were deeply in earnest there could be no doubt. Their choice of an anti-Pope had been made; it was the powerful Abbot of Monte

¹ When Urban VI. summoned the commandant of Castle St. Angelo to surrender that fortress, the latter refused, alleging that Gregory "injunxit mihi sub pena excommunicationis et perditionis ac maledictionis suæ, nulli deberem assignare castrum sine consensu cardinalium degentium ultra montes." See his deposition ap. Gayet, I., P. J., 167. If this valiant warrior is not lying, his testimony is an interesting revelation of Pope Gregory's mental attitude; and affords a satisfactory explanation of the Pope's action in leaving his chancellor and one-fourth of the Sacred College out of the reach of the Romans.

Cassino ; and he had accepted the dubious honor, saying : " I am a Roman citizen, and place myself at the disposal of my countrymen."¹

Pope Gregory's journey to Rome was undertaken, therefore, in the estimation of Gallic writers, under far sadder auspices than that of Blessed Urban. He entered upon it with a heavy heart, compelled by dire necessity, and with the view to avert that very schism which his premature resolution made all the more disastrous and incurable. Had the Romans carried out their nefarious plan, the schism would have been circumscribed within the tottering walls of their city, and their anti-Pope would soon have wended his way to the feet of the lawful Pontiff to seek forgiveness in sackcloth and ashes. By imprudently putting himself and a majority of the Sacred College, in the power of the Roman populace, Gregory XI. became the unconscious author of evils which he lived long enough to foresee and deplore, but not long enough to prevent.

How easy it is to build historical theories, and to give useless advice to dead kings and Popes !

Pope Gregory, evidently, did not place excessive confidence in St. Catharine's political prophecy, that " his rebellious lambs would hasten to his paternal lap." He sent forward, to secure himself a foothold, an army of Bretons, estimated by different writers as between 6000 and 14,000 men, under the command of Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who was destined to figure subsequently as Clement VII.

The Holy Father arrived in Marseilles on the 22d of September, 1376, and found in waiting the squadrons of the Genoese, the Pisans, and of Queen Joan of Naples. Embarking on October 2d, he succeeded, after a very tempestuous voyage which wrecked many of his ships, in making the port of Genoa on the 18th. Detained by contrary winds, he persisted in his journey, and celebrated the feast of Christmas in Corneto, where he was met by the ambassadors of the Romans, and presented with a document assuring him the full and absolute dominion of his capital. Continuing his voyage by sea, he sailed up the Tiber and arrived in Rome, January 17, 1377. Mediæval rhetoric confesses itself unequal to the task of describing the glories of that day ; the magnificence of the pageantry ; the blare of the trumpets, drowned by the louder acclamations of a countless multitude ; the interminable procession

¹ " *Haec autem concepta malitia non latuit, quando per eorum ambaxiatores abati Cassinensi eorum concivi fuerit nunciatum ; si papatum, in casu quo per clerum et populum romanum sibi daretur, vellet accipere. Qui ultra se offerens respondit : Se civem romanum esse et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.*"—Deposition of Petr. Rostaing, ap. Gayet, I. P., G., 157 ; quoted also by Gibbon from Baluze.

of bishops and clergy, of magistrates, barons, guilds, and confraternities, all decked in their gayest ornaments of silk and gold. "Never had Rome witnessed a more solemn spectacle, never had she so great a reason to rejoice."¹

But this honeymoon of the long-widowed city was of short duration. Life was intolerably monotonous to the barons and populace of those days unless seasoned with frequent revolutions.²

The Romans speedily forgot, or regretted, their pledge to acknowledge the "full and absolute dominion" of the Pope; and whilst the Papal representative, the Senator, was the nominal executive of the city, the real power was vested in the popular Bannerets.³

Pope Gregory, who had devoted the early years of his Pontificate to the noble task of establishing harmony among the great nations of Europe, soon wearied of the undignified and barren labor of endeavoring to keep order in a city of thirty thousand unruly inhabitants, and he sighed for the quiet of Avignon all the more ardently because he felt that the painful and remorseless disease, the stone, from which he was suffering, must soon carry him to an untimely grave. Upon the approach of summer he expressed a desire to exchange the sweltering city for the purer air of Anagni; but we are informed by a Spanish prelate, then present in the Papal court,⁴ he could obtain this favor from the Romans only by promising solemnly that he would, *infallibiliter et protinus*, return to the city in the autumn. Return he did, on the 18th of October, and the Romans having heard a rumor that he had it in contemplation to go back to Avignon, resolved they would never again trust him outside of their gates. They were soon relieved of this solicitude by the alarming condition of Gregory's health. In the beginning of the fatal year, 1378, it became apparent to every one that his days were numbered.

What were thy thoughts, O venerable Pontiff, as thou layest, writhing with pain upon thy death-bed? Wast thou sensible how many weighty interests were depending from the slender thread of thy feeble life? Didst thou regard thy premature death as a divine judgment upon thee? if so, what had been thy fault? Here enter again the contending gossips of French and Italians, who have

¹ Capecelatro, Storia di S. Catarina, p. 272.

² "Ma questo sereno non durò molto. Troppo in secoli tali erano avezzi i baroni e i popoli tutti alle rivoluzioni."—Muratori, Annali d'Italia. Anno 1377.

³ These Bannerets (Lat., *bandarenses* or *banderarii*, Ital., *bandaresti*), who played so prominent a part in the conclave of 1378, were the twelve *caporioni*, or chiefs of quarters. "Hi banderarii proprio sermone a vexillis, quæ ante se gerebant, dicebantur, a quibus singulorum curiæ internoscebantur."—Ap. Du Cange sub voce.

⁴ Eymeric, inquisitor of Aragon.

sought to make capital for their cause even out of the lamentable death of this Pope, the most disastrous occurrence recorded in church history.

"When he was drawing towards his end," says the Bishop of Rieti, "and all hope of life and recovery was abandoned, he himself recognized that his untimely death was a Divine infliction; forasmuch as he had resolved to abandon his proper See."¹ So runs the Italian version.

Now hear the other side. Gerson, to point his moral that we should not be over-credulous in listening to prophecies and revelations, adduces the instance of Pope Gregory, "who learned this lesson when it was too late. For when he was on his death-bed he held in his hands the sacred Body of Christ, and admonished the assistants to beware of those, men or women, who, upon pretext of religion, wove visions out of their own heads. 'I myself,' said he, 'led astray by such persons against my better judgment, have brought the Church into imminent danger of schism, unless her merciful Spouse, Jesus, shall guard over her.'"²

We do not wish our readers to attach the slightest historical importance to either of these conflicting reports of Pope Gregory's dying sentiments. They are samples of that Plutarchian system of weaving history out of unauthenticated anecdotes, which makes fascinating reading for women and children. It is the method usually adopted by the enemies of the Church, and has been a very effective weapon in the hands of veteran heretics. A far more trustworthy revelation of Gregory's anxieties and forebodings is afforded by the bull which he promulgated the eighth day before his death for the regulation of the approaching conclave. In this document he annuls the ordinances of his predecessors regarding the mode of holding a papal election, and permits his cardinals to choose the time and place, at the discretion of the majority of those present at court, even against the will of the minority. He exhorts them to lose no time in providing the Church of God with a worthy Pastor. It is impossible to read this extraordinary decree,

¹ *Dum in extremis ageret, jamque de vita et sanitate quodam modo desperaret ipse recognovit se Dei judicio idcirco morte præveniri quoniam sedem propriam relinquere determinaverat.*" Quoted by Gayet, i., 27, from Baluze, to whose work on the Popes of Avignon we have been unable to obtain access. We take this opportunity to express our regret that our American libraries, overcrowded as they are with modern compilations, are so defective in providing the historical student with that which he chiefly desires, the original documents of the story.

² "Hic positus in extremis, habens in manibus sacrum Christi corpus, protestatus est coram omnibus ut caverent ab hominibus, sive viris sive mulieribus sub specie religionis loquentibus visiones sui capitis; quia per tales ipse seductus, dimisso rationabili consilio, traxerat se et Ecclesiam ad discrimen schismatis imminens, nisi misericors provideret sponsus Jesus." We quote the text (not having Gerson's treatise) from Capecelatro *Storia di S. Catarina*, p. 313.

which abolished the two-third's rule and the nine days' delay for the arrival of absent Cardinals, and allowed the Sacred College to select any location for the conclave, *within or without the city*, without being convinced that the dying Pontiff foresaw very clearly what a violent storm was impending. What no one foresaw, however, and what frustrated Pope Gregory's wise precautions, was the suddenness with which the storm broke out. He had fondly imagined he should survive until the autumn; before that time he should have removed his court either to Avignon or Anagni. Unfortunately, he was carried off by death on the evening of March 27th, leaving his cardinals without a programme, and without much cohesion in the midst of an organized and determined population. He was the last Frenchman who has sat in the chair of St. Peter.

Gregory's remains were not yet cold when it became patent that the magistrates, the clergy and populace of Rome had resolved upon and formulated a programme which they were bent upon carrying through at any price. The next Pope must be a Roman or, at least, an Italian. This resolution, thrown into the shape of a watchword, greeted the cardinals at every turn. It was uttered by the officers of the city with ever-increasing energy and ever-decreasing reverence; it was bellowed by the vulgar on the public squares, with significant allusions to their knives and axes; it was taken up finally by piping women and lisping infants. At first the Sacred College strove to present a bold front to this popular movement. Convening the bannerets and other city officials, the cardinals exhorted them to allay the excitement of their fellow-citizens.

It was the office of the Sacred College, they said, to select a proper Shepherd for the Church, and it should be left perfectly free and untrammelled. The cardinals could give no pledges as to nationality, for such pledges would be null and void, and the result might be disastrous. Let the Romans have patience, and they should find that the cardinals would discharge their duty in a satisfactory manner. This evasive answer only served to redouble the commotion of the Romans, and the excitement grew to a white heat, when it was reported that the French Camerlengo of the Pope, whose office it was to provide for the security of the conclave, had, in his mistrust of the Romans, dispatched secretly for the Cardinal of Geneva's Breton troops to reinforce the feeble garrison of the castle. It was only by great good fortune that the Camerlengo escaped the fury of the Romans, and found shelter behind the walls of St. Angelo, from which he never emerged until after the coronation of Urban. The next move of the bannerets was to secure all the gates and bridges of the city, nominally to guard

against the hostile Florentines, but in reality to prevent the departure of the cardinals. They also issued a proclamation commanding all the nobles to quit the city. The reason of this ordinance becomes clear when we remember that the Count of Fondi soon became the chief support of the seceding cardinals. The bondage of the Sacred College was complete when the bannerets introduced into the city several thousand mountaineers, armed to the teeth, who patrolled the streets, shouting out night and day : "*Romano lo volemo o Italiano.*"

A circumstance which brought the cardinals to the verge of despair was that, situated as they were, they were unable to unite their suffrages upon any one candidate. The sixteen cardinals who were to elect the new Pope were divided, as to extraction, into the following groups : Ten were Frenchmen, viz., the cardinals popularly known (for one reason or another) as *Limoges*, *Aigre-feuille*, *Marmoutiers*, *St. Angelo*, *St. Eustachius*, *Vernhio*, *Glandèves*, *Bretagne*, *Viviers* and *Poitiers* ; four were Italians : *St. Peter*, *Florence*, *Milan* and *Orsini* ; one was a Spaniard : *Pedro de Luna* ; and, finally, one, Cardinal *Robert of Geneva*, might be considered, owing to the peculiar situation of his native town, as a German, a Frenchman or an Italian. The French were overwhelmingly in the majority, but there was an intestine discord which left them helpless. One-half of their number were from Pope Gregory's province of Limoges, and, as the Limousins had worn the tiara, and enjoyed a preponderating influence during the last four pontificates, it was the universal opinion, even among Frenchmen, that it was time to put an end to the Limousin dynasty. No other French cardinal seems to have had any following. It was natural, under the circumstances, that the cardinals should scan their Italian colleagues, but, unfortunately, there were fatal objections against each of these. The Cardinal of St. Peter was superannuated (if we believe Froissart, he was a hundred years old) ; the Cardinals of Milan and Florence were natives of cities then at war with the Holy See ; Orsini was too young, and was, moreover, the scion of a Roman house prominently involved in all Roman disturbances and intrigues. There remained only the Cardinals of Geneva and Luna, upon the first of whom the unanimous vote of the Sacred College afterwards centred at Fondi. But Geneva was rendered ineligible by the fact that he was bitterly hated by the Romans on account of the excesses which had been committed by his Breton soldiery ; and Luna (afterwards Benedict XIII.) was a young man who, as yet, possessed no influence. The cardinals, therefore, were all at sea, and, if left to themselves, might have voted and quarrelled for months before reaching a conclusion. They were not in condition to avail themselves of Pope Gregory's concessions, or, in-

deed, to take any resolute step, and they resigned themselves to drift with the tide.

When the nine days' obsequies of the deceased Pontiff were terminated, and the time arrived for entering the conclave, they drew back, and requested a respite of twenty-four hours, hoping vainly that the crowd of uncouth mountaineers would scatter to their homes. This exhibition of weakness only aggravated their situation. The mob became more aggressive and boisterous. When, at length, on the evening of Wednesday, April 7th, the terrified cardinals betook themselves to the Vatican to enter the conclave, it was with great difficulty they forced their way through the dense throng assembled on the piazza of St. Peter's, and each elector was greeted, at sight, with the old cry: "Death or an Italian"! There was no mistaking the earnestness of the populace, and not a cardinal who entered the sacred enclosure had any prospect of issuing alive unless he obeyed the mandate of the Romans. One cardinal, Glandèves, took the precaution, before leaving his residence, to draw up, before a notary and witnesses, his protest against the violence exercised upon him, and his declaration that he regarded the coming election as illegal and void.

Fearing that the popular demonstration which they had permitted, if not organized, might be insufficient to sway the minds of the cardinals, the bannerets forced their way into the sacred precinct of the conclave, and admonished the Sacred College that unless the people were satisfied, there was no knowing how the affair would terminate. The cardinals replied, with dignity, that they could give no premature pledges without vitiating the election; let the magistrates impress upon the people the conviction that their unruly conduct might have the very opposite result to that which the Romans desired; let the people disband and return to their homes.

The people were in no humor for disbanding. A large portion of them had no homes in Rome, and bivouacked on the square. Towards midnight the mob grew hungry and thirsty, and they made an onslaught on the Pontifical cellar. Torrents of good wine were poured down their throats; rivers of it, we are told, ran flowing to the Tiber. All night long, through the corridors of the Vatican, rang the cries of a drunken mob: "Death to the French!" "Give us an Italian Pope!" We can yield a ready credence to the affirmation of the poor cardinals that, when the little bell tinkled in the conclave the next morning, they arose from weary and sleepless beds.

They arose to set about performing the most awfully responsible duty which Almighty God has entrusted to the agency of man. Assembling in their little chapel, they assisted at a Mass of

the Holy Ghost, and a second Mass of the feria. Then the Cardinal of Florence, who, in his capacity of Bishop of Porto, was the prior of the Sacred College, began to address his colleagues. But scarcely had he begun to speak when his voice was drowned by the bells of St. Peter's and the great bell of the Capitol, ringing the ominous alarm, one stroke of which was still able to bring together "above twenty thousand men."¹ The drunken mob lying about and within the Vatican sprang to their feet; and they were soon reinforced by the populace pouring in from all quarters of the city. Whether drunk or sober, whether respectable citizens or vile outcasts, the cry of the Italians was still the same: "We must have a Roman or at least an Italian Pope!" Several prelates then present in the Vatican, have testified that the cry was accompanied with menaces of death.²

Up to this point there has been but slight difficulty in disentangling the truth from the enormous mass of perverted and exaggerated testimony so laboriously gathered together by Gayet. But just here, where the tragedy rushes on to its sudden catastrophe, we are involved in gross darkness. That the violence of the mob grew more and more aggressive, until finally the populace broke into the conclave and dispersed the Sacred College, is undeniable. That, at the end of the deplorable scene, the archbishop of Bari emerged as Pope Urban VI., is equally clear. All the intermediate stages of the affair will probably never be known. We shall be obliged to take one of two sets of contradictory statements, and become Urbanists or Clementists; or else, we must imitate those who, despairing of being able to learn the truth, remained neutral. It is easy for the historian, at this late date, to declare his neutrality; but all those from whose testimony we are to learn the facts of the case were, necessarily, partisans. The Urbanists maintain, that the cardinals were exposed to no danger of life or limb until *after* the election of Urban; that they had agreed upon him before entering the conclave; that their trepidation was owing to the fact that by electing him they had disobeyed the mandate of the people who were clamoring for a *Roman*, whereas, the cardinals had chosen a man who was, in reality, more nearly allied with

¹ Gibbon, chapter 70.

² For instance, the Bishop of Assisi heard the mob yelling: "Per Deum crucifixum in conclavi habemus istos ultramontanos, et nisi romanum faciant vel italicum omnes conderemus pro frusta."

Another witness heard the following cry: "Messere le Cardinali, Romano lo volemo o almanco Italiano, se no toti quanti serete cisi, per Bacco!"

Still another: "Despachate vos, per carno de Dyo, no vulhati mori."

These depositions are interesting specimens of mediæval grammar and orthography. Evidently the era of the renaissance had not yet begun. See further testimony, ap. Gayet, i, 271.

France than with Italy.¹ The Urbanists are not unanimous in explaining why the Romans broke into the conclave. Some of them attribute it to their anger against the foreign cardinals for having elected an Italian instead of a Roman; others to a misunderstanding between the name of *Bari* and that of an obnoxious French official, John de Bar; still others maintain that they forced their way in for the sake of congratulating the Cardinal of St. Peter whom they erroneously supposed to have been elected. Their main contention, however, is that the pressure from without had no influence upon the choice of Urban, who had been freely elected before any disturbance occurred. They further maintain, that Urban's election was freed from any possible taint by the subsequent conduct of the cardinals, who voluntarily returned the next day, assured the new Pope that his election had been canonical, enthroned him, crowned him, notified their colleagues at Avignon that everything had proceeded orderly, bade the nations obey him, and by word and deed acknowledged him for their lawful sovereign during the space of three months. Their secession, say the Urbanists, was due to their dislike of Pope Urban's efforts to reform them.

Every one of these statements has been vigorously repelled by the cardinals, and, on their oath, pronounced to be false. The Clementist version of the story may be summed up as follows: The cardinals had entered the conclave fully resolved to resist the pressure of the mob and to elect some member of their college. The Roman magistrates would not allow the conclave to be walled up as prescribed by custom; and it was only after much persuasion that the cardinals succeeded in having the door secured by a wooden beam. They had not yet begun the election when the alarm was rung by the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's, followed closely by the deafening shouts and the dire menaces of the mob. The bannerets approached the two prelates who stood on guard at the door of the conclave, and begged them to inform the Sacred College of the determined attitude of the multitude, who, they said, were now beyond control. The two prelates conveyed the desired information to the Sacred College, with the admonition to lose no time in assuring the Romans that their demand would be granted. After a hasty deliberation the cardinals decided that further resistance was useless. They deputed three of their number to go to the door of the conclave and give the desired pledge. Taking advantage of the momentary calm thus procured they proceeded to discuss the possible candidates. The Italian cardinals

¹ Urban was of Neapolitan extraction, and was, therefore, the subject of Queen Joan, who was of French descent. Moreover, he had spent the better part of his life at the court of Avignon, and was favorably known to the cardinals by the ability with which he had filled the office of vice-chancellor of the Holy See.

declined to accept a nomination under the circumstances. Orsini refused to be coerced into voting at all. He suggested they should make an illusory election of some Franciscan monk, and, under cover of this stratagem, flee the city with their fictitious appointee, put the poor monk in prison, and reassemble in some spot where they should be safe from coercion. To the older heads this proposition of the young Roman appeared too radical. They deemed it preferable to select a candidate to whom they could consistently adhere unto the end.

It was incumbent on the Cardinal of Florence, as dean of the Sacred College, to make a beginning. "Since the pledge which has been extorted from us by the Romans," said he, "limits our choice to an Italian, I nominate the Cardinal of St. Peter." Next followed the Cardinal of Limoges: "The Cardinal of St. Peter," he said, "is too old and infirm to bear the burden of the Pontificate. My Lords of Milan and Florence have declined the dignity. Orsini is young and inexperienced. I, therefore, give my vote in favor of Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, *ut sit verus Papa.*" Aigrefeuille and the other Limousins followed in the footsteps of their chief. Bretagne strove to turn the flowing tide by suggesting some Italian Cardinal; but finally revised his vote, and agreed to the election of Bari. "I," said St. Angelo, "consent *taliter qualiter*; for I am acting under compulsion, and I hold that this election is invalid." "For my part," said Orsini, "I refuse to vote until the Romans mend their manners. However, I will not resist the decision of the majority." It was ultimately agreed that Bari should receive the unanimous vote of the Sacred College: they should notify him, proclaim him, and then make their escape to some safe place where they could re-elect him canonically.

This succinct narrative of the proceedings in conclave, which it has taken you, good reader, only two minutes to peruse, has been extracted by us out of an enormous mass of depositions. We are not certain, even now, that we have stated things as they really happened.

We have judged, however, that the most trustworthy account of the proceedings of the cardinals in conclave is that contained in the *Casus* drawn up in Tivoli by the Italian cardinals in July, 1378, when they were deliberating as to the course which they were in conscience obliged to pursue. They had not yet abandoned Pope Urban; but it was apparent that the more they reflected on the scenes they had witnessed the deeper grew their sense of the indignities inflicted upon the Sacred College. Let us return to the conclave.

The Archbishop of Bari was elected before noon of Thursday, April 8th. Nothing further remained for the cardinals to do than

to proclaim the result to the people. Yet they shrank from making the announcement. What had they any longer to fear? say the Urbanists. If they had chosen Bari, as they afterwards professed, solely under the influence of terror inspired by an armed mob, why did they not hasten to placate that mob by proclaiming the nominee? This embarrassing question was put to the cardinals a score of times by their adversaries; and our opinion as to the legality of Urban's election will be mainly determined by the amount of credit which we shall bestow on their answers. Those answers may be summed up as follows: They aver that when they acquiesced in the election of Bari they honestly supposed they had hit upon a happy expedient which would at the same time conciliate the threatening rioters and enable themselves to retire with some relic of dignity. The populace had clamored for a Roman or Italian. To have chosen a Roman partisan, such as the Abbot of Monte Cassino, would have been an ignominious surrender of their freedom. They fancied they manifested a great deal of spirit by yielding only half way and selecting a prelate whose reputation for probity gave them every reason to expect that he would not found any pretensions to the papacy on proceedings so clearly invalid. But to the dismay of the cardinals they discovered that the insolence of the mob was growing apace. A deputation of bannerets summoned them once more to the door of the conclave, and, after reproaching them with their tardiness, made known to them that the Roman people would not be satisfied with a mere Italian; they had concluded, upon reflection, that only the election of a Roman would secure the permanent re-establishment of the papal court in their city.¹

The cardinals, after rebuking the turbulence of the populace bade the magistrates disperse the multitude. "We promise you," they added, "that by to-morrow morning you shall have a Roman or Italian Pope." Meantime they slipped a note into the hand of the guardian of the conclave, in which they requested the immediate presence of the Archbishop of Bari and of several other Italian prelates. Bari, suspecting the true motive of his summons, took the precaution, before proceeding to the Vatican, to secure his personal effects; for it was one of the refined customs of the mediæval Romans to loot the house of each Pope-elect. When he arrived in the palace, he was, we are told, extremely shocked by the sights which met his gaze. The Vatican, surrounded and

¹ It is admitted by both parties that the Romans modified their watchword so as to exclude any but a Roman. The Urbanists maintain this was done *before* the election of Prignano; their adversaries are just as positive that it was only *subsequently* to that event. We can more readily understand of what vital importance this contention is to either side than we can decide which party is telling the truth.

invaded by drunken rioters, resembled the disorderly camp of Goths or Vandals rather than the peaceful home of the Vicar of Christ. "He himself," says the Cardinal of Florence, "confessed to us with his own mouth in Tivoli, and in the presence of witnesses, that an election thus held could possess no legal value."

Meanwhile the cardinals, having taken their dinner, re-assembled in the little chapel of the conclave to discuss whether they should announce the result immediately, or wait until the following day. One of them suggested that they should re-elect Bari *ad cautelam*. This proposition was rejected by others on the ground that the pressure upon the Sacred College still continued. Their deliberations were soon broken off by the impatience of the people, who, having somehow learned that the elect was not to be a Roman, began to pound upon the door of the conclave, shrieking: *Romano lo volemo!* Whilst the cardinals were looking about for some means of egress the door fell with a crash; and in rushed an excited multitude, brandishing their swords and shouting, *Romano! Romano!* The cardinals fled for shelter into cells and closets; but were soon brought back unceremoniously into the chapel. There is no telling how the affair would have ended had not some one (it is uncertain whether a cardinal or an attendant) cried out: "A Roman *has* been chosen, the Cardinal of St. Peter; but he will not accept." A shout of triumph rang through the palace. Forgetting the other members of the Sacred College, the Romans rushed upon the poor, gouty old man; threw the pontifical mantle about him; placed the mitre on his head; carried him bodily to the altar of the chapel; and, in spite of his protestations that "he was not the Pope, the Archbishop of Bari was Pope," they persisted in paying him homage.

The other Cardinals, taking advantage of this unforeseen diversion of their tormentors, "stood not upon the order of their going," but, some without hat or cape, some donning the first hood which came to hand, effected their escape. Had they taken the precaution, before dispersing, to fix upon a rendezvous in some safe place, where they could proceed instantly to a new election, we presume they would have retained the sympathy and allegiance of the Christian world. But just then, the thought uppermost in their minds was to provide for their personal safety. "If I am to be canonized," said one of them, "I prefer the category of the Confessors to that of the Martyrs." Four succeeded in escaping from the city. Geneva fled to Zagorolo; Orsini and St. Eustachius to the Orsini stronghold of Vicovaro; St. Angelo retired to Ardea. Six others, viz., Limoges, Aigrefeuille, Poitiers, Viviers, Bretagne, and Vernhio, disguised as pilgrims, clerics, or laymen, gained admittance into Castle St. Angelo. The Cardinal of St. Peter remained in the

Vatican. The others locked themselves within their dwellings. Such was the posture of affairs when the darkness fell upon what the Cardinal of Geneva quaintly termed "*la plus orde journée qui fut faict, passés sont deux cents ans.*" It was, indeed, a dismal day; and the passions then aroused were not allayed until the youngest actors in the lamentable tragedy had passed from this earth to stand before the judgment seat of Christ!

The Archbishop of Bari spent the night of Thursday, April 8th, in the pontifical apartment of the Vatican. He rose the next morning, a Pope unproclaimed, unenthroned, with no one authorized to proclaim or enthrone him. What you or we should have done in his position, or what he, himself, would have done had he possessed the experience which he subsequently acquired at a great cost,—these are very irrelevant questions. Whatever may have been his defects, lack of intrepidity was never attributed to him. The evening before, when the mob were bent on installing the Cardinal of St. Peter, and greeted the name of Bari with "Death to him!" he was urged by his friends to resign (an Urbanist bishop tells the story): "Resign?" he had answered, "No! not though a thousand swords were pointed at my throat."

A circumstance which had considerably ameliorated his situation was, that the Bannerets of Rome, having been apprised by the Cardinal of St. Peter that Bari had been elected, had, in a solemn assembly in the Capitol, deigned to acknowledge him, and had forced the mob to do likewise. At an early hour on Friday morning, the officials of the city came to the Vatican to present their compliments to the new Vicar of Christ. Bari declined their homage as premature. Until he had been placed upon the throne by the cardinal-electors, "absolutely nothing had been accomplished." According to the cardinals, this was a broad hint thrown out to the bannerets that they should compel the members of the Sacred College to make their appearance. Certain it is, that the bannerets were very active and persistent in their efforts to induce the cardinals to repair to the Vatican. First, they visited the five cardinals who had, on the previous evening, returned to their dwellings, viz., Florence, Milan, Marmoutier, Glandève, and Luna. These were brought, one by one, with more or less persuasion, if not coercion. It is highly improbable that five individuals, isolated in a hostile city, and ignorant alike of the fate and of the intentions of their colleagues, should have offered any great show of resistance. We should be more pleased to learn how they conducted themselves when they were united in the presence of Bari; and how they advised him, as being his official counselors. But, unfortunately, these are things we shall never be able to make out with certainty; not through the defect, but through

the abundance of depositions, directly contradictory and irreconcilable.

In the chief Urbanist document, relating the incidents of the election, it is stated that these five cardinals came to the palace of their own accord; congratulated the archbishop very warmly on his elevation to the papacy; assured him that he had been freely and canonically elected; and begged him to invite the remaining cardinals to take part in the ceremony of enthroning him. "The Pope-elect in order to enlighten his conscience, and to ascertain clearly and firmly how the matter stood, interrogated the five cardinals, both singly and collectively, whether he had, in very deed, been sincerely, purely, freely, and canonically elected; for, said he, unless my election has been free and canonical, I will not accept. The aforesaid Cardinals, each and several, answered that never had Roman Pontiff been so freely and canonically elected; they begged him, for God's sake, not to refuse or delay his consent; some of them furthermore admonished him that he could not decline without committing a grievous sin, for it would be exceedingly difficult for the Sacred College to reassemble, or to agree upon another candidate.¹

This statement is clear and positive. But equally clear and positive is Florence's denial of every assertion contained in it. When the Spanish ambassadors in their cross-examination of this cardinal questioned him as to this passage of Urban's *factum*, he replied as follows:

"I answer that on the aforesaid morning I went to the palace *on the requisition of the city officials*, as I have already stated; and that the other Cardinals came one at a time in obedience, I believe, to similar requisitions. As to the remaining affirmations contained in the interrogatory, they are, so far as they concern me, unquestionably false and devoid of truth; as concerns my colleagues, they are likewise false, so far as I could see and hear. I am certain that I never said one word of all that is therein attributed to me; and I observed that each cardinal, as he arrived, held very few words with the archbishop. I did, however, hear the latter urge the Romans to go, or send for the cardinals who were still in the castle; his words were, 'Unless they come nothing is accomplished.' I say and affirm that we held no meeting on that occasion; neither did he make mention to us, nor we to him, of any of the alleged topics."²

¹ Raynaldi, an. 1378, c. 90.

² In order to blunt the edge of Florence's testimony, the new editor of Hefelé, Dr. Knöpfer (who, being a German, is naturally an Urbanist), maintains: 1st. That the main assertions of Urban's *Factum* are expressly conceded by the *Casus* of the Italian cardinals. 2d. That Florence himself, in a letter to a friend written on April 14th

It was now after mid-day, and only six cardinals had presented themselves in the Vatican. The key of the situation was in the hands of the six cardinals who were behind the thick walls of St. Angelo. The whole morning had been wasted in apparently fruitless parleys between them and the messengers of Bari. About noon, however, the cardinals in the castle had so far yielded as to transmit to their colleagues in the Vatican a written document authorizing the latter to proclaim and enthrone the archbishop. This exhibition of weakness emboldened the archbishop to make a final assault upon their obstinacy. He made use, for this purpose, of the senator and bannerets of the city. What were they to say? According to the Urbanists, they were to apologize to the cardinals for the violence of the populace on the preceding evening, and to assure them that, as the Roman people were now satisfied with the Pope-elect, the Sacred College had no further reason to fear. According to the Clementists, they were to intimidate the six by representing to them that the walls of the castle were a weak protection against the fury of an entire nation, and by reminding them that, even if their own persons were secure, their families and their property were at the mercy of the Romans.

Take your choice of contradictory statements, as usual, beloved readers. Having set both sides before you, we leave you perfectly free. Whatever considerations influenced their movements, the six rode out of the castle about vesper-time; and, simultaneously with their cavalcade, out rides the last remnant of sympathy with them from our soul. They had declined the crown of martyrdom; we certainly shall not regard them as Confessors, or *men*. Their scarlet robes may remind *them* of their insulted dignity; they do not convey to *us* any suggestion of Roman or Christian fortitude.

The rest of the story is easily told. Twelve of the sixteen electors re-assembled in the little chapel of the conclave. They summoned the Archbishop of Bari, and announced to him that he was the choice of the Sacred College. He accepted. They asked him the name by which he should be known. He answered, *Urban*. Whilst the other cardinals paid him homage and chanted the *Te Deum*, Cardinal Vernhio from a window of the palace made the customary proclamation to the multitude: "I announce to you tidings of great joy. We have a Supreme Pontiff, Urban VI."

The four fugitives, when they learned that Urban was seated on the throne of St. Peter, returned to the city and took part in the solemn ceremony of his coronation, and in the procession to the

(only five days later) acknowledged the validity of Urban's election, and lauded the new Pope to the skies. But the learned doctor is hardly ingenuous. For 1st. The Italian Cardinals do not *admit* the fact; they give it as *ipse dicit* and *dicit quod*. 2d. Florence denied on oath that he ever wrote the letter in question.

Lateran. Letters were dispatched by Urban to all the Christian states announcing his election, and by the cardinals to their brethren in Avignon, purporting, "that in choosing the Archbishop of Bari they had beyond doubt acted under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost." It is admitted, alike by his friends and his enemies, that had Urban possessed, or retained, a moderate amount of prudence or common sense, he could easily have staunched the recent wounds inflicted upon the dignity of the Sacred College. But, unfortunately, he was an example (neither the first nor the last) of an efficient subaltern transformed by force of circumstances into an incompetent leader. A church historian has aptly applied to him the epigram in which Tacitus sums up his estimate of Galba, *omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset*.¹

Not twenty-four hours had elapsed after he was crowned with the tiara (it was the very day on which the cardinals wrote their conciliatory letter to Avignon) before Urban gravely offended his court by proclaiming, in public consistory, that every bishop then residing in Rome was a perjurer, and false to his diocese. This mock-heroic utterance was the more absurd because, in all probability, the "reformer" had never entered the gates of his own Bari. The general sentiment of his audience was voiced by the Spanish bishop of Pampeluna, whom Gregory had retained with him as his canonist. "I will not endure," he cried out, "to be called a perjurer. I am here not for my pleasure, but in the interest of Holy Church." Now, surely it was a bad state of affairs, and cried for reform (and, indeed, has since been reformed), that the Pope's canonist and his vice-chancellor should draw their support from dioceses which they personally neglected. But it was the height of folly to impute to individuals the fault of a system. Had Pampeluna, Bari, and the rest, gone to reside in their respective cities, who would have been left to attend to the work of the Holy See? If, on the other hand, they resigned their episcopal livings, what revenue was a mediæval Pope possessed of with which to support them?

Theodoric of Niem (Urban's adherent and secretary) from whom we have learned the foregoing incident, gives us many similar specimens of this Pope's crude efforts at reform. Another well-known (no doubt necessary, but very obnoxious) institution of the papacy in those ages, was that of the Collectors of Dues to the Apostolic Chamber. One of these collectors returned to Rome in the early days of Pope Urban with a sum of money which he had gathered. Imagine the poor man's surprise, when the Pope greeted him with the salutation: "Thy money go with thee into perdition!" It is hardly necessary to add, that before long Urban

¹ Baron Henrion, l. 46.

collected his dues with as much exactness as any of his predecessors. We refrain from going through the whole list of his eccentricities, as they are rehearsed with sorrow by his friends; how he commanded his cardinals to content themselves with a single dish at each meal; how he openly reviled them as simonists in taking fees from princes; how he bade one of them hold his tongue; threatened to strike another; called a third a chatterbox, and a fourth a fool.¹

The explosion came when, in public consistory, he accused the Cardinal of Amiens (who had recently returned from an embassy to Tuscany) of being a prevaricator, a taker of bribes, and a traitor. The affronted cardinal immediately sprang to his feet: "*Baren-sis, mentiris!*" he exclaimed. This vigorous retort produced the effect of an electric shock; it precipitated the suspended elements of bitterness. It was far more than the expression of his personal feelings. It was the formal opening of the Great Schism of the West. This Benedictine monk, John de la Grange, Cardinal of Amiens, was recognized, by friend and foe, as the master-spirit of the storm.²

The subsequent stages of the melancholy history—how the Transalpine cardinals seceded to Anagni, and called to their defence the Breton troops, and issued their manifesto to the Christian world; how Urban sought, when it was too late, to coax them back, and how the three Italian cardinals (the Cardinal of St. Peter died in September) wavered for months between both parties; how the cardinals summoned Urban to lay down his "usurped" dignity, and on his refusal declared him a sacrilegious intruder, and proceeded to the election of Clement VII.; how Christendom, having vainly endeavored to avert the impending tempest, was divided between the two Obediences—all this is too deeply engraven on the minds of our readers to need recounting.

But why have we gone rummaging among the documents drawn by scholars "out of the secret archives of the Vatican," to dish up old scandals that were well forgotten? One reason (written on the very face of our article) has been that we might correct the biassed statements of our ordinary text-books, the authors of which have copied each other's account of the quarrel, and the main fountain of whose information on the subject is the very partial narrative of Raynaldi. This distinguished author compiled his

¹ To any one who is familiar with the course of Urban's administration, and who remembers how violently he strove to win a kingdom for his worthless nephew, Francis, and how he condoned the scandalous behavior of this young scapegrace, it sounds ludicrous to hear Urban VI. pronounced a reformer.

² Si Cardinalis Ambianensis non fuisset, nil fuisset de istis novitatibus, sighs the chief advocate of Urban. Ap. Raynaldi, an. 1378, n. 45.

narrative from a careful study of the original documents preserved in the Vatican; and we cannot impeach his honesty for having given credence to Italian in preference to Transalpine witnesses. A partisan writer will invariably do likewise. A commission, made up of Democrats and Republicans, will always return a seven-by-eight verdict. A Tory will believe a policeman's testimony any day rather than a Home Ruler's. The learned world owes a debt of gratitude to the able chaplain of St. Louis's Church, in Rome, for publishing these documents; and though we regret that he has felt called upon to become a partisan on the other side (probably for the sake of forcing a hearing), he has almost converted us to the belief that a cloud rests on the title of Urban VI.; and we are half-inclined to echo the sentiment of the old German writer, whom he quotes: *ab isto Urbano VI. usque ad Martinum V. nescio quis fuit Papa*. We trust that writers will discontinue to speak of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. as *anti-Popes*, or apply to the Church which produced St. Vincent Ferrer the epithet of *schismatical*.

But our chief concern is to convince our readers with how great wisdom Holy Church is extremely careful to guard the complete freedom of the papal elections. It is no great harm to be optimistic and to believe that the recurrence of the great calamity which threatened the very existence of the Church in the fourteenth century is now improbable. But we must remember that thunderstorms very frequently break over our heads with but scant forewarnings. What American citizen imagined that the year 1876, which opened so auspiciously and progressed so brilliantly, would close amidst doubt and terrors? At a time when the Vicar of Christ is proclaiming to the world that his position in Rome is becoming daily more and more unbearable, it is well to let it be known that the Catholic world is in no temper to condone any insults offered to the Sacred College by howling mobs or intriguing bannerets.

EDITORIAL NOTE: Though the "Great Schism of the West" is healed, the historical schism of contending national writers about it will probably be never healed. As there can be no historical ecumenical council, it is only fair to leave both sides to the private judgment of our readers. The following is, however, the judgment of one who was one of the greatest church historians of our day, the lately deceased Cardinal Hergenröther: "But all these tumults were not of the kind to interfere with the freedom of election; in fact, in the afternoon twelve cardinals held a second election altogether free, when the choice again fell on the Archbishop of Bari. Order was soon restored; the election was

solemnly proclaimed on April 9th, and on the 10th the enthronization took place in the Church of St. Peter, while on Easter Sunday (18th of April) the coronation was solemnized.

"The new Pope, Urban VI., received general recognition. All the cardinals there assembled attended at his coronation, assisted him at the ecclesiastical feasts, requested spiritual favors at his hands and wrote an account of what had passed to their colleagues in Avignon, with the assurance that perfect freedom and unanimity had prevailed. The six cardinals who had been left in Avignon also acknowledged him as Pope and ordered the commandant of the Castle of St. Angelo to deliver up the keys to him, as the former Pope had made this surrendering of the keys of that fortress dependent on their consent. Moreover, Urban's escutcheon was exposed at Avignon and homage done to it." (Church History, Vol. II., p. 35.)

THE LATIN VULGATE CIVILIZING WESTERN EUROPE.

IT is impossible to study, without admiration, the ways of Providence in employing the Latin Vulgate, not only in the regeneration but in the civilization of Western Europe. These results blend together, indeed, so that to a great extent many, looking only at the religious side, lose sight entirely of the secular consequences. Yet, the more the subject is investigated, the deeper becomes the conviction in the mind as to the immense service rendered by the Latin Vulgate in introducing civilization, learning, science, and the arts, among the ruder tribes of the north and east, and the nations in central-east and southeast Europe, which had already made some advances, and, in time, extending the salutary influence throughout the world.

The Greek Church never showed great missionary spirit, or sent its priests to the nations on the north and northeast in order to win them to Christ. Its strength was wasted and its faith weakened by subtle heresies, and the struggle to repress them. The Church was too much absorbed by internal trials to carry out the great command to teach the nations. It nationalized even what it did. If Ulfilas went forth to convert his fellow Goths, he did not carry the Greek language. Both he and St. John Chrysostom had the Liturgy rendered into Gothic, and Ulfilas translated the Scrip-

tures into Gothic, to become soon obsolete, and to exercise little influence in civilizing the Gothic nation. The Gothic churches in Constantinople soon disappeared, and the race gained nothing of the civilization, culture, arts, and literature of Hellas. Only a few acquiring the language were enabled to appreciate all this, and carry their studies further. So, too, when the Greek Church sent St. Cyril and St. Methodius to the Slavonians, she failed to open the way for her culture and civilization. The clergy of the Slavs, with missal and breviary in their own tongue, looked no further, and were isolated from all the literary, scientific, and art progress of the rest of the world, and this became a field on which only one in ten thousand could enter by foreign travel and the acquisition of foreign idioms. Under this system each nation soon became isolated and stood alone, out of the current of contemporary thought and of the accumulated experience of more cultured nations.

The Greek language was the vehicle through which Christianity reached Rome, and ports of France and Spain, like Marseilles and Tarragona. For a time, even there, the Greek language was identified with the Church. The New Testament was read in Greek; the Old Testament in the version of the Septuagint. The language was in such general use that the earliest Popes all wrote in Greek. The Bible was translated into Latin, not for use in Italy, but in Spain and northern Africa. In the latter part of the Roman Empire, according to the judgment of scholars, the *Vetus Itala*, or early Latin translation, was formed. Other translations may have been made in Gaul and Spain. As the use of Greek died out in Italy, these Latin versions became the general books of the faithful; sacramentaries or missals, psalters and breviaries, in Latin, based on the *Vetus Itala*, gradually grew into use. There were variances in these translations, still greater variances in the manuscript copies, even where one type was followed. It was to put an end to this state of things, and introduce uniformity, that Pope Damasus induced St. Jerome to prepare a correct and faithful edition of the Latin Bible to serve as a standard. St. Jerome, in Palestine, aided by learned Hebrew scholars, revised the Old Testament translation by the Hebrew, and the New Testament he revised by the Greek. The book of the Psalms presented difficulties, because such differences appeared between the Latin translation in use among the clergy and the Hebrew as St. Jerome translated it, that Pope Damasus retained the old translation, substantially, while adopting the rest of St. Jerome's work for general use in the Church. The Bible thus revised by St. Jerome became the *Vulgate*, the general and recognized Latin translation of the Holy Scriptures. Liturgy and Canonical Hours conformed to it. Wherever

the Latin language continued to be spoken in Italy, in the Roman districts of northern Africa, in Spain, Gaul, in Britain, where the imperial rule had made Latin the language of the laws and the courts, the army, and official life, Latin became the voice of the spiritual empire which was to stand unshaken, and full of life, when the political fabric built up by the Cæsars crumbled away, and the once proud mistress of the world could exercise no power beyond the Alps, and was scarcely recognized beneath the shadow of the Apennines. Even where new tongues came in to supersede the Latin, the Church held her own. She taught the doctrines of Christ to the Saxon conquerors of Britain; to the Franks who subdued Gaul; the Goths who built up kingdoms in the Celtiberian peninsula; to the Lombards who seated themselves at the foot of the Alps. Heiress alone, of the past learning and civilization of Rome, she retained not only the language in her liturgy, but, training the children of the conquering tribes to its use, employed it in elevating and civilizing them, by making it the vehicle of instructing nations, destitute of a literature or written speech, in the noblest works of the poet, orator, historian, and philosopher, who were the boast of Rome. By this means she elevated their minds and taste, enabled them to appreciate and admire the work of sculptor, painter, and architect, until from these men of bold hearts and grand thoughts, nurtured amid the wildest scenes of nature, grew up new ideas of architecture and art, full of symmetry and grace, not framed by straight lines, cramped and confined, but like the works of nature, infinite in curves of beauty, aspiring as the trees of the forest, rich in variety as the flowers of the field. But the Church not only held her own against the influx of the barbarians whom she won, but, still vigorous and full of energy, she bore the cross where the eagle of Rome had never been seen or penetrated only to sustain disaster and defeat. Her missionary priests bore her Latin liturgy and her Vulgate to convert and civilize the brave Helvetii; the German bands from the Rhine to the Vistula; the tribes of the Low Countries amid their marshes; the Scandinavians, amid the mountains, cataracts and forests; to the rugged hills of Caledonia; the rich island of Erin, even to the Orkneys, Iceland, and Greenland. The word of God went to all these in Latin, and that tongue was thus in daily use among them all. Latin became the language of monastery and school; Latin, the medium by which other ancient languages, Greek and Hebrew, were acquired, and the treasures of learning laid open. To the Vulgate, and the widespread influence it gave the Latin language, western Europe owes its earlier history, the preservation of its folklore and poetry. If Latin suffered in purity, it acquired flexibility; the new conquests gave original forms to poetry, and Christian

hymnology became a new literature replete with grandeur, grace, and beauty, though it caught the echoing rhyme of the Celts, and its metre is not that of Virgil, Horace, or Ovid.

This general diffusion of Latin led to the formation of the present Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese languages, Latin in the main with words adapted locally from the conquering races; it imbued the languages of Britain, Germany and Scandinavia with a vocabulary of new words and terms, and while these languages were gradually acquiring a permanent form and character, leading the way to modern literature, the Latin liturgy and the Latin Vulgate, which had Christianized and civilized all western Europe, made the official language of the Church the universal means of communication of learning, of intercourse among scholars, of intellectual and scientific progress. Through this language the learning of Greece entered into the studies of the west, the labors of her geographers were studied by Irish and Norseman monk; the acute reasoning of her philosophers trained scholars in the Black Forest, in Gothland, at Yarrow and Clonmacnoise; mathematics and astronomy were studied as keenly on the British isles as in the schools of Greece. Thus scholars in different little kingdoms and states, with a common language in church and school, held intercourse with each other, and all profited by any progress made. Science revealed new secrets in nature, and the value of combinations hitherto unknown. Amid all this onward movement the Vulgate stood respected and honored as the source of the civilization and culture which prevailed.

When the portals of the east and west were thrown open, the messengers of the Cross went forth bearing the Vulgate; from its pages the story of man's creation, fall and redemption were taught to the people of India and Ceylon, Farther India, Japan and China and the Philippines. The parts selected from the Gospels and other parts of the Bible were translated from the Vulgate into the languages of the far east and the islands of the Pacific.

The missionaries who followed the path of the Christ bearer of Genoa, brought the Vulgate with him to the New World. As they acquired Indian languages, parts of the Bible, especially the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays were translated by them from the venerable text of St. Jerome. The Epistles and Gospels in Mexican, printed in Italy, form a noble volume to stand beside the Clementine Bible. These Epistles and Gospels exist in the Montagnais and Huron of Canada, in our Chippewa, Cayuga, Mohawk, Illinois, in dialects of New Mexico and Texas, in Otomi, Maya, Inca, Aymara, Chilian, Tupi and Carib.

Thus the Vulgate made the circuit of the globe in its civilizing mission.

Yet this is but looking on the Vulgate from the human side in its effects on the material progress of mankind. In the supernatural life it was no less potent. The Vulgate was used by the Sovereign Pontiffs, by provincial and general councils, by universities and monastic schools. Its authority as a correct translation of the inspired writings was unassailed. In the cloister it was meditated, studied, annotated and illustrated. The pilgrims who, from the days of Adamnan visited the Holy Land, helped to elucidate and explain many points requiring local knowledge. By the Vulgate were formed the saints of all Western Europe, St. Patrick, St. Bede, St. Germanus, St. Isidore, St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas of Aquin. It was borne to the nations by St. Patrick and St. Augustine, St. Kilian and St. Rumold, St. Boniface and St. Feargall, St. Columbanus and St. Gall. Its devout meditation inspired St. Bridget, St. Gertrude, St. Mechthildis, Thomas à Kempis, the founders of religious orders and of convents.

It could not have been in the order of Providence undesigned, that the Vulgate should be thus instrumental in diffusing a knowledge of the truths of Christianity, or in moulding so many generations to its spirit, till we reach the Ages of Faith. God never gave such results to a diffusion of error, however well intended the act of spreading it. Nor can any one look on the wonderful Guttenberg Bible, the first book issued from the press by the inventor of printing, admirable and enduring in its paper, enduring in its ink, perfect in its typography, and not feel that something more than accident, something higher than human thought induced the sanctifying of the new art by the production of the Latin Vulgate which had done so much for Europe. If we are to regard it as merely human, it was a proof of the veneration and respect universally entertained for that Latin translation of the Holy Scriptures, a proof of the general desire to obtain copies, a tribute to the pious love for the Vulgate which had been instilled into generation after generation.

"Up to the time of the discovery of America in 1492," says the bibliographer, Henry Stevens, "the editions of the Bible alone, and the parts thereof in many languages and countries, will sum up not far less than one thousand, and the most of these of the largest and costliest kind."

The greater part of these editions were of the Latin Vulgate, and of translations from it, so that in less than fifty years, fully half a million copies of the Bible had been scattered over Europe from the newly established Catholic presses.

A book multiplied so often and in different countries, at a time when there was no critical standard to guide, was represented by

numberless manuscripts of varying value, some carefully and respectfully prepared from a critical manuscript, some hurriedly made from any manuscript that came to hand. Alcuin had in vain endeavored to give a careful text; his work, and that of his school, were soon forgotten. The invention of printing did much to prevent the increase of errors; all the copies were exactly alike, and a very defective edition could be condemned and suppressed. The presses that started up in different countries gave editions of the Vulgate. The Hebrew, the Septuagint and the New Testament in Greek showed the tendency towards more thorough and critical studies; the numerous translations into German and other modern languages showed how the Church had created a love for the Word of God. Western Europe, with her Christianity based on the Vulgate, still looked to it with reverence when Luther raised the standard of revolt.

Luther began by assailing practices in the Church; his fierce vituperation gained the mob, and he next assailed points of doctrine. Lastly, he inveighed against the constitution of the Church, and denied all power to define articles of faith or establish discipline in the Church. Yet, as it was necessary that there should be authority somewhere, he placed it in the Scriptures, as interpreted by himself, decrying the authority of any part which clearly controverted his theories. As the Vulgate was the translation of the Bible uniformly used in Western Europe, he made his attack on this, denied its validity, and fell back on the Hebrew and the Greek. He announced his intention to give a new German Bible, and began with the New Testament, professing to translate from the Greek. He was not, however, a thorough Greek scholar even for his own day; not at all to be compared to Erasmus or Melanchthon. He really used the Vulgate which he decried, and the twelve Catholic German translations, of which many editions had been printed before his birth and before his fall. After issuing the New Testament in parts, beginning with 1521, he set to work on the Old Testament. Slight as was his knowledge of Greek, his knowledge of Hebrew was far less, consisting of the elementary knowledge he had picked up during his stay at Wartburg. He was utterly unfitted for the serious work of rendering the Old Testament Hebrew into German, even had his violent and constant controversies given him the time such a task required. He relied on the Vulgate, on the German translations from it, on the Septuagint, and such Hebrew aids as he could obtain. The influence of existing Catholic German translations on his work has been traced and proved undeniably. But he was master of a vigorous style; his German translation, in which he cared far more for effect than for accuracy, became immensely popular.

Presented, though without foundation, as a careful, studious translation from the Hebrew and Greek, Luther's Bible was at once used to decry the Vulgate. Disregarding the fact that all the existing Christianity and sacred learning were linked inseparably with the Vulgate, it became the fashion to decry it as a faulty translation, far inferior to one made directly from the Hebrew and Greek. Yet there had been no extended collation of Greek and Hebrew manuscripts, no comparison of Hebrew manuscripts before the revision which the Jewish school at Masora made as an antidote against Christianity and those which followed that school. Any Hebrew or Greek manuscript that came to hand sufficed, and it is known that the first Greek Testament was printed from a manuscript so defective that it lacked part of the Apocalypse, which the editor supplied by translating the missing portion from the Latin Vulgate into Greek.

The same system of delusion was kept up in England where Tyndale's Testament was worked out by means of the Vulgate and Luther's translation, and where the first edition of Coverdale honestly admitted that it was "translated out of Douche and Latyn into English."

The ancient Latin translation of the Bible, revised by St. Jerome, which, in the hands of apostles and saints, had converted and sanctified Europe, was thus arraigned before the Christian world as unworthy of honor or credit. The words which had echoed through cathedral and abbey church, through cloister and cell, through university and school, were now treated by many with derision and contempt. The whole fabric of Christendom was thus shaken, and every land, every newly-coined creed, had its own Bible, interpreted and translated to suit its own ideas.

This system has continued to our day, when we see a Bible issued in which the word "*baptize*" disappears, a revised Bible in which hell gives way to the name of a heathen deity, Hades.

Such was the condition of the Christian world when bishops gathered from all lands under the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff in the Council of Trent. There it became necessary to define the position held in the Western Church by the Vulgate. After fixing the canon of Holy Scripture in the fourth session, the decree proceeds: "Moreover, the same Sacred and Holy Synod, considering that no small utility may accrue to the Church of God, if it be made known, which out of all the Latin editions now in circulation of the sacred books, is to be held as authentic, ordains and declares that the said old and Vulgate edition, which, by the lengthened use of so many ages, has been approved of in the Church, be, in public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions, held as authentic, and that no one is to dare or presume to

reject it under any pretext whatever." The Council proceeded to check the unauthorized and irresponsible editions of the Vulgate, and directed that it should be printed in the most correct manner possible.

The words of the Holy Synod are guarded. The original Hebrew and Greek are not slighted, passed upon or rejected. No such idea entered the minds of the Fathers of the Council of Trent. But the Vulgate had been too important an element in the work of bringing the barbarians from the deep night of heathendom into the glorious light of the Gospel ; too important an element in raising them from savage life to Christian culture to permit the contempt thrown upon it by the demagogues of the Reformation to remain unanswered. The Council declared the Vulgate authentic. What is the force of the Word ? A recent writer (Father Prat, S. J.) says : " In ordinary language this term authentic has two principal meanings. I say that a book, a will, a work of art, a glorious feat is authentic when it really belongs to the person who passes as its author. In this sense it may be said that the Vulgate is an authentic work of St. Jerome to signify that it is not falsely ascribed to him. But it is evident that the Council did not propose to determine St. Jerome's part in the Vulgate.

Authentic is also frequently used in jurisprudence to designate a document, either copied or translated, which is declared by the testimony of public officials to agree with the original. Such a document has the same weight as the original, and can be rejected or impeached only by questioning the truth of the attestation. In this case authentic is a synonym for official and legal.

Besides this meaning is another derived from it by an easily followed reasoning. In the Middle Ages, " authentic " meant simply worthy of faith. An authentic translation is a faithful translation ; an authentic copy is a copy that reproduces the original without considering the authority which declares it such. This conformity with the text or original, as may easily be conceived, has infinite degrees.

" Now what is exactly the scope of the word authentic in the mind and on the lips of the Tridentine Fathers." " In the mind of the Fathers the word authentic awakens the two ideas (official and worthy of faith) so akin to each other, and each prevails according to the context and the circumstances." " We readily concede that the principal aim of the Council was not to define the fidelity of the Vulgate, in the first place because the decree in its nature is disciplinary and not dogmatic, and especially because a thing so clear and certain needed no definition. The public and constant use of the Latin churches for nine centuries was more than a sufficient definition. What, then, did the Council do ? Accept-

ing and supposing the fidelity of the Vulgate as a notorious and attested fact, it confirms and canonizes it by inserting it in a conciliar decree; and it moreover gives this version, already authorized by the general use of the Church, the official character which it did not possess."

The next step was to pray the Sovereign Pontiff to issue a carefully-edited copy of the Vulgate to serve as a standard. This was undertaken by Pope Sixtus with the aid of many able scholars, and the revised text was committed to the press; but even after the sheets were struck off, the work of criticism went on, and many changes were decided upon in order to bring the text back to the earliest and purest manuscripts. Even in its final form it did not meet the expectation of the Pontiff, who looked forward to a more thorough and extended study of Latin manuscripts, and comparison with those in Hebrew and Greek.

The task of the revisers was not to give a new Latin translation of the Bible, but to produce the best possible edition of the Vulgate, based on the oldest and most correct manuscripts. Keeping this in view, another body of learned scholars, under Clement VIII., made a more thorough revision, and their work, issued from the Apostolic Vatican press in 1592, forms a noble folio volume of 1129 pages. In the preface, the editors declare that it was not "their intention to make a new translation, or to correct or amend the ancient interpreter in any part, but to restore that ancient and Vulgate Latin version, purged from the errors of old copyists, as well as purged anew from the errors of faulty emendations, restore it to its ancient pristine integrity and purity, as far as it could be done, and to print it as correctly as possible according to the decree of the Council of Trent." This edition has remained to the present time the standard edition of the Vulgate in the Church. Though an edition appeared at Rome in 1593, and other editions have appeared from time to time in Rome, none of them have been invested with the authority of this edition of 1592.

Studies of the past centuries have brought to light numbers of manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek, Syriac and Latin, but the work of the revisers under Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. gave the world the most accurate and purest edition of the Vulgate, the Latin version of the Bible to which humanity owes so deep a debt. Studies have never impaired its value; on the contrary, it has been a beacon-light serving to guide many to the truth from which they had strayed. The most recent translations from Hebrew and Greek abandon many hasty changes and faulty renderings of their predecessors, and, guided by the best ancient manuscripts, come back to do homage to the fidelity and purity of the time-honored Vulgate.

NUMBER OF THE EXTERNAL SENSES: WHAT USE
MAN'S REASON CAN MAKE OF THEIR
MANIFESTATIONS AS DATA.

IS a rational animal having more than five external senses intrinsically possible?

How far can human reason proceed by starting from the facts manifested through the senses as premises, and can it validly conclude from such first premises to a consistent notion of God?

It may be interesting to compare some of the different answers given to these questions, and thereby, perhaps, we may be helped to determine more distinctly which are the only true ones.

Some philosophers have maintained that every man actually has more external senses than five; that man knows what are styled the "common sensibles," which are motion, rest, number, figure, and size, by a special sense distinct from each of the five external senses—the sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell. It has been contended, also, that the "sensible *per accidens*," as it is termed, is perceived or known sensibly by means of a peculiar organic faculty different from each of the five external senses.

But experience attests the fact that if the "common sensibles" were completely separated from every one of the five "proper sensibles," they could not act on sense at all; there could be no sensation of them, for they could have no actual existence as thus separated from all those absolute accidents called "proper sensibles." For example, figure and size cannot be perceived by the senses, nor even actually exist, unless they be conjoined to what is visible, tangible, or at least with what is the special object of some external sense. Even if material substance were conceived to be separated from all its accidents which affect the five external senses, it would then be entirely removed from the sphere of man's natural faculties, and it could not be perceived by him in any manner.

The "common sensibles," or, as called by many authors, with Locke, the "primary qualities of bodies," pertain to the quantity of those bodies; they are modifications of the quantity, are "accidents of accident," and they have no entity as separated from their subject. The sensible qualities of bodies, as color, taste, etc., also have the quantity of bodies for their proximate subject, but they are "absolute accidents," which accede to corporeal substance and extrinsically perfect it. These "absolute accidents" immediately affect

or act on the external senses, and it is on that account they are styled "qualitates alterantes," alterant qualities; for example, the eye immediately sees color, because of color's action on the eye. But the quantity of bodies, as quantity, with its modifications of figure, size, etc., does not immediately act on the external senses; it is only when such quantity of bodies, with these modifications, is invested with the "absolute qualities," or "accidents," color, taste, resistance, etc., that it is capable of affecting external sense. Yet the "common sensibles" or primary qualities of bodies, are not "sensible *per accidens*," for they really and actually affect the external sense by means of the sense's specific object; for example, figure is seen as colored by means of the color.¹

By the "sensible *per accidens*" is meant, something naturally conjoined to what really and physically acts on the sense, though this object conjoined to it does not itself act on the sense at all, nor is it, in itself, really perceived at all. For example; the orange, as to its *color*, is *visible, per se*, but as to its *taste, smell*, etc., it is *visible only per accidens*; the presence of taste, smell, etc., is shown, and, in some manner, seen by means of the color. The substance of the orange is also sensible only *per accidens*—no sense can directly and actually apprehend its substance.

If the "common sensibles," or "primary qualities of bodies," were really the proper objects of a special sense, distinct from each of the five external senses, then those "common sensibles" should be visible, tangible, etc., only "per accidens;" whereas, they are actually and positively seen by means of color, and felt by means of resistance to touch. The external senses can apprehend quan-

¹ St. Thomas, *Sum.*, P. I, qu. 78, ad. 3, a. 2, thus explains the nature and action of "common sensibles" and "proper sensibles": "Sensibilia communia sunt media inter sensibilia per accidens et sensibilia propria, quæ sunt objecta sensuum. Nam sensibilia primo et per se immutant sensum, cum sint qualitates alterantes. Sensibilia communia omnia reducuntur ad quantitatem; quantitas autem est proximum subiectum qualitatis alterativæ ut superficies coloris, et ideo sensibilia communia non movent sensum primo et per se, sed ratione sensibilis qualitatis, ut superficies ratione coloris." That is, "common sensibles" are a medium between the sensible per accidens, and proper sensibles which are objects of the senses. For the sensible, primarily, and of its own action, affects sense, since it consists of alterant qualities. All the common sensibles are reduced to quantity, but quantity is the proximate subject of alterative quality, as surface is the subject of color. Therefore, the common sensibles do not move a sense primarily and of themselves, but by reason of sensible quality, as surface does by means of color.

The scholastics, with Aristotle, divided the category, quality, into four principal species: 1, habit and disposition; 2, power and weakness; 3, whatever in a subject, by its action, causes alteration, and also what results from such alteration; 4, shape, figure, or form. The third species or quality acts *per se*, and directly on external sense; they are "absolute accidents" of bodies, because they have positive reality of their own, though they exist *per aliud*, or as inhering in their subject, which is corporeal substance. Corporeal substance is not capable of acting on the senses except through these qualities of bodies.

tity as qualified by their respective objects, color, the tangible, etc.; but to know figure, size, etc., determinately and distinctly, requires an act of reason. In dignity, sight ranks highest among the external senses, because of its closest analogy to intellectual perception, and the hearing ranks second; but sight and touch are said to excel the other external senses in certainty.

But is a rational animal, having more than five external senses, intrinsically possible? Some answer, that material substance has, and that it can have, only the five species of quality which man's external senses are capable of apprehending, and therefore an additional sense could have no object. Others argue that no more than the five external senses are possible, and, therefore, no more than five qualities of matter are possible. Two arguments which, if combined, would constitute a vicious circle. The old philosophers seem not to have discussed this question; and hence, the erudite Irenæus Carmelita, who passes over no curious question disputed in the ancient schools, thus disposes of the subject in his "*Museum Philosophorum*," *De Anima*, cap. 2, art. 2, sec. 4: "It is usual to prove that there are only five external senses, because of there being only five external things that are actually sensible, *per se*, through our five external senses. But whether or not, by the power of God, there could be more senses, or more sensible qualities in bodies, is not known."¹

It would surely be vicious reasoning to argue that no other sensible power, except the five, is possible, because no other sensible quality of matter is possible; and to adduce in proof of this that no more than five sensible qualities of matter are possible, because no more than five external senses are possible. Man knows material substance only by way of inference from its accidents; but it cannot be demonstrated, however, that it is intrinsically impossible for God to create an organic power capable of directly apprehending even material substance as subject to quantity.

Locke, book 2, ch. 2, no. 2, after explaining how we can form no distinct conception of a sensible object which was never in any manner apprehended by a sense, concludes: "This is the reason why, though we cannot believe it impossible to God to make a creature with other organs, and more ways to convey into the understanding the notice of corporeal things than those five, as they are usually counted, which he has given to man; yet, I think it is not possible for any one to imagine any other qualities in bodies, however constituted, whereby they can be taken notice of, besides

¹ "Plures non esse sensus externos quam quinque probari solet ex eo quod plura non occurrant sensibilia externa quæ ad hæc non referuntur. Utrum verò divinitus plures sensus, pluraque dari possint sensibilia, nescitur."

sounds, tastes, smells, visible and tangible qualities. And had mankind been made with but four senses, the qualities then which are the objects of the fifth sense, had been as far from our notice, imagination, and conception, as now any belonging to a sixth, seventh, or eighth sense can possibly be; which, whether yet some other creatures, in some other parts of this vast and stupendous universe, may not have, will be a great presumption to deny. He that will not set himself proudly at the top of all things, may think that, in other mansions, there may be other intelligent beings," etc.

Sanseverino, who maintains that only five external senses are possible,¹ cites a part of this passage from Locke, which he entirely misapprehends, since he understands Locke to teach therein his own opinion, whereas Locke plainly affirms the very contrary opinion. Also, St. Thomas, comparing man as an intellectual animal, to other animals on earth, concludes:² "*Anima autem intellectiva habet completissimè virtutem sensitivam*," the intellective soul has sensitive virtue in the completest degree. Sanseverino, who is generally so accurate, infers that St. Thomas thereby affirms man's sentient nature to be the completest that is absolutely possible; whereas he terms it the completest only as compared to all other animal or sentient natures on earth.

Balmes, "*Filosofia Fondamentale*," lib. ii., cc. 17, 18, expresses opinions as to the possibility of more external senses than man actually has, like to those of Locke; and to the objection, if man had another sense it would produce confusion in the knowledge acquired through the five senses which man actually has, he answers that the certainty of knowledge would not be diminished by an additional sense, nor would the essential order and truth of man's ideas be thereby disarranged. Why should there be confusion in the ideas acquired through the ministry of six or more senses, rather than in ideas acquired through five senses?

Tongiorgi says:³ "Absolutely speaking, a living nature, differently constituted organically from us, might possess more senses, just as, on the other hand, animals less perfect than man are destitute of some sense given to us." So thought Molina,⁴ who says: "Finally, according to the number of cognitive powers possible to divine omnipotence, over and above those which God has actually made, so, of equal number in comparison to them will be the kinds or species of knowableness in objects, though those knowable qualities in objects are hidden from us, because of the fact that man is wholly ignorant of such powers."

Dr. Reid's remarks on the senses, considered under this point

¹ *Philos. Christ.*, *Dynamologia*, cap. 2, art. 2.

² P. I, qu. 76, a 5; also, *ibid.*, ad. 3.

³ *Psychol.*, lib. 3, cap. 3, art. 1.

⁴ *De Concord.*, lib. Arbitr. cum gratiae don., qu. 14, a. 12, disp. 38.

of view, are interesting and suggestive; see "Inquiry into the Human Mind," chap. vi., sec. ix., where he explains the "geometry of visibles," referring to the imaginary travels of "the Rosicrucian, Johannes Rudolphus Anepigraphus," who describes science and philosophy as known among the "Idemenians," a people who could reason concerning bodies and space only from knowledge acquired through one external sense, that of vision. Their geometry was only that of perspective, according to which "two parallel lines cannot both be straight lines;" "bodies may compenetrates," etc. In this connection, the similar fable may be mentioned of a conversation between three learned philosophers; one from the earth, with his five external senses; one from the planet Jupiter, with seven senses, having as many proper objects in celestial bodies; and one from the fixed star Sirius, having seventy-seven external senses, with duly proportioned and special objects in stellar bodies. Each one of these philosophers was much surprised to meet with rational beings so differently constituted from himself; and at the conclusion of their learned conference on science and philosophy, the traveller from Sirius assured the less favored philosopher with only five senses, and the searcher after wisdom coming from the planet Jupiter, with his seven senses, that their legitimate conclusions in the sciences were relatively true; though he also added, that their premises were limited, and were deficient in comprehensiveness, owing to their entire ignorance of numerous realities, as to which it was not possible for them, through their few faculties, to form any conception.

The fact is well known, that a person blind from birth cannot conceive the proper object of sight, which is color. His inability to conceive color is, of course, not real proof for him that there is no such object as color, and no such sensible faculty as that of vision. In like manner, our inability to conceive a sixth or an eighth sense and its specific object, affords no positive proof that an additional sense and its object are, in themselves, impossible. It is objected that, if an organic being with more external senses than five were possible, then man could not be rightly styled the "link or quasi-horizon between the material and the purely spiritual orders."¹ This objection implicitly assumes what is in question, namely, is it intrinsically impossible for such "link" or "horizon" to be a rational animal with more than five external senses?

¹ This saying had almost the force of an axiom in the schools; "Et inde est quod anima intellectualis dicitur esse quasi quidam horizon et confinium corporeorum et incorporeorum, in quantum est substantia incorporea, corporis tamen forma." *Contra Gent.*, lib. 2, cap. 68. Such expressions regard what is really beside the present question; they would be equally appropriate if applied to the supposed "philosopher" from Sirius.

Some writers on anthropology and related topics prefer to maintain optimist theories ; teaching a supreme and absolute perfection of man, and of the planet which man inhabits, as compared to all similar creatures that exist or are possible. But what principle can be assigned which limits God's power of creating organic natures to what he has actually created on this earth? What intrinsic contradiction is implied in supposing it possible for God to create organic natures having more than five external senses? As regards such matters, the inspired words of the prophet are suggestive of less narrow and more wise notions of God's omnipotence; after describing God's great and wonderful works visible to us, on the earth and in the firmament, the prophet concludes: "There are many things hidden from us that are greater than these; for we have seen but a few of his works."¹ Since "we have seen but a few of his works," we must, therefore, not be too ready to conclude positively as to all God has done or has not done in the universe, and still less as to what, in such things, he cannot do.

Here the further question might be asked, how far can human reason proceed, starting, as it does, from the facts manifested through sensation as its positive premises? Can man reason from such data to a consistent notion of God? St. Thomas gives the general answer which defines the limits of man's natural knowledge, namely, that "our knowledge takes its beginning from the senses; wherefore, our knowledge can extend only so far as it can be led by means of sensible things."²

The human mind can reason from an effect to its cause, essentially and pre-eminently superior to it; and, therefore, it is not true to say that man can conclude from himself as the highest form of creature on earth, only to an anthropomorphous Creator or first cause. Analogy, or proportion of an effect to its cause, which is of a pre-eminently superior order to it, can found demonstration; for, a conclusion may follow demonstratively, even when the medium or middle term has only analogical unity. Identity of species in objects is proved only by similarity of all essential and immutable properties in the inferiors; mere analogy is, properly, of objects which differ in species, and hence no objects can be proved to agree in species by analogy alone. Herbert Spencer, who is peculiar for the ingenuity with which he can devise, and the ability with which he can defend, novel and striking forms of erratic thought, maintains that human reason can derive no higher idea of God from his works positively known to man, than one

¹ *Ecclesiasticus*, 43, 36.

² "Naturalis nostra cognitio a sensu principium sumit. Unde tantum se nostra naturalis cognitio extendere potest, in quantum manuduci potest per sensibilia."—*Sum.* P. I, qu. 12, a 12.

which expresses a superior man. He asserts that man, by reasoning from himself, the most perfect being positively known to himself, can conclude to no higher nature as his cause than one possessing his own specific attributes; and, therefore, God as naturally knowable to man, is anthropomorphous. He illustrates this view of the limits within which he assumes the power of man's reason to be naturally confined, by making the supposition that a watch had the faculty of intellect given to it, and reasoned to its maker. The watch, he contends, could conceive and describe its maker only in terms of watch-springs, wheels, escapements, etc., and thus it could know its maker, at the best, only as a superior kind of watch, but not as transcending the species, watch, in its nature.

To this it may be answered, that, if we assume the supposed watch to have no common or general idea, except the idea of watch, then every thing else would be known by it only in so far as it was "watch," since it could make no distinctions in the species of things, not being able to conceive any object except those included under that one general notion. This is a supposition which is like to one made by St. Thomas, p. 1, qu. 14, a. 6, of "heat," or "light," that would know itself, but have no general idea, except that of "heat" or "light;" on which account it could know other objects only in as far as heat or light.¹

In order that there be real parity between man and this supposititious watch, the watch must be conceived to have faculties of knowing which resemble those possessed by man. But there is no parity, and nothing follows from the supposition, if the watch be imagined to have no general notion except that of watch, while man, as it must be conceded, knows all the categories, the transcendentals, the principle of contradiction, the norma of valid reasoning, many truths and principles of the positive order, etc., in the light of which he thinks of the universe, and of God as its creator.

As the human intellect cannot validly and truly give univocal predicates to creatures and to God, since the intellect is able to perceive that no terms can be univocal as predicable of God and creature; so, by parity of reasoning, the intellectual watch should be able to conclude that its maker must be greatly superior to it in perfection, or must possess a higher kind of attributes, for it to be the adequate and sufficient cause of an intellectual watch. It should know also, that its own nature images only, in some degree, the per-

¹ St. Thomas, *contra gent.*, lib. 3, cap. 44. imagines a chest (arca), to be endowed with intellect, and to reason from itself to the art required in its maker to design and form it; he then distinguishes from each other the different manners in which the intellect may use an effect as the medium of concluding to the cause, and thereby acquiring knowledge of the cause.

sections of an absolute first cause, on which its existence depends, and that its existence is not fully and finally accounted for by its proximate second cause, the watchmaker. Nor would the watch's conclusions and affirmations concerning the sufficient first cause of its existence then be necessarily false or inconsistent because conceived and expressed in terms of watchsprings, wheels, escapements, etc. If the watch have not the faculties and knowledge requisite thus to reason unto the absolute first cause of its existence as an intellectual nature, then it has no likeness to man; it is a comparison without parity; it fails to exemplify or illustrate what man can know or do as a rational animal, and thus it becomes an absurd supposition, which only obscures the subject which it is intended to explain. The assertion, "The watch can know only watch, as its maker, and, therefore, man can know only man as his creator," could hold true only in the supposition that each had only one common notion, namely, that of "watch," for the one, and that of "man" for the other; which would be an absurd supposition, leading to no conclusion or knowledge concerning other real beings.

No rational mind doubts the principle that reasoning from an effect to its cause, superior to itself, may be valid or conclusive; nor can any one legitimately deny the fact that the human mind actually acquires knowledge of such causes through their effects. Whenever we infer any such cause from its effect, the illation is through the medium of analogy; as, for example, when the inference is from the design observed in a work of art to the ideal of that work as in the artist's mind. Every cause of this kind is said to be equivocal,¹ and it is necessarily superior in species to its effect.

Though man's idea of God, as the infinitely perfect, expresses God's essence by means of attributes which his reason forms for itself on analogical manifestations of Him in created things,² yet he thereby knows God certainly and truly as totally transcending

¹ Do not confound equivocal effect as a medium of inference with the equivocal term; the equivocal term is not a valid medium of illation, but equivocal effect may be a valid medium of illation. As St. Thomas says, *contra gent.*, lib. 1, cap. 33: "In things that are equivocal by chance, there is no order, or respect of one to the other, for it is entirely by accident that the same name is given to the different things. But it is not thus with the same names that are applied to God and to creatures, for in common names of the kind, the order or relation of cause and effect is considered. Therefore, it is not a pure equivocation when something is predicated both of God and of other things."

² "Essentiam Dei in hac vita cognoscere non possumus secundum quod in se est, sed cognoscimus eam secundum quod representatur in perfectionibus creaturarum." *Sum.*, p. 1, qu. 13, a. 2, ad. 3. That is: "We cannot know the essence of God in this life, as it is in itself; but we know it as represented in the perfections of creatures."

all finite categories of reality ; and though man knows the infinite in a finite manner and inadequately, yet his knowledge is true.

In reasoning from finite or created beings to God as their absolute first cause, the medium of illation is neither univocal nor purely equivocal ; but it is analogical, which is something between the two ; and such medium founds demonstration.

The agnostic asserts that the following objection against the conclusiveness of such reasoning from created beings to God, is insuperable : " If the medium of demonstration be univocal, then God is proved to be of the same specific nature as the creature ; if the medium be equivocal, no valid conclusion can be derived through it ; but, between the univocal and the equivocal, no third species of demonstrative medium is possible."

As a fact, however, there is a *tertium quid* between the univocal and the equivocal, which is the analogical ; and the human mind does reason conclusively from the equivocal effect to its equivocal cause by means of analogy ; nor is it true that the equivocal effect or cause, as the medium of argument, is the same thing as what is styled in logic " the equivocal middle term in a syllogism," which renders such syllogism fallacious. The human mind daily reasons from an inferior to a superior species or order of reality, by means of analogy ; nor can it be legitimately denied that such manner of progressing from one truth to another may be demonstrative. Besides, this objection against the possibility of demonstration based on analogy, seems to prove too much, since it logically includes the denial of mathematical demonstration founded on the analogies of quantity. The manner in which analogy can possess the unity required to constitute it a valid medium of demonstration, may be advantageously illustrated by mathematical reasoning, since analogies which are limited to quantity are more easily and clearly apprehended, and more distinctly conceived, than are the complex analogies in less simple realities.

For example, if it be said, " six acres : twelve acres :: \$120 : \$240," there is a comparison made between quantities as related to each other only by analogy ; for, grades of entity in " acres " agree with corresponding grades in " dollars " only by analogy. It may be concluded, then, that analogy can found demonstration when the truths compared are mathematical ; a principle which no one can venture to deny. It is also possible for that proportion which is analogy, to found demonstration in other kinds of matter especially when the analogy is that of an effect to its cause, even when the effect is from a cause transcending it in species.

Man first knows the principle of causation by way of an analytical judgment, having necessity and universality. To deny that principle, or require *a priori* proof of it, is to call in question an

axiom; for it is known as a primitive truth, or one which has the nature of an evident and absolute first principle. It is a well-known truth, also, that every cause marks or stamps its effect with some likeness,¹ or some connotative sign of itself. By means of this character impressed on all effects, man is able to discern the visible things of the universe as effects, to know all *facts* as effects, and to see in them that they do not suffice to account for their own origin, or that they do not contain within themselves the sufficient reason of their own existence.

He can, by reasoning from these visible things, come to the knowledge of God's existence as their first cause; that He is distinct from them, and that He must be immeasurably superior to them in perfection. No other cause suffices to explain creatures, or to account for their origin. In reasoning of God, the logical order usually followed is, (1) His existence as first cause is concluded from the visible universe; (2) from His existence as necessary first cause, it follows, that He must be *ens a se*, that is, he exists independently of all cause, or is absolute, and unproduced, "I am who am;" (3) from His existing as *ens a se* it is inferred that God is pure act, *actus purrissimus*, that is, He can never change from non-action to action, nor *vice versa*; (4) from His being pure act, as thus understood, it is concluded that He is absolutely immutable, therefore eternal and infinite in every unmixed perfection, for no principle, either intrinsic or extrinsic to Him, can be assigned which limits His perfection. No attempt will be here made to demonstrate the sequence of these conclusions; the reasoning on them is developed by Aristotle, whose arguments are adopted and elucidated by St. Thomas. *Summa*, p. 1.

In reasoning of God, no predicates are affirmed univocally of created or finite things, and their absolute first cause; for, the creature is like to the Creator only by analogy. Even in created things, as already said, no attributes are univocally common to effects, as such, and the equivocal cause of those effects. No attributes of any realities belonging to the categories, or any species of created nature, can be affirmed univocally of them and God; for God transcends all possible categories of created perfection. Yet the human mind can reason with perfect certainty from the proportions or the analogies in created things to the

¹ St. Thomas says, pertinently to this point: "Imago representat secundum similitudinem speciei; vestigium autem representat per modum effectus, vestigium est, quando res aliqua non est formaliter alteri similis, sed tantum ducit in illius notitiam." That is: "The image represents according to a likeness of the species; the vestige (the foot-print, trace) represents by way of an effect. It is the vestige, when something is not formally similar to another but only leads to a knowledge of that other."

Likeness, as in an image, does not arise from common accidents, but from proper ones. Figure is the chief element of likeness in corporeal things.

transcendent perfection of their absolute first cause, and thus reach the knowledge of that cause's existence by means of the analogy which intrinsically and necessarily relates created things as effects to their adequate first cause.

Again, to deny that the human mind can, by means of analogy, come to know superior essences or natures, really and truly, from their effects, or that it can thereby reason validly to the absolute first cause of the visible universe, logically necessitates the further denial, that it is possible for the human mind to know any external objects at all, really and truly, by means of its representative ideas of those objects. While man's intellectual ideas, as representative, are likenesses of their external objects, yet they agree in entity or essence with such objects only by analogy. An intellectual idea is a representative likeness of its prototype, or original object; but in its own nature, as a being, it has no specific agreement; it agrees only by analogy with the object which it expresses. It cannot be denied, however, that intellectual ideas constitute the medium of all intellectual cognition, nor that the human mind knows external objects, really and truly, by means of its ideas which represent those objects.

The image of a visible object on the retina of the eye, the phantasm picturing that object in the imagination, and the idea or mental word expressing it in the intellect, are all, in their respective orders or species, genuine likenesses of that object, because they represent it truly and really, or their likeness to the original is objectively real. These representative likenesses, by means of which our faculties know external objects, differ in species from those objects; for, the objects are substances, while these mere likenesses of them pertain to the category of accident. Representative likenesses in the faculties, which are the medium of all the mind's knowledge may be considered under two respects, (1) as objects or entities, having their own species of reality; (2) as representative or vicarious images of objects serving as the means by which the mind knows their originals or the objects represented by them. These representative likenesses agree, as objects or in entity, only by analogy with their originals; for the objects producing them are of an entirely different species, or are, as styled, their "equivocal causes." But when the images in the faculties are considered as representative of their objects, and the means of knowing objects truly, they are formally similar to their originals; or, they are formal¹ likenesses of those objects. For example, the image of a

¹ Suarez, *Metaph. Disp.*, 6, sect. 6, no. 7, denies that the likenesses of objects received by the faculties are *formal* likenesses; he holds that they are only, *virtually* like to their originals, as the acorn is virtually like to the tree that grows from it. The schoolmen, however, generally style the likeness in question *formal*, in the sense that

visible tree on the retina of the eye is a formal likeness of the tree, but as an object, or in its entity, it agrees with the tree only by analogy. This explanation of the means by which the mind acquires knowledge being true, we must conclude that it does not know any object external to itself except through the medium of analogy.

The representative likenesses, by means of which the mind knows objects, are formal likenesses which really and truly propose those objects, and the mind thereby knows them directly and truly; but it does not, in that act, perceive those vicarious images of the objects at all. All human knowledge is thus so dependent on analogy, as the medium through which it is acquired, that to deny the truth or certainty of knowledge because coming through such medium would be tantamount to asserting the doctrine of general skepticism.

The intellect's idea of any sensible or material object must be more immaterial than is that object, since the intellect itself is immaterial, and a subject receives according to its own nature, and not according to the nature of the thing received. The agnostic theory assumes that the intellectual idea cannot be more immaterial than is the image in the fancy from which the intellect derives its idea. In fact, however, the intellectual idea gets its spiritual or immaterial character, not from the object, but from the intellect itself, the idea being its act. The idea derives its objective truth from the thing known by means of it. Hence the Port Royal "Logic," part 1, ch. 1, justly censures the reasoning of those who, in the author's day, inferred God to be unknowable because the human intellect founds its idea of God on sensible forms or representations in the fancy. The Port Royal writer pronounces this to be the same error as that of the anthropomorphists, who fail to perceive that our idea of God, thus formed by the intellect, must be spiritual, and that it expresses God as pre-eminently transcending all material representations. It may be concluded, therefore, that the agnostic theory, as well as that of the anthropomorphist, is materialistic.

According to Mill, "Theists assume the creation of the world by an intelligent cause, and they then reason therefrom to the manifestations of designs in his works; thus committing the fallacy of begging the question, or, at the best, of reasoning from a mere hypothesis." Such reasoning would surely be preposterous; but, as a fact, no intelligent believer in the existence of God is guilty of this absurdity. The legitimate reasoning is from the world seen to be an effect possessing evident marks of design, as order,

it is objectively true and real; and this language expresses what seems to be the manifest fact.

adaptations, action towards intended ends, etc., to the intelligence and other perfections necessarily required for the sufficient cause of such effects. This method of reasoning is *a posteriori*, and it is perfectly conformable to the canons of logic; for the human mind knows the nature of an argument from design, even if it does not previously know demonstratively God's existence as the absolute first cause of the world. After proving the existence of God as the intelligent first cause, from His works, then to reason regressively, from Him to His works, is neither unscientific nor illogical, as is evident from the very nature of inductive science. That school of writers may be justly said to "reason from a mere hypothesis" who assume "natural selection together with environment," as sufficiently accounting for all design manifested in the visible things around us. They attribute to this fanciful agency works of design and perfections which they deny to God, and thereby devise "a sufficient reason" of all things, which they ask us to accept, but with no more demonstrative proofs for it than were offered by ancient pagans for belief in the imaginary deities, Fate and Fortune. Man's likeness to the Divine nature is analogical, since God is the equivocal cause of all creatures. But, as before said, while the equivocal effect always differs in species from its cause, yet the mind reasons validly and conclusively from such effect to its cause; indeed, it is doing this always, and it does it with facility; in fact, it is only by this method of reasoning that God's existence as the absolute first cause of the visible universe is demonstratively proved.

Man, as to his soul, is styled the image of God, because he resembles God, according to the highest conception of the Divine nature, that of a perfect, intelligent, or personal being. Man was made *ad imaginem Dei*, to the likeness of God; that is, rather according to an image of God, than according to the essence of God. St. Thomas¹ thus describes this likeness of man to God: "In man there is said to be an image of God; it is not perfect, however, but imperfect. This is what the Scripture signifies when it says man was made *to* the image of God. The preposition "*to*" signifies a certain approach, which befits a thing that is distant. . . . Man is called an image on account of likeness; on account of imperfection in the likeness, he is said to be *to* the image. . . . The image is in man as in a different nature, as the image of the king is on a silver coin." As an image, man is dimly, remotely, and im-

¹ "In homine dicitur esse imago Dei, non tamen perfecta, sed imperfecta. Et hoc significat Scriptura, cum dicit hominem factum ad imaginem Dei, prepositio *ad*, accessum quemdam significat, qui competit rei distanti. . . . Homo vero propter similitudinem dicitur imago, propter imperfectionem similitudinis dicitur *ad* imaginem. . . . Imago est in homine sicut in aliena natura, sicut imago regis in nummo argenteo." P. 1., qu. 93, a, 1, in c.

perfectly representative of God through analogies, but yet his likeness to God is true according to its own degree. It represents God truly though inadequately ; it does so by way of a finite yet comprehensive premise, from which conclusions to a personal God readily come to the mind whenever we ask ourselves the question, what must be the attributes or nature of the absolute first cause, as manifested in his works ?

Without here entering into any technical investigation of what analogy is, when considered in itself more strictly, we may justly conclude, it would seem from what has been herein said, that it is irrational to deny its validity as a medium of demonstration. To assert, with Spencer, that our conclusions from the creature to its adequate first cause can reach to no higher being as that cause than creature, would be like to saying that our conclusions from the design manifested in a house can give, for the intellectual ideal of that house, only brick and mortar in the mind of the architect.

This discussion may be appropriately concluded with the following passage from the "Book of Wisdom," ch. 13, which throws much light on the entire subject under consideration: "But all men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God; and who, by these good things that are seen, could not understand Him that is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged the Workman." Then, referring to "the fire, the wind, the swift air, the circle of the stars, the sun, and moon," which the idolaters honored as gods for their "beauty," the inspired text adds: "Let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they; for the first author of beauty made all those things. Or, if they admire their power and their effects, let them understand by them, that He that made them is mightier than they. For, by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen so as to be known thereby."

CARDINAL LAVIGERIE AND THE FRENCH
REPUBLIC.

I.

IT was a brilliant summer's day in the month of August, 1888. The streets of Brussels were gay with crowds hurrying to St. Gudules, the great church of the city. The Queen and her court, diplomatists, cabinet ministers, senators and deputies, representatives of the aristocracy of birth and wealth, professors of the university, generals and officers of the army—all were going with the throng. For some of them, it was, perhaps, their first visit to a Catholic Church; but now, side by side with the sturdy burghers of the Capital, they enter in and fill the noble edifice. It was our good fortune for many years to dwell in that dear little land and among her kindly people; it was our privilege more than once to assist at the great solemnities at St. Gudules, but never did we see there a more brilliant assemblage. Yet, indeed, it could not be said that it was a pious gathering, for many who were there would give as a reason for their presence what Cæsar said long ago, "*ut audiamus Ciceronem.*"

And now the preacher ascends the pulpit. His vestments show that he is a dignitary—a bishop—a cardinal of the Church. "*Le voilà, c'est lui !*" there he is! ran in an eager whisper through the crowd. He stands before them with commanding presence, while the fire sparkles in his piercing eyes. His face inspires veneration, his noble mien respect, while the simple dignity of his whole appearance draws every heart to him in sympathy, in trust and love.

This was Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage. He belongs to that class of orators whom we recognize as such even before they begin to speak. The interest of the spectators as they looked upon him was heightened by the fact that his name was worshipped even at that time with love and gratitude by millions in darkest Africa, and was a household word in every home in Europe. The great heart of France swelled with pride and enthusiasm as the words of her noble son rang through Notre Dame. England, through her foremost men and most influential journals, had loaded him with honors and covered his enterprise with praise. The largest churches in Rome were filled to overflowing by those who would listen to his words of fire, and now he had just come

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from the feet of him whose soul goes out in love not only to Christendom, but to all the sons of men, from the centre of Christianity, whereto even the strong journey to drink of the living waters that ever flow from the rock of Peter. A second Peter the Hermit, Cardinal Lavigerie, was preaching to prince and peasant a new crusade, a crusade against the inhuman slave traders, the routes of whose caravans are marked by the bleaching skeletons of their murdered prey, a crusade in behalf of these wretched victims of avarice and greed, the lowliest of the lowly and the poorest of the poor; a crusade, in a word, to the whole world and to every noble heart in the name of Christianity for the defence of human right.

His speech on this subject in Brussels lasted nearly two hours. From the beginning to the end, the vast audience hung upon his lips. The words of his Master, "*Misericor super turbam*,"¹ "I have mercy on the people," seemed to have filled his soul to overflowing and gave new meaning to every word. And as he described the sad story of this so long unknown land, the sufferings of the slaves, the cruelty of their persecutors, and, on the other hand, the duty of providing against such misery, instinctively our mind went back to that wondrous vision which the prophet saw in the valley of dry bones. It was as if a new Ezechiel were standing over the graves of a buried people and crying out: "*Ossa arida, audite verbum Domini!*" "O ye dried bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will open your graves and cause you to come out of your graves, O my people, and I will put my spirit into you and you shall live I will open the tomb which has so long imprisoned you for ye also are my people and I will lead you out from the darkness and a new spirit will I pour out upon you the spirit of Christ and the spirit of His law."²

And not on us alone did the words of the Cardinal make so powerful an impression. The magnetism of his address had by turns touched and edified, moved and electrified all who heard it. "*Quel homme et quelle éloquence extraordinaires!*" "What an extraordinary man, how wonderfully eloquent!" was the verdict of even the most phlegmatic. "*Quel grand cœur et quel langage de feu!*" "What a great soul and what words of fire!" cried they who were moved not so much by his appeal to their Christianity as by their sense of humanity. "*C'est un apôtre!*" "He is an Apostle!" was the brief but pregnant remark of those in whose Catholic hearts the appeal to their charity had found a double echo. And all these opinions were justified; for, in fact, we had

¹ *Marc.*, viii., 2.

² *Ezech.*, 37.

been listening to a true apostle and a truly great man ; an apostle, who, in our days, had shown to an admiring world the heroic impersonation of the spending and being spent of St. Paul ; a great man, for he had devoted the most eminent qualities of head and heart to the service of a great idea—the opening up of Christianity to civilization and to Christ.

II.

This imposing spectacle was brought back to our mind very forcibly a few days ago, when we read the account of the sensation caused by some remarks of the orator of that memorable occasion. A part of the French navy lay in the harbor of Algiers, and Cardinal Lavigerie, on November 12th, invited the officers to a banquet. In replying to one of the toasts customary on such occasions, the Cardinal used the words which were the cause of all the excitement. It was not a sermon or a studied oration, but simply an after-dinner speech. His words were immediately cabled to France, and from France they were despatched to the newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. The Cardinal had, in fact, spoken for publication, and his remarks were addressed not so much to the officers, whom he was entertaining, as to his Catholic fellow-citizens of France. It produced in them that stupor, mingled with respectful admiration, which always follows the firm and courageous utterance of that which many think, but which no one dares to be the first to express. It was as if a bombshell had exploded in their midst. All lifted up their voices in chorus, some in blame and others in praise. The newspapers were filled with communications, either bitterly denouncing him or lauding him to the skies ; and ever since, the controversy has gone vigorously on, and in café, street and salon the chief topic of conversation is the speech of Lavigerie to the naval officers of Algiers.

Now, what was the nature of this speech which caused all this clamor ? Simply that the Cardinal had declared for the republic. He proclaimed himself a supporter of the existing form of government, and advised French Catholics to abandon their political divisions and to enroll themselves under the same banner. This certainly appears to be nothing but common sense ; there does not seem to be anything very new in it. Here, in America, we can hardly understand why so much ado should be made about it in France. Many prominent Catholics, both of the laity and the clergy, had long before expressed the same sentiments, but their words had made little or no impression. They were not Lavigeries ; their words did not carry with them that weight which is attached to the utterances of truly great men.

To illustrate this, we may recall an anecdote of the great French

writer, Chateaubriand. At one of the famous soirées in Paris Chateaubriand was present, and the conversation turned on the well-known sentiment attributed to Napoleon when an exile in St. Helena. "I have found," he is reported to have said, "many who respected and revered me; but how few have remained faithful and true. Jesus Christ asked men for their love and their love has been given Him in every age and in every clime. I know what a man is, and I tell you that Jesus Christ was not a mere man." Chateaubriand was asked for his opinion on the authenticity of this expression. He read it over and then exclaimed: "How can you doubt it! *Il y a là la griffe du lion.*"

And so in France. When Lavigerie's pronouncement on this long and hotly debated subject was read, every one exclaimed: *Il y a là la griffe du lion!* The impression was heightened by certain expressions in the speech, which seemed an echo of the most authoritative voice on earth. In short, Cardinal Lavigerie's toast was a political programme for his countrymen: *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!* Sincerest love for our Church as well as for our country, impells us to proclaim ourselves loyal supporters of the republican form of government now existing in France.

III.

That programme, and all the issues connected with it, well deserves our attention. France is facing a future which is uncertain in the highest degree. A great nation with a glorious history—a great people with splendid characteristics, but also with deplorable faults. It is certainly a subject full of the highest interest for those who would trace the ways by which Providence directs the nations; and our Catholic readers will forgive us if we go somewhat into detail in explaining the present condition of a land whose kings once well merited the title "*Rex Christianissimus*," "Most Christian King" a land which once was the *fille aînée de l'Église*," and which to-day supports thousands of missionary and charitable institutions, not only at home but abroad; spending lavishly her treasure on these noble works and devoting to them the best and bravest of her sons and daughters.

When we remember, however, the times of Louis XV., when the upper classes, by their shameless licentiousness, justified the satire "*La France est une monarchie absolue tempérée par des chansons*;" when we remember the infamous propaganda carried on in Europe by the anti-Christian philosophers of the "*Encyclopédie*;" when we recall the horrors of the Revolution and the awful deeds of the Reign of Terror; when we notice that even to-day this great and beautiful land is ruled by the disciples of Voltaire and Rousseau; when we consider all this, we say, we can but admit, that it is the

rod of an angry God which is smiting this people, as St. Paul says : "*Dimisit Deus generationes ingredi vias suas.*"¹

Still, none the less do these other words apply : "*Et quidem non sine testimonio semetipsum reliquit.*"²

The *gesta Dei per Francos* have not been blotted from the page of history ; even in our days are they still continued by pious and high spirited men, by the innumerable charitable institutions which cover the land, by the pioneers of Christianity and civilization in Africa, in Asia, in Australia, and here, even on the outposts of our own America. God, who "*sanabiles fecit nationes,*"³ has placed all these as witnesses to His Providence in this great nation "*ut quærerent Deum, si forte attraherent eum aut inveniant !*"⁴ A people of such generous heart will surely not bury the talents which God has given them, but will increase them a hundred fold. This, however, can only be done by France again becoming Christian, Christian in private and in public life, Christian in press and in literature, Christian especially in her government. "*Instaurare omnia in Christo ;*" this must be the motto of those who are called to co-operate in the great work of her regeneration.

Now, of course, it goes without saying, this was the only point of view possible to a Cardinal. But then comes the practical question, how is it to be carried out ? what obstacles are to be removed ? If Cardinal Lavigerie were speaking to an ordinary congregation or addressing a Catholic congress, no doubt he would, in the beginning, proclaim the necessity of obeying the commandments of God and religion, the foundations on which all government rests ; but here he has quite a different means in view to obtain the same patriotic and Christian end. Catholics ought to take more interest in public affairs, they should make their influence felt in politics. This, however, they can only do by combining their forces, and such a combination of forces supposes a single political platform. Now the only platform possible for Catholics is, according to Lavigerie, frank and loyal adherence to the republic.

IV.

Here are his own words :

"In presence of the still-bleeding past, and the ever-menacing future, *union* is, at the present moment, our *supreme need* ; and union is also, allow me to remind you, the first desire of the Church and of her pastors in every grade of the sacred Hierarchy. This Union undoubtedly does not require us to blot out the remembrance of past glories, nor to give up those sentiments of

¹ Act. xiv., 15.

³ Sap. i., 14.

² *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴ Act. xvii., 27.

fidelity and gratitude that honor all men. However, when the will of the people has been clearly affirmed; when the form of a government, as Leo XIII. recently proclaimed, contains nothing contrary to the vital principles of Christian and civilized nations, when, to save one's country from the destruction that threatens it, firm adhesion without any mental reservation to that form of government becomes necessary—the time has come to finally declare the experiment made—to put an end to our divisions; and to sacrifice all that conscience and honor permit, and command even, each one to sacrifice for the country's good.

"This is what I teach all around me and what I desire to see taught in France by our entire clergy; and speaking thus, I am sure not to be reproved by any authoritative voice.

"Besides this resignation, this patriotic acceptance, nothing can preserve peace and good order—save the world from social peril—and save even the religion, of which we are the ministers.

"It would be folly to hope to sustain the columns of an edifice, without entering into the edifice itself, were it only to prevent those who would destroy everything, from accomplishing their evil purpose; folly above all, to keep aloof, as some still do, notwithstanding recent shameful occurrences; thus giving our ever vigilant enemies the spectacle of our dissensions or our hatred, and instilling into the heart of France discouragement, the forerunner of the greatest calamities."

V.

We shall not stop to discuss the question whether a good Catholic can be a loyal supporter of a republic as well as of a monarchy or any other form of government. For Catholics, there is no room for controversy. The explicit declarations of the Popes, and the most elementary notions of the origin and universality of the Church, place it beyond all question. To refute seriously the allegations of certain of our adversaries would be doing too much honor to what is either the densest ignorance or conscious insincerity. We are too often apt to forget that bad faith never lays down its arms, and we thus fall into skilfully-laid traps, making ourselves playthings for those who strive to hide their hate by claiming a monopoly of patriotism. It seems to us that Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic have erred too long by an excess of simplicity and condescension. "*Claudite iam rivos, sat prata biberunt.*"

Neither are the principles of *public right* in question in the present case. Certainly, France is the last country in the world where the appeal should be made to Legitimism—to the hereditary right of a certain family to possess the supreme power. Not only have

the French more than any other people contributed to spread the doctrines of popular sovereignty, but they have put the principle in practice in choosing the many forms of government they have experimented with, since the great revolution of 1793. Again, all French pretenders whether Royalists or Imperialists, Orleanists or Bonapartists, all recognize more or less openly the inherent or acquired rights of the nation.¹ *Legitimism*, in the old sense of the word, is buried in the tomb that contains the mortal dust of a man who was too kingly to be a king. Cardinal Lavigerie has therefore reason to say that the republic now existing—established after the fall of Sedan, Sept. 4, 1870, and since confirmed in all the popular elections, is the government which the country has legally chosen. But there is more than that; not only has the republic become the legal form of government according to the principles of public right in vogue in France, not only can it retort on the pretenders the maxim "*scienti et volenti non fit iniuria*," but it can also now invoke a certain prescription against those who at first denounced its founders as usurpers. In fact this charge of usurpation comes very badly from the defenders of modern right and is refuted most thoroughly at least as far as France is concerned by the events which led up to the reigns of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. But this apart, the natural law itself declares that the possession of authority, which at first was but a matter of fact, may, in certain cases, to safeguard the good of the whole people, become also a matter of right. For it can easily happen, by reason of the lapse of time and divers other circumstances, that the establishment of another government would be hurtful or morally impossible, not only in the present but even in the future, and in such a case, the public good would demand that those in possession should be con-

¹ With regard to the question of the origin of the sovereign power in civil society one may certainly hold the theory of those who say that it comes mediately from God; immediately from the community. According to this opinion, the power resides radically in the people, and is given by them to one or more persons in a manner more or less integral, absolute and irrevocable. This opinion is supported by many great theologians, Bellarmine, Suarez, Molina, Lessius, St. Alphonsus; and has never been reproved by the Holy See. Certainly no one can deny that it is possible for the power thus to reside in the people, but it is entirely different, to say, that it must so reside. Leo XIII. has touched on this question in several of his encyclicals, notably, in "*Quod Apostolici muneris*," "*Diuturnum*," "*Humanum Genus*," "*Immortale Dei*," and his teaching seems rather to favor those who affirm that power is conferred immediately by God on rulers, and that the people have only the right of designating the particular persons who shall rule, but that the people do not confer the power on them.

It is unnecessary to state that the theory of the exclusively human origin of the sovereignty of the people, as formulated by Rousseau, and proclaimed, as a matter of public right by modern agnosticism, is as anti-social as it is anti-Christian. It is simply founded on social atheism.

sidered to be so lawfully, according to the maxim: "*salus publica suprema lex.*"¹

But now, is this the case at present in France? Here we reach the real question which must be decided by the actual condition of the country and it is on the actual condition of the country that Lavigerie takes his stand and bases his conclusions. One does not need to be deeply versed in politics to see that events have so changed in France that the re-establishment of the monarchy is a Utopian dream—a dream which may be cherished as a theory but which day by day becomes more impossible to be realized.

We do not mean to say that the republic as it is, that is to say, as it is ruled by the present majority of the chambers, is such as to inspire Catholics with confidence and satisfaction, or that it has

¹ The term "prescription" is not altogether exact in this case, as our learned friend, Dr. Bouquillon, remarks in his renowned *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis*, i., p. 162: "Quemadmodum contingere potest ut auctoritatis possessor, qui prius legitimus erat, postea evadat illegitimus, nempe ratione privationis, indignitatis, incapacitatis et impotentiae, ita vicissim contingere potest ut detentor illegitimus decursu temporis evadat possessor legitimus: hoc autem fit, non per viam proprie dictae praescriptionis, sed per viam cuiusdam amissionis (déchéance) ex una parte, et collationis in favorem alterius partis. Ubi notandum est, *per se* facilius amitti auctoritatis possessionem quam rerum dominium; cuius ratio est, quia rerum dominium est in utilitatem domini, auctoritas autem est in bonum communis. Dicimus *per se*, nam aliter loquendum est de casu quo auctoritas alicui exercenda tradita fuerit in finem sublimiorem: exemplum est in principatu temporali S. Sedis."

This last sentence contains the reply to the objection which may be drawn from the principles of natural and public law against the necessity of the Temporal Power of the Pope. The Holy Father and the Catholics of the whole world protest against the present situation in Rome, not only because the King of Sardinia forced his way into that city by the breach at Porta Pia, and consummated his usurpation by the most shameless robberies and by the violation of the most sacred rights, but also and more especially because of the divine power and divine mission of the Holy See. God Himself has given to the successors of St. Peter supreme spiritual power; God Himself has willed and ordained that this power be exercised in full and complete liberty and independence; that His Vicar should not be in any way the subject of a temporal prince, who is, or ought to be, his faithful child; and all this for the *greatest good, not of a single nation only, but of the whole church, and consequently of all the nations of the earth*. Now the Temporal Power of the Pope is the *means* chosen by Providence to secure the free exercise of Papal authority, and this means is, especially in the present condition of affairs, the indispensable condition of the independence and liberty of that authority. Therefore, the right of the Popes to a territory of which they would be rulers is inviolable and exempt from all prescription, not only because they have held it legitimately for twelve centuries, *but also and above all because this power is so intimately connected with the divine prerogatives of the Popes and consequently with the spiritual interests of the whole church*. Here, then, we apply the maxim, *Salus publica suprema lex, i.e.*, the usurpation of power by a prince, were it even with the consent of a nation, cannot become legitimate by any title, when it is *in opposition to the interests of a higher order*, namely, the spiritual, when it is opposed to *the good of all Catholics*, and is injurious to the well being of the *whole Church*. The immense importance of this question merits a far longer explanation, which cannot be given here. We hope, however, to have the opportunity of treating it later on in a distinct article.

conquered its adversaries or won them over by its conciliatory action. Certainly not. On the contrary, it has done everything it possibly could to make itself hated by those of its citizens who have any regard for their most sacred rights, and has given every possible pretext for its overthrow. Reckless squandering of the public funds, arbitrary intolerance of every description, shameful corruption in politics, open violation of the sentiments of the majority by religious persecution—all these things have been done in the name of the republic, and if it stands to-day, it is not the fault of the republicans. But the republic is in possession and this in itself is an immense advantage; it requires ten times more strength to capture a position than to defend it, and what party is there just now that is so sure of support from the country as to attempt such an undertaking?

The *Orleanist* family have not even all the royalists with them. Some can never forgive Philippe Egalité for his share in the condemnation of Louis XVI. Their anxiety for the safety of their possessions at a time when France was drained of her treasure under the Prussian sword, and their intimate relations with the great barons of Jewish finance have raised many protestations and awakened much opposition. Finally, during the late Boulangist agitation, the monarchists were so mixed up with this band of theatrical adventurers that even those who kept their hopes the highest understood that all was ended. The letter of the Count of Paris taking on his own shoulders the blame of this compromising alliance was an act of political honesty, but it has not bettered the situation. On the contrary it was to use a French expression: "*le P. P. C. de la royauté.*"

Among the *Imperialists*, Prince Jerome is more to be feared by Catholics than men like Ferry, Clemenceau or Constans; and in fact he has about as little desire to possess the throne as France has to give it to him.

As to Prince Victor, we do not know whether he adopts the principles of his pious mother, Princess Clotilde, or follows those of his father. All we know of him or of his political career is summed up in certain letters of thanks or congratulations addressed to various Bonapartist committees. It would be imprudent to base hopes on this young man which his past record gives not the slightest promise of ever being realized.

The Republic alone remains, and, it would be childish to deny it, it grows stronger every day, in the same measure as its opponents are becoming more and more feeble and disorganized.

Jules Simon, one of the most intellectual men of our times, and at the same time one of the most competent judges in this question, has written an article in the December number of the *Forum*,

1890, entitled "The Stability of the French Republic." In his usual clear, precise and perspicuous style, with all the authority given by his age, experience, and former position as member of the Cabinet, he sets forth the history of the Third Republic, describes its domestic and foreign policy, and enumerates the enemies with whom it had and still has to contend.¹ As an impartial man and judicious observer of events, the celebrated rationalist openly condemns the vexatious and annoying measures by which Catholics have been justly "irritated and exasperated." He bears noble testimony to the unyielding firmness with which the Church defends all questions of doctrine, and also to the broad and conciliatory spirit which she displays in all matters of pure politics. "These quarrels, wantonly stirred up and profoundly to be regretted, are not irremediable. The policy of the Catholic Church is not one of rancor; it adapts itself to accomplished facts and makes the greatest possible use of them in its own interest. It is inflexible only with regard to dogma."

He concludes thus: "To sum up, the Republican establishment seems solidly constituted. It has all the organs of life and duration. . . . it is stronger to-day than at its beginning. But its principal strength lies in the increasing weakness of its enemies. . . . The Republic has now no longer enemies before it; or, if it has any, they are Republican enemies."

The great writer and the great Cardinal had certainly not consulted, before giving to the world, the one his article, the other his manifesto, yet their more immediate conclusions are absolutely identical. We say "their more immediate conclusions," for Jules Simon naturally confines himself to giving wise advice to the present government, to follow more moderate councils, which advice may be summed up in the famous words of Thiers, "*Nous n'avons plus aucune faute à commettre*;" while the Cardinal has principally in mind to bring about the union of Catholics, to persuade them to abandon their profitless and empty hopes, and to work together in the republic usefully and efficaciously for Church and Fatherland.

Cease to antagonize the Republic; you work without hope of success and you are wasting your strength. If the Republic is now mistress of France, if it has abused its power to work injury

¹ "Between 1780 and 1890, we have had in France a very respectable number of Governments. Not one of them has lasted beyond fifteen or sixteen years, except the third Republic, which but a few days ago entered on its twenty-first year. The Republicans do not hesitate to say that the Republic is now permanently established; and I believe this to be true, first, because the Republic has already lived so long, and secondly, because neither of the two monarchies by which it is threatened is in a condition to seize the power. Even if one of these should usurp the government, it would not have a fortnight to live."

to the Church and to religion, it is our own fault, the fault of our quarrels and of our inactivity. Let us support, not the men who actually govern the republic, but the principles embodied in the republican form of government. Let us support the Republic, that in our turn we may become its governors. Let us unite under its flag, that under the protection of that flag we may have entrance to the Chambers. We shall go there at first a minority, but a minority strong enough and energetic enough to make ourselves respected. . . . it will depend on our own efforts to become the majority. Then, when that comes to pass, the radical and atheistic republic will have had its day, and Catholic France will be governed by a Catholic Republic.

Such, it seems to us, is the idea of the Cardinal. It is thus it has been understood by the most authoritative Catholic journals of France, particularly *L'Univers*, *La Croix* and *La France Nouvelle*. "Yes," writes the latter, "it is our wish to follow the policy of union. . . . it is our desire to labor for the religious and social peace of our country, which our political disunion destroys; we are willing to do our share in hindering much evil and in making the Republic, in spite of certain republicans, a government in the true sense of the word.

The *Figaro* itself, the organ of all opinions and of all amusements, finds the words of the Cardinal very much to the point. It laughs scornfully at the "*grands seigneurs*" of the aristocracy, who are continually crying to the clergy: "*Luttes! luttes!*" "fight on! fight on!" while they themselves spend their time complacently in the diversions of the salons, the hunting field or the race course. Now it happens that this class of Catholics who would counsel and rule the Church are not at all pleased with the words of Cardinal Lavigerie. They declare, as Saint Genest tells us in the *Figaro*, "that in spite of cardinals and archbishops they will never submit to the republic!" However this may be, it is certain that the words of Cardinal Lavigerie were addressed in the first place to the aristocracy and the "*haute bourgeoisie*" of France. In spite of all its faults, the aristocracy still wields an immense influence in society, and it is now its duty to make true the motto, "*Noblesse oblige*." It obliges them to show the most complete devotion, and to make the greatest sacrifices, when the interests of religion and country are at stake. They style themselves "Conservatives," and call themselves the "Ruling Classes," "*les classes dirigeantes*;" but they should bear in mind that vague protestations made in the corner of a drawing-room never "conserve" anything, not even honor, and that the *ruling classes* should rule something else than a coursing match or a cotillon. The following is the advice given by Saint Genest in a moment of unaccus-

tomed frankness to his aristocratic friends: "Let them go to the Nuncio and say to him: 'We have resolved to take our part in the great struggle for religion and fatherland; from the large cities, even to the smallest villages we will fight for our Church and our country. We will change our way of living. We will say good-bye to luxury and to pleasure. We will live for fighting, like the Prussians in 1806. You may tell the Holy Father that he can depend on us!'" Then Saint Genest adds: "Let them say that, and you may be sure that the clergy will be extremely happy to cease making the concessions they are forced to submit to now. But while they go on in their present fashion of crying, 'fight on, fight on!' as they return from a ball or leave the theatre, or hurry to the race course, the Nuncio would only repeat what a certain Italian prelate once said to Leo XIII.: "Les francesi, bien aimables, mais un piou façours!"

We had already written the above when the latest news from Europe proved that the sensation caused by the Cardinal's manifesto had reached the proportions of a historical event. His Eminence himself, in a letter addressed to the editor of *La Croix*, of Amiens, has given us a further explanation of his ideas. This document shows that the Cardinal had not raised his rallying cry without having asked Leo XIII. for his advice beforehand, and thus there was additional reason for our first commentary: "*Il y a là la griffe du lion.*" "A sufficient experience," he says, "was necessary to confirm our resolution, and moreover the voice of an authority, which we are bound to obey, has spoken." The Cardinal insists on the teachings of the Holy Father, especially those contained in the Encyclical "*Sapientiæ Christianæ*," to prove to his fellow-citizens, that in the present circumstances the efficacious defense of their rights under the flag of the only government which is now possible, to wit, the republic, is not only useful and desirable, but also obligatory and necessary. It is not our intention to discuss here those delicate questions which touch the domain of conscience. It is enough to have mentioned the fact here, that thus we may give full and entire expression to the ideas of the Cardinal, whose noble and majestic figure inspired the preceding pages. We will only add that the sentiments of filial respect and submission with which such a man speaks of the teachings of the Vicar of Christ, and strives to put them into execution, should touch and edify, strengthen and rejoice every Catholic heart.

We will now sum up the argument which we have endeavored to set forth in this article, and which we believe to be the basis of the Cardinal's manifesto.

Many Frenchmen, and notably the French Catholics, have

deemed it their duty since 1870 to oppose the republic and declare themselves monarchists.

As long as there was any reasonable hope that the monarchy might be restored, this policy was not only not reprehensible but was even praiseworthy, especially considering the abuse of power committed against church and country by the masters and representatives of the republic.

But now, after twenty years of experience, by the mistakes and divisions of its adversaries, the pretenders and their adherents, the republic still exists, and has even struck its roots deep in the hearts of the people. It is become impossible to overthrow it. The monarchy has no longer any chance of being re-established, and even if it were it could not last.

Therefore it is Utopian to continue to dream of such a re-establishment; to continue to cherish this hope is an useless and sterile policy.

It is more; it is injurious in the highest degree to the interests of religion and country. It exiles Catholics, and among them the most influential men in French public affairs. It hinders the union of all the conservative forces in the country, a union which is the indispensable condition of useful and efficacious political action. In the meantime, the enemies of religion hold on to power and use it against us, while we could be in their place, and could give Catholic France a government at once patriotic and Christian.

Union, therefore, must be our motto, and in order to union we must agree on one programme. The only programme possible is for us to declare openly and without any reservation that we accept the republic; that is, the republican form of government—that we do not dream of overthrowing it. Separated we are powerless, united we shall find strength; we shall be able to defend our rights and make our opponents respect them. And we shall be in a position to hinder the war of hate which atheistic ministers wage against the Church in the name of the republic. Sooner or later, we ourselves shall direct its destinies, and then we can give to France a republican government, fair and honest and worthy of her present and her past.

Doubtless there are, in the last letter of the Cardinal, certain remarks on individuals which we may very well be excused from adopting. Moreover, some of his conclusions are open to question; moreover, he does not pretend to give an official interpretation of the Encyclical of the Holy Father; and we can easily comprehend the hesitation and distress of certain eminent French Catholics whose loyalty to the Holy See is above all suspicion. Therefore, it is our opinion that the last word has not yet

been spoken on this great event on which depends in great measure the future of France.¹

VII.

We have just examined the comments of the French press as far as time and opportunity allowed us, and nowhere have we seen the reasoning given above seriously refuted. It is true there has been a good deal of eloquent declamation against "this detestable, abominable, insupportable government which styles itself the French republic"; but this only strengthens the resolution of those whose programme it is to combat the men who have made the republic so, to drive them from the ministerial benches, to cast them from their seats in the senate and in the chamber, and even from the presidential chair, in a word, to capture their republic and make it ours. Others waste time and ink in describing in a most charming and enthusiastic manner what the monarchy would have done for France, as though in politics any one ever relied on *futura conditionata*, as if these posthumous jeremiads were not a humiliating confession for those who did nothing to prepare for that future, while as yet there was time. Other lamentations of the same nature are well refuted by Saint Genest, whose sarcastic yet common-sense advice we have quoted above. Some have tried to prove that the Cardinal is inconsistent. They have recalled the fact that once he was the friend and confidant of the Comte de Chambord. A former Secretary of this worthy scion of St. Louis has published a letter addressed by the Archbishop of Algiers to Chambord in 1874 in which he urges him to come to France at once and proclaim himself king. But the Cardinal has never made a secret of his sympathy for Henry V., a sympathy which honors both the one and the other. He even speaks of it in his last letter. To this very day he regrets that the king did not take his advice. But this man, a true king in heart and character, is now no more. Even if he were still alive he could not blot out the sixteen years which have passed since then. He could not undo the fact that even the idea of a monarchy has almost disappeared from the French people, as Mgr. Isoard, Bishop of Annecy, remarks in a letter in which he declares his adherence to the Platform of Lavigerie. The publication of a private letter of the Cardinal by a third party has only proved two things—first, that the former secretary was not above com-

¹ [A letter of Cardinal Rampolla written by order of His Holiness to one of the French bishops in the last few days comes to us most opportunely, as it shows that the writer was not mistaken in his conjecture that Cardinal Lavigerie knew full well that the stand he had taken would meet with the full approbation of the Holy Father.—ED.]

mitting a breach of confidence, and, second, that he understands neither the logic of facts nor the logic of the Cardinal.

We were not a little astonished to see Paul de Cassagnac gravely lecturing the Cardinal to the effect "that Catholics may abandon a political interest, but not those of the faith." Here it is really difficult *satiram non scribere*. Cassagnac has been a redoubtable opponent of the republic. His bold and independent attitude in the chamber classes him amongst the most interesting men in France. His caustic and inexorable pen will always secure readers for his paper among all parties; but when a man has acquired the reputation, rather unenviable for a Christian, of being the best duellist in France, and consequently has saddled himself with a good score of excommunications, it would be certainly more becoming in him to make his contrition more and more perfect than to explain the gospel to a Cardinal, especially when that Cardinal is such a man as Lavigerie.

Nothing has been passed over in the Cardinal's toast. His critics have weighed every word in the balance to trip up the speaker. We will mention one other objection; for its refutation will give our readers a deeper insight into the present condition of the political parties of France and show still more clearly the opportuneness of the Cardinal's declaration. How can Lavigerie, they say and they write, recognize the republic, "*sans arrière pensée*," without reservation? Is not that the same as swallowing at one gulp not only the republican form of government but also the republic as it now exists with all its principles and laws? We have found this objection urged even in the more serious stamp of newspapers. Therefore, in the presence of the highest representatives of the French navy, by telegraph and through the press, in the presence of France and all Europe, an archbishop has publicly and solemnly canonized the grandmaster of the masons, Constans, and company, the champions of atheism! They are determined not to understand the Cardinal, thus to escape his inexorable logic. That logic tells them unmistakably: We must raise the republic openly and honestly on our banner; we must not enter the chambers, we must not seek influence in the government in order to accomplish a *coup d'état* and then open the gates of Paris to the Count of Paris and place him on the throne. Such a reservation would not be honest, would be irreconcilable with a republican platform. That express declaration of the Cardinal was not intended as a trap, nay, it was necessary, taking into account the conditions of the various political parties as they now are in France. Representative Piou, an honorable and most clever member of the Chambers, has in our day tried to unite the Catholics of the various political parties in France. His pro-

gramme was and is as follows: We are before all else Catholics; our religion suffers persecution at the hands of the republic and we are doing nothing against our persecutors and we can do nothing as long as we remain disunited. Some of us are Orleanists; others Jeromists; others still Victorists or Republicans. We must build up one party if we wish to defend our religion. Let us therefore allow each one to remain true to this or that dynasty, to the monarchy or to the republic, but let us call ourselves the "Christian Party," and as such let us take our place openly in the Chambers. Such a motion was certainly good; it would have brought forth good fruit and gathered together under its flag men of renown, many of whom are in the Chambers always ready to defend the rights of religion.

But that programme was imperfect, and therefore not plain enough. Piou went only half way, and so could gain no influence as a political party, whether for himself or his followers. And why? For two reasons. First, a great portion of the people had no confidence in such a party. The vast majority of the French nation are sick and tired of revolution. The monarchy deceived their fondest hopes. The country desires peace, especially internal peace. Voters, therefore, said to such candidates: It is true you are Catholics, but you intend to overthrow the government; that means violent convulsions over again; it means the shedding of blood, and for the last hundred years we have suffered enough from this constant change and the consequent insecurity. We cannot, therefore, recognize you as men deserving our confidence in political matters.

The second reason is found in the stand taken by the government, which knows full well how to manipulate cunningly the voting against Piou's party. Whenever such Catholics rise in the Chambers to complain against the persecution of the Church and religion, immediately the cry is raised from the ministerial benches or those of the majority: Who are you to complain? It is not we who are stirring up the country. It is you; for who are you? the bitter enemies of the republic; openly and secretly you are working for its overthrow. You are in truth Revolutionists. And now you say you are speaking in the name of Catholics! If so, then are Catholics the sworn enemies of the republic, and you expect us to be so simple and foolish as to treat them as friends? Would it not be insane for us to furnish weapons and to guarantee all freedom to those who are thinking only of turning those weapons against ourselves and the republic?

We need not remark that this answer has its perfidious and intolerant side, but it cannot be denied that in the mouths of supporters of the government it has its justification. At all events, it

is a fact that Freycinet and Rouvier, Fallières and Constans, have made use of it with good effect ; and it is likewise a fact that they have thus gained their end, that of compromising the Catholics in the Chambers before the country as enemies of the republic ; nay, more, even in the eyes of good Catholics. Piou, indeed, retorted well : But we stand on the ground of the republic as well as you ; we do not protest against it. Is that so ? They answer back : You come to us and creep into the house of the republic, in order, at a given moment, to throw into it your dynamite bomb, to set it on fire, and then on its ruins, to press the scepter into the hand of your emperor or king. This state of affairs filled the episcopal and patriotic heart of the noble Cardinal with anguish. He looked for a remedy. He called to mind particularly the words full of wisdom of Leo XIII., and said to himself : No special form of government is of its own nature Catholic ; why should we Catholics constantly stretch forth our hands praying for a monarchy, especially when it has become an impossibility and the people will have none of it ? That is not the way of the Catholic Church. She considers human affairs from a higher standpoint. *The welfare of souls must take precedence of the welfare of dynasties.* This is why the Cardinal gave his toast, and this is why he wrote his letter. This is why he gave the finishing touch to Piou's programme, made it complete instead of a half measure, and proclaimed : "*Adhérons à la République sans arrière-pensée !*" True, we do not approve of the disgraceful laws of our present Republicans, but we will fight against them, vizer up. We will assure the nation that we mean peace ; and that republican institutions will be defended honestly and honorably by us. Then will the nation trust us, and, as the champions of the Catholic people, we will in all measures carry our flag aloft, and enter into the house of the republic. Then will they be forced to listen to us in the name of the free republic. Having once disciplined our forces, we will be able to make the house a most comfortable dwelling. Freedom and public and social peace shall dwell therein more than ever before. When that day shall come, then will every Catholic be glad to live under the republic ; *then will they have saved France !*¹

¹ To show the honesty of his conviction in the clearest manner possible, the Cardinal, immediately after his toast, asked the band to play the national hymn of the republic, the well known Marsellaise. No wonder that this has been made a special matter of reproach to the Cardinal, for the Marsellaise had its origin in the bloody days of the Revolution of 1793. In answer to this we might quote : *Cum duo faciunt (canunt) idem, non est idem.* All that Lavigerie intended, as he himself expressly declares, was, that thereby he acknowledged his complete adherence to the present form of government. His Eminence might have remembered that the truly catching and delightful melody of the Marsellaise had in reality an ecclesiastical and Catholic origin. Rouget de Lisle, to whom, as the supposed author of the same, several statues

To express our own views : it is our decided conviction that the logic of the Cardinal, both from a political and from a religious point of view, is unanswerable. If, in spite of all, it be still objected, French Catholics are no longer Catholic enough or powerful enough to form a compact, united party with any hope of success in the battle against the wicked republic and for the establishment of a good republic—then indeed is the whole question not only vain and useless but unworthy of consideration. Then for France as a nation we would only have to write the epitaph : *Finis Galliæ Christianæ !*

Others there are, who, unable to rise to the high plane occupied by the Cardinal, reproach him, as being more African than French. They say that he is ignorant of the political situation in France—that he is flattering the government in order to gain its assistance in his anti-slavery crusade; that he speaks with passion, etc. The poet has well described the attack of the pigmies on Hercules. This description is a sufficient answer to such attacks :

" Alcidem Pygmea propago,
Ridet, et ingeminat turba proterva jocos."

Let us place alongside of this the picture of the great French apostle and patriot drawn by the facile pen of Jules Simon : "Admiral Duperré has called him the apostle of Africa. He should have said, the apostle of civilization. Men like Lavigerie are worth a whole system of philosophy in spreading civilization. Men like him are as good as an army in increasing the prestige and the influence of their country."

However the matter may end, the Primate of Africa will always have the honor of being the first to bring into the sphere of prac-

have been erected in France, copied the whole tune from an oratorio composed in 1787 by the choir-master, Grisons, of Saint Omer. One of the editors of the *Univers*, Arthur Loth, in a pamphlet published some years ago, proved this fact beyond question.

The same objection might be urged against the beautiful national hymn of Prussia, which, if we are not mistaken, owes its origin to the Revolution of 1848, and therefore is tinged also with democracy, *e.g.* :

" Nicht Ross, nicht Reisige
Sichern die steile Höh,
Wo Fürsten stehn !
Fühl in des Thrones Glanz
Die hohe Wonne ganz
Liebling des Volks zu sein,
Heil König dir!"

We have, however, never heard or noticed that this circumstance has anywhere done injury to the loyal feeling for the Prussian monarchy, which is so strong, and justly so, in that country.

tical politics the important question, the solution of which is so necessary for France ; and to his courage is due the initiative of a great movement, which may perhaps mark the beginning of a new era for that noble and glorious land.

Doubtless Lavigerie has displayed some passion in this struggle *pro aris et focis*, as he has displayed it in the great enterprise which has placed him in the front rank of the French episcopate and of the great men of the period. He is certainly possessed by a master passion, by which he is consumed, and which absorbs his every power. All his eloquence, all his strength, his whole soul are in that passion for Jesus Christ, Whose name he has carried into the desert of the Sahara and Whose reign he would re-establish in his beloved country. It is this passion which fills him with the indomitable courage and untiring energy, which make heroes and conquerors.

HENRY C. LEA AS AN HISTORIAN.

Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition. By Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. Philadelphia : Lea Brothers. 1890.

MR. LEA in this, the last work that has come from his pen, treats of two entirely distinct questions. The first portion of the volume is devoted to the Censorship of the Press, the second treats of Mysticism. Under the Censorship of the Press we have thirteen chapters, or rather essays, entitled: "The Middle Ages," "Rudimentary Censorship," "The Reformation," "The Spanish Erasmists," "The Scriptures," "Organization of Censorship," "Functions of the Inquisition," "License for Readers," "Independence of Rome," "The Regalistas," "Censorship by the State," "The Revolution," "The Influence of Censorship." Mysticism is treated in six chapters, under the headings, "Development of Mysticism," "Dangers of Mysticism," "Persecution," "Impostors," "Molonistas," "Endemoniadas," which are supplemented by the two essays, "El Santo Niño de la Guardia," and "Briandi de Bardaxi." To the whole work, thus outlined, there is an appendix containing nine documents.

It is our purpose in this article to examine some of the subjects treated by Mr. Lea, which are of especial interest to us ; but, be-

fore doing so, we think it well to make a few observations which may serve to throw light on the author's method of working and enable us to rate him at his true scientific worth.

Mr. Lea's work has every appearance of being the production of an erudite author—of one who carries research to its fountain-head. Of the 192 pages devoted to the Censorship of the Press, only 19 appear without at least two or three foot-notes giving references to authorities—frequently to books and manuscripts of the time when the facts related took place. We have always deemed it a duty when judging of the industry of an author and of the confidence which he may merit, to verify such references as he makes. This we have tried to do for Mr. Lea's work, as far as the resources of a single and very limited library would permit. We here set down some of the results of our examination for the edification of our readers.

On the very first page, the author quotes the "Apostolic Constitutions." He refers us to Lib. I., c. 7. This reference is wrong; it should be c. 6. He cites the text as follows: "Abstine te ab omnibus gentiliū libris. Quid enim tibi cum externis libris vel legibus vel falsis prophetis: qui quidem leves a fide abducunt." The quotation is also wrong; it should be: "Ab omnibus gentiliū libris abstine. Quid enim tibi cum alienis sermonibus, vel legibus vel falsis prophetis; quæ quidem et homines [leves] avertunt a fide." "των ἐθνικῶν βιβλίων παντῶν ἀπεχόν. Τί γάρ σοι καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις λόγοις, ἢ νομοῖς, ἢ ψευδοπροφηταῖς; ἃ ἐν καὶ παρατρέπει τῆς πίστεως τοὺς [ἀνθρώπους] ἐλάφρους."

Evidently, Mr. Lea has not seen the original text, or, if he has, his edition must be extremely imperfect.

Were we now treating of the question of censorship, we would have to examine whether the Constitutions as quoted, lay down a law or simply state a counsel, and, consequently, whether this provision can be characterized as "the earliest censorship and perhaps the most sweeping?" We would have, also, to ask the author why he has not given at least a hint, as to the verdict of modern criticism regarding the age of these Constitutions, instead of confining himself to the bald statement, "which purport to be written by St. Clement of Rome at the dictation of the Apostles."

Mr. Lea surely knows that the Apostolic Constitutions are, in the first place, not older than the third century; secondly, that they have never had the force of laws; and thirdly, that the Latin Church has always treated them with very little attention.

Mr. Lea is certainly too learned to render it necessary for us to refer to modern critics, such as Beveridge, Cotelier, etc.

On page 25 we are referred to a decision of the Fifth Lateran Council, sess. ix. (it should be sess. x.). Mr. Lea remarks: "In the acts of the Council the suspension threatened from business is for

a year, but no duration is specified in the decree as embodied in the *Corpus Juris*. (Septimi Decretal., lib. v., tit. iv., c. 3.)" As a commentary on this extraordinary note we would state:

1. That there are two collections which are called "*Liber Septimus Decretalium*," one made by the Lyonese lawyer, Pierre Matthieu (Petrus Matthæus), the other made by order of Clement VIII. To which of these collections does Mr. Lea refer? A careful author would know and make the distinction.

2. That if Mr. Lea refers to the Collection of Clement VIII., then his reference is inexact; for, at the place indicated there is no decree of the Council of Lateran. We have not had the opportunity of examining the text of Pierre Matthieu.

3. That neither the collection of Pierre Matthieu nor the collection of Clement VIII., belong to the *Corpus Juris*; moreover, they have of themselves no legal force. Mr. Lea seems to have forgotten that the *Corpus Juris* is made up of the Decree of Gratian; the decretals of Gregory IX.; the Sextus, published by Boniface VIII.; the Clementines of John XXII.; the Extravagantes of John XXII., and the Extravagantes Communes. Moreover, of all these, only the Decretals of Gregory IX., the Sextus, and the Clementines, have any value in law.

The knowledge of canon law is absolutely necessary for any writer who wishes to treat Church history in a serious fashion. Many indications make us suspect that Mr. Lea is not quite familiar with this science. If he were, he would hardly have quoted the *Corpus Juris* in this wise: "*Lib. iv. Extr. vii. 12,*" for *Lib. iv. tit. vii., 12*. A glance into an elementary manual of canon law would have shown him that authors never cite the "*Corpus Juris*." The proper thing is to quote the "*Decretals*," the "*Sextus*," etc.; again, when quoting the Decretals we must remember that they are divided into books, titles, and chapters, but not into extravagantes. Of course, we understand that this is only a slip, but while one or two slips may be passed over, a large number of such slips excite a suspicion against the author who has had the misfortune to be guilty of them.

On page 44 Mr. Lea writes as follows: "Whether Ferdinand and Isabella prohibited translations of the Bible has been a disputed question. At the Council of Trent, Cardinal Pacheco stated that they had done so with the approval of Paul II., but as Paul died in 1471 and Isabella did not succeed to the throne till 1474, the assertion was evidently a random one, deserving of no weight. Alfonso de Castro, writing in 1547, while arguing against the popular use of Scripture, says that Ferdinand and Isabella prohibited, under very heavy penalties, its translation or the possession of translations, but gives no reason for such a law having

fallen into desuetude. The "*Repertorium Inquisitionis*," printed at Valencia, in 1494, says that it is forbidden to translate the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, but it bases this exclusively on the prohibition of Innocent III., to the Waldenses of Metz, in 1199, which had been carried into the Corpus Juris and was familiar in that shape to Jurists. . . ."¹

Now what are we to think of the argument thus stated? A cursory examination shows us:

1. That the Cardinal did assert in the Council of Trent that there was a prohibition in Spain against translating and reading the Bible in the vernacular and that this prohibition had been confirmed by Paul II., but he did not assert that the authors of that prohibition were Ferdinand and Isabella. Consequently, the observation as to the date when Paul II. died and Isabella ascended the throne is quite irrelevant. The text of Pallavicini to which Mr. Lea refers us, Lib. vi., c. 12, n. 5, says simply this: "Cumque Pachecus objiceret, id fuisse in Hispania interdictum, etiam Paulo II. comprobante, respondit Madruccius, . . ." etc. There is no mention of Ferdinand and Isabella here, neither do their names occur in the report of the debate printed by Leplat, tom., iii. mon. 278, p. 396.

2. Alphonsus a Castro wrote his book "*Adversus Hæreses*" not in 1547 as stated above, but in 1534. This blunder is inexcusable; for if Mr. Lea had given himself the trouble to read the preface to the edition of 1556, he would have found there this precious indication: "Ut ergo huic tam late grassanti morbo vel aliqua ex parte qua possem mederer, ante viginti duos jam elapsos annos, anno videlicet tricesimo quarto supra millesimum quingentesimum, opus quoddam edidi quatuordecim partitum libris, in quo omnium, hæresium, quæ post Christi in cælos ascensionem in Ecclesia fuerunt ortæ, certissimam primo rationem reddere curavi, etc." We have gone more particularly into this matter of detail as Mr. Lea seems to attach a good deal of importance to it. In fact almost every time he mentions Alphonsus a Castro he carefully adds "writing in 1547."

3. We have not been able to consult the "*Repertorium Inquisit.*" of 1494, but we have before us the work of another Spanish Inquisitor almost contemporary—"Tractatus de agnoscendis assertionibus Catholicis et Hæreticis," by Arnaldo Albertini. This is what he has on the subject, quæst. 28., n. 35 (p. 183, Venice, 1571.): "Arbitror optima ratione a generalibus inquisitoribus Hispaniæ sancitum esse ne quis Bibliam vulgaris lectionis habeat legatve, cum experimento compertum sit hinc multa scandala et pericula animarum esse suborta."

¹ Lib. iv., Extra, vi., 12. Innocent PP. III. Regest, ii., 141, 142, 235.

4. As to the alleged prohibition of the Bible to the Waldenses of Metz, we shall prove later on, that no such prohibition is found in the letters 141, 142, 235, of Innocent III. Here, we will however remark, that in any case no vestige of such prohibition is contained in the decretal referred to by Mr. Lea. He should know that in the decretals, what makes law is not the document from which the text is taken, but the text alone. Now we repeat that the text cited by Mr. Lea does not forbid the reading of the Scriptures, and the canonists who have commented on it, see no prohibition there. The only prohibition in it is against preaching, holding conventicles, despising priests, etc. Mr. Lea can inform himself on this point by consulting for example Abbas Panormitanus and Felinus among those who wrote before the Council of Trent, and Barbosa among those who wrote after the Council.

5. Finally, if we were now treating the question whether Ferdinand and Isabella did issue edicts concerning the Spanish version of the Bible we would inform Mr. Lea that Cardinal Pacheco and Alphonsus a Castro are not the only authorities who have affirmed this fact. Here, for example, is the testimony of Miguel de Medina in his work "*De Recta in Deum Fide*," written during the Council of Trent and published at Venice in 1564: "*Ego vero de vulgaribus versionibus prohibendis, nullam ecclesiasticam aut theologam, præter unam Concilii Tridentini, quæ maximis de causis facta est, ad petulantiam nimirum hæreticorum cœcendam, sed tantum Christianorum principum sanctionem invenio, qui ecclesiastico zelo suis regnis providentes, cum multa mala ex iisdem vulgaribus versionibus reipublicæ proventura putarent, quorum aliqua ipsa jam experientia probarat, omnes præter unam Latinam eliminari jusserunt. Id profecto apud nostram Hispaniam a catholicis regibus Ferdinando et Elizabetha eo ipso zelo quo inquisitorios magistratus, unicum fidei certissimum columen, instituerant, factum fuisse eorum regnorum pragmaticæ sanctiones et historiæ testantur.*" Lib. vii., c. 10.

We might easily lengthen this series of critical observations. Others with more means at their disposal may carry out the work of verifying the references with much profit. We believe, however, that we have said enough to show that we cannot put absolute confidence in Mr. Lea's erudition. We would add that many indications convince us that the learned writer has not seen the greater part of the works which he quotes with such imperturbable assurance. We believe that we are not unjust in saying that he has gathered his quotations here and there, right and left, and everywhere, at second hand. For example, we find on p. 22, n. 1; p. 44, n. 4; p. 207, n. 4, a work styled in one

place "Albert. Repertorium Inquisit.," in another place "Repertorium Inquisitionis," in a third place "Repertorium Inquisitorium." Mr. Lea informs us that this work was printed at Valentia in 1494. But what is its exact title? Is it "Repertorium Inquisitionis" or "Repertorium Inquisitorium?" Evidently if Mr. Lea had before him something more than an abridged citation he would not have varied as he has. We have consulted the bibliographies for this work, and we have found the following mentioned: "*Repertorium (anonymi auctoris) de pravitate hæreticorum et apostatarum, examinatum emendatumque per doctorem Michaellem Albert Valentinum. Valentia, 1494, in 4.*"—"Repertorium Inquisitorium pravitatis hæreticæ, in quo omnia quæ ad hæresum cognitionem et sacræ Inquisitionis forum pertinent, continentur, correctionibus et annotationibus. Quintiliani Mandosii ac Petri Vendrameni d. coratum et auctum. Venetiis, Damianus Zenarus, 1588, in 4." (*Migne, Dict. de Bibl. Cath.* tom. I, col. 1024; tom. III, col. 1123).

Again, it is never allowed any author to indicate the titles of the works to which he refers in the extraordinary way Mr. Lea does. Thus, on p. 66, the title of Simancas' book is given by him "De Catholicis institutis;" but it is "De Catholicis Institutionibus;" the title of Paramo's work, p. 67, n. 1, is given by him *De Orig. Officio S. Inquis.*, but it ought to be "De Origine et progressu Officii sanctæ Inquisitionis," etc. The one and the same work of Luis de Grenada undergoes the following remarkable philological metamorphoses: at p. 49, n. 2, it is "Dell' oratione et meditatione;" at p. 223 "Trattato dell' oratione et della meditatione;" and at p. 224, n. 2, it has dwindled into "Oratione et Meditatione." Mr. Lea cites on page 294 the works of Rodriguez and De Puente, which have been translated into every language. He gives the titles in Spanish in n. 2: "Ejercicios de la perfeccion," and adds: "I quote from the translation by Antonio Putignano, Venice, 1627;" then, in n. 4 "Guid spiritual," and again he adds: "I quote from the translation by the Abate Alessandro Sperelli, Rome, 1628." Why is he so scrupulous here? Why then when there is question of the work of Molinos or of Butler's Lives of the Saints, does he give without any remark at all the titles of mere translations? Again, in the titles which are given in the original languages, we find as many mistakes as words. We would remind Mr. Lea that it is not customary in Latin to say Alfonsus de Castro or Richardus de S. Victor. He should have written Alphonsus a Castro and Richardus a Sancto Victore. We would also remark that the person condemned to death by the Parliament of Paris in 1529 was not called Louis de Berquier (p. 32), but Louis de Berquin; that the collection of Bulls (Letellier) is not of the year 1797 but 1697 (p. 104, n.), etc.

If any more examples are required to substantiate the assertion made above, we have only too many to choose from. Mr. Lea often cites the Spanish Index but he does it in a manner which betrays his method of working. Thus, p. 74, n. 1, we read "Indice Expurgatorio, Regla, xvi.;" a little further on, p. 81, n. 3, 4, it is "Indice di Sotomayor;" and on p. 82, n. 1, we have "Indice expurgatorio de Quiroga," 1584 (Ed. Saumur. fol. 99-100). Are there any works which bear these titles? No. There is an "Index librorum expurgatorum Cardinalis Gasp. Quiroga jussu editus" and an "Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgandorum novissimus pro Catholicis Hispaniarum regnis Philippi IV., Antonii a Sotomayor inquisitoris jussu et studiis recognitus," etc. What, then, does all this mean? Simply this, that Mr. Lea, writing in English, refers us to a work the true title of which is in Latin. Now this title he gives us not in Latin, as would be natural and scientific; not in English, which would be excusable; but in Spanish! Evidently Mr. Lea has taken his quotation from some Spanish author. What would be said of a Frenchman who would quote in German the title of a work which only existed in English?

Like observations might be made on his manner of quoting the Roman Index, the Bullarium, etc. But we have something more remarkable still. In the second part, on Mysticism, Mr. Lea surpasses himself and gives the most convincing proofs of his peculiar manner in amassing references. For example, is he not taken *flagrante delicto*, on p. 219, n. 1, where, wishing to cite the Abecedario of Francis of Osuna, he naïvely writes, "*Francisco de Osuna Tercera parte del libro llamado Abecedario Spiritual.*" Indeed! Suppose a Spanish writer of a book for Spanish readers should literally make the following reference: "H. C. Lea, Third Part of the Book called a History of the Inquisition," would not every intelligent Spaniard conclude that the writer had never seen Mr. Lea's book, but had taken the reference bodily from some English book written for English readers?

Again, our author likes to refer us from time to time to some MSS. This, no doubt, gives the book an appearance of great erudition and solid historical research. But suppose these references are taken at second hand? Again, why send us to "MSS. Royal Library of Copenhagen, No. 218 b, fol. 214" (p. 68, n. 1), or to the "MSS. of the Königl. Universitäts Bibliothek of Halle, Ye. 20, T. xi" (p. 51, n. 1), for something that is known to historians for more than 200 years, and for which the text of the MSS. can be found in writers more easily accessible? For instance,

on p. 98, n. 5, we are again referred to the "MSS. Royal Library of Copenhagen, 216 fol."¹

Let us see now, whether at least he makes proper use of the documents quoted by his authors, whether he states facts exactly, and whether he gives solid proof for his statements. To ascertain this, we shall make an examination of a few but quite important subjects.

I. The Church and the Reading of the Bible.

Mr. Lea treats this question, especially in its bearings on Spain, in his first chapter, "The Middle Ages," and in the sixth, "The Scriptures." He states that in the middle ages, the Church was content with the Latin Vulgate, and authorized no translations into the vulgar tongue, and, as proof of this, he appeals to the decrees of the Council of Toulouse, in 1229, and the Council of Tarragona, in 1234 (pp. 16-17); a little further on, he expresses his surprise that, in spite of these decrees, the Inquisition threw no obstacles in the way of the publication of Spanish versions (p. 19). He then goes on to say that Innocent III. forbade the Waldenses of Metz to translate the Bible into the vernacular, and that this prohibition of Innocent was carried into the Corpus Juris (pp. 44, 45); but, at the same time, he seems to hold with Castro and others, that before the Council of Trent there was no ecclesiastical prohibition. He writes that by the decree of the fourth session of the Council, "vernacular versions were not specifically forbidden, but their production and use were effectually interfered with." (pp. 47, 48). He states that Charles V. paid little attention to this decree, but that Spain received it, and the manner in which she used it stifled all biblical study (p. 48-50). Finally, he is of opinion that the discipline of the Church on the reading of the Bible by the faithful is now altogether different from that of the Council of Trent, and he bases his opinion on the Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of the last Council of Baltimore (p. 162, n. 2).

Such is the history of this question, according to Mr. Lea. We proceed to give the history according to the facts:

1. The Church holds that the reading of the Scriptures, while

¹ N. B.—Are there 216 folios of MSS. in that library? Or, does it mean on folio, *i.e.*, page 216? If so, in which MSS. must we look for that page? Or, is fol. the same as No., as would appear from p. 68, n. 1? In support of the statement that "In 1514, at the suggestion of Cardinal Ximenes, Ferdinand had ordered that no papal bull or rescript should be published without preliminary examination and the royal approval." What a grand discovery made in that MS. Pity that the same thing is mentioned by nearly every Catholic writer on the "Placetum regium," or in particular on the "Jus supplicandi" of the Spanish kings, while the text of that royal order may be found in full, as early as the beginning of the 17th century in Salgado's "*De Supplicatione ad Sanctissimum*" But we have already seen enough to convince us that Mr. Lea deals extensively in second, or perhaps, third hand quotations.

not absolutely necessary to the faithful, is, however, very useful. To be useful, though, certain conditions must be verified, namely, that they use a pure and unadulterated text; that they have a faithful translation, and that they come to the reading of it with good intentions and with a fitting preparation. This principle is recognized and stated from the very first centuries, in almost every page of the writings of the Fathers. In the middle ages it is set forth by Innocent III. in his letter to the Bishop of Metz (Epist. 142); it is inculcated by the great mystical writers of Spain in the 16th century, Louis of Granada and L. De Puente—which causes Mr. Lea such unnecessary astonishment—and it is the same principle to which the bishops refer in the Pastoral Letter of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

2. In this matter it is easy for abuses to arise, and they did arise very soon. The conditions required for profitable reading were often absent. Every one knows the complaint of St. Jerome in his letter to Paulina (Epist. liii. ad Paulin, n. 16). “Farmers, masons, carpenters, workers in metal or wood, cloth-makers, fullers, do not learn their trades without masters. . . . The art of explaining the Scriptures is the only one which all arrogate to themselves. The babbling old woman, the dreaming old man, the wordy sophist, all, in a word, tear it in pieces and teach it without having learned it. Some with lofty airs and bombastic speech hold forth on the Scriptures to an audience of women. Others learn from women what they are to teach to men, and as if this were not enough, with ready eloquence, or rather audacity, explain to others what they do not understand themselves.” “*Hæc a me sunt perstricta breviter ut intelligeres, te in scripturis sanctis sine prævio et monstrante semitam non posse ingredi. . . . Agricola, cæmentarii, fabri, metallorum lignorumque cæsores, lanarii quoque et fullones, et cæteri qui variam suppellectilem et vilia opuscula fabricantur, absque doctore non possunt esse quod cupiunt. . . . Sola scriptura ars est quam sibi omnes passim vindicant. . . . Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent antequam discant. Alii aductu supercilii, grandia verba trutinantes, inter mulierculas de sacris litteris philosophantur. Alii discunt, pro pudor, a fæminis quod viros doceant, et ne parum hoc sit, quadam facilitate verborum, imo audacia edisserunt aliis quod ipsi non intelligunt.*”

St. Gregory Nazianzen goes further: He wished that the Church would regulate the use of the holy Scriptures. “It is necessary,” he says, “to have among us a law like that which was formerly enacted by the Hebrew doctors. They forbade the young to read certain of the sacred books, the reading of which was hurtful to their yet tender and inconstant minds. Likewise, it would

not be well to allow indifferently to all and at all times permission to discuss the meaning of the Scriptures, but only to certain intelligent and learned persons, and that only at certain times. This permission should be refused to those who are animated with an insatiable curiosity or urged on by desire for glory, or who are given to piety with an indiscrete zeal. . . . Then the multitude may be cured of its disease of disputation and drawn to less dangerous pursuits in which idleness will cause less loss and in which insatiable avidity will merit only praise." S. Greg. of Naz., Orat. xxxii, n. 32 (tom i., p. 600 Edit. Ben.).

3. In spite of the particular abuses mentioned so often by the Fathers, the Church took no general measures for twelve centuries to regulate the diffusion and use of the sacred books. She allowed full liberty to all to translate the Bible into every tongue, so that Eusebius of Cæsarea could affirm (Orat. de Laud. Constant, c. 17), no doubt with some exaggeration, that the New Testament had been translated into all the dialects of the Barbarians. St. Jerome (Præf. in Ev. ad Dam.) observes that it is easy to prove the integrity of the sacred text by comparing the numerous versions made in ancient times. We have still some parts of the Gothic version of Ulfilas. Hardly had men begun to form the modern tongues when versions of the Scriptures appeared in them. It is said that in 706, St. Adhelm translated the Psalter into Saxon, that the Ven. Bede translated the whole Bible into the vulgar speech of England towards the year 735, etc. With regard to the faithful, they were left to their conscience and the discretion of their particular pastors.

4. The first attempt at restrictive legislation was provoked by the excesses of the Waldenses and Albigenses in the 13th century, and was published in the Council of Toulouse, 1229, and at the convention of Tarragona, in 1234. The Council of Toulouse is very severe. "Prohibemus ne libros veteris testamenti aut novi, laici permittantur habere, nisi, forte psalterium, vel Breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut horæ Beatæ Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos arctissime inhibemus." The convention of Tarragona is much less strict; it only forbids versions in the Romance dialect: "Statuitur ne aliquis libros veteris vel novi testamenti in Romanico habeat." We must carefully note here (*a*) that the letters of Innocent III. with regard to the trouble at Metz, do not contain any prohibition against reading the Bible in the vulgar tongue; on the contrary, the Pope explicitly states that: "desiderium intelligendi divinas scripturas et secundum eas studium adhortandi reprehendendum non sit sed potius recommendandum." (Epist. 141). He also wishes that before taking harsh measures the Bishop of Metz

should find out "quis fuerit auctor translationis illius, quæ intentio transferentis quæ fides utentium, quæ causa docendi." (Epist. 142).

(b) We may remark, secondly, that in the *Corpus Juris* and particularly in the fifth book of the decretals, tit. vii., ch. 12, there is not even a word of prohibition with regard to the reading of the Bible, and that the great canonists have never discovered any such prohibition there.

(c) Thirdly, we must bear in mind that the decrees of Toulouse and Tarragona are particular and local decrees drawn up to meet special needs, and consequently never had any general force and are of no permanent value. What shall we say, then, to the extremely sweeping statement of Mr. Lea: "The Church was satisfied with the Latin Vulgate; it authorized no translation into modern tongues" (p. 16); by which he intends to convey the impression that the Church never permitted the use of such translations. We are also astonished that a man as learned as Mr. Lea still admits the existence of the Waldensian Bible. That Bible has long passed into the legendary class. It is a myth of which nothing now remains to be exploded. On this point we would beg to refer him to "S. Berger, *La Bible Française au Moyen âge*," p. 35.

(5) The decrees of Toulouse and Tarragona, made to meet a local and transitory danger, were so far from indicating a general prohibition that, almost immediately after, there appeared in divers countries, notably in France and Spain, new translations, not of a single book only, but of the whole Bible. Mr. Lea bears witness to the fact for Spain, and he gives himself much needless surprise at the toleration of the Inquisition (p. 19). It is well known that during the reign of St. Louis, a complete translation of the Bible was made into French, and that less than fifty years afterwards, Guyart Desmoulins completed a second version. It was the same in other countries.

(6) To find any more legislation with regard to the reading of the sacred books, we must come down to the time of Wiclif. He had made for his followers a translation, or, rather, a rough paraphrase of the Bible. The Council of Oxford, held in 1408, with Thomas Arundel as president, forbade all the faithful to use it. It also prohibited the undertaking of a new version of the sacred books without the express authorization of the bishops: "Statuimus et ordinamus ut nemo deinceps aliquem textum Sacræ Scripturæ *auctoritate sua* in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat, per viam libri, libelli aut tractatus, nec legatur aliquis ejusmodi liber, libellus aut tractatus jam noviter tempore dicti Joannes Wyclif sive citra compositus, aut in posterum componendus, in parte vel in toto, quousque per loci diocesenum, seu si res exegerit, per con-

cilium provinciale, ipsa translatio fuerit approbata" (Labbe, xi. 2095).

7. The invention of printing naturally multiplied the editions of the older versions and stimulated the making of new ones. Before 1518 we have no less than fourteen complete translations of the Bible in High German and five in Low German. But the most enlightened minds of that epoch were not slow to question the expediency and utility of putting the whole Scriptures in everybody's hands. The famous John Geiler, of Kaisersburg, in his "*Peregrinus*" invites the pilgrim to drink "of the water of wisdom which springs forth to eternal life, that is to say, the waters of the divine word contained in the vessel of the holy Scriptures. But," he adds, "take care that you drink only that which the angel of the Lord will give you and according as he commands. For there are some who drink of this water according to their own good pleasure and without restraint. They do not take it from the hands of the angels of God who are the priests of Holy Church. They pretend to wish to explain the Holy Scripture as they please, as do the Waldenses, the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the Hussites and other heretics" ("*Peregrinus*," fol. xv., J. ap. Dacheux, Jean Geiler, p. 229). Again, he almost regrets that the Scriptures were in his time translated into German. "I allow thee the reading of it," he says, "I admit that thou hast at home interpretations and glosses; but thou shalt not draw it therefrom either with pleasure or profit if thou hast not beforehand acquired the indispensable science of understanding it; without preliminary study thou shalt go astray. . . . Therefore, in reading the Bible, take care that thou dost not lose thy way." (Ap. "Jansen, Hist. du Peuple Allemand," Fr. trans., tom. i., p. 584.) It was in conformity with these principles that, in 1486, the Archbishop of Mayence, Berthold de Neuneberg took certain measures to guard against the dangers arising to the faithful from imprudent reading of the sacred Scriptures. Thus, he appointed commissioners at Mayence, Erfurt and Frankfort, and ordered them to supervise the printing of the Bible.

8. The situation was aggravated by the development of the Reformation, and it is not surprising that the Sorbonne condemned the exaggerated statements of Erasmus, urging everybody indiscriminately to read the Bible. The theologians of Paris recognized in their condemnation that the sacred books are holy in whatever language they appear; but they say that it is not proper to put them in everybody's hands or to allow them to be read by all sorts of people without explanations, particularly by ignorant and simple persons who abuse them and do not read them with that piety and humility which they ought to have. In his reply, Erasmus acknowledges that it is necessary for those who read the

Bible to be well disposed and submissive to their pastors and to the Church, and he concedes that the reading of certain books should not be allowed those, who, it is foreseen will abuse them.

With regard to versions, things came to such a pass that Luther himself, Chemnitz, Whittaker and Robert Stephen deplored the immense number of often faulty translations. (See the texts in Becanus, tit. Evang., n. 42-45.) Theodore Beza declares that it will soon be all over with the Scriptures if the craze for translation is not checked: "Cui libidini audaciæ nisi occurratur, nae, aut ego vehementer fallor, aut intra paucos annos, paulatim ipsarum quoque rerum possessione depellemur." (In. c. 10, Act. Apost.)

9. It is not, therefore, surprising that in the Council of Trent the Church thought of regulating this matter, which, with the exception of local and temporary decrees, had so long been left free. It is remarkable, however, that though the debates before the fourth session bore on a large number of questions, and notably on the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, nevertheless the decree, "De editione et usu sacrorum librorum," contains but four points, namely, the authenticity of the Vulgate, the order that it be printed, the prohibition of interpreting the Bible against the *consent* of the Fathers, the prohibition to print, sell or keep books which had not been examined by the bishop, and finally forbidding the sacred books being put to unbecoming uses.

(a) Therefore, contrary to what Mr. Lea states—"Vernacular versions were not specifically forbidden, but their production and use were effectually interfered with," p. 47; the Council neither explicitly nor implicitly forbids or interferes with the reading of the Scriptures to the faithful, no matter in what language.

(b) Consequently, what Mr. Lea says about the want of respect manifested by Charles V. for this prohibition is without foundation. "It is true that Charles V. made light of this, when, to meet the clamor for reform in Germany, he caused the adoption of the *interim*." Charles V. could not make light of a decree which did not exist. Moreover, the text of the "Formula Reformationis," c. xiv., n. 4, is in no way opposed to the spirit of the Church, whether before, during, or after the Council of Trent. "Legat populus libros sacros, sanctos patres, vitas sanctorum, historias præclarorum et fortium virorum."

(c) We will add that Mr. Lee simply rehashes a calumny, when he says that the Council of Trent, by declaring the Vulgate *authentic*, virtually declared it *inspired*, "A decree in which the character of inspiration was virtually attributed to the Vulgate, pronouncing it authentic," p. 47.

(d) Moreover, it is but another calumny; and a stale one at that,

to pretend that according to the decree of Trent, the Vulgate cannot be in any way corrected, "and not to be rejected or corrected under any pretence." Since Mr. Lea devotes himself to Church matters, the laws of justice command him first to read his documents and then to interpret them fairly.

10. If, however, the Council in 1546 had published no decree on reading the Scriptures in the vernacular, eighteen years after the fourth session, and sixteen years after the *Interim*, a law was enacted by Pius IV., in 1564, on this subject. It is the famous third and fourth Rules of the Index. "As experience has shown that the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, if it is permitted to all without distinction, causes, by reason of the rashness of men, more evil than good, therefore let each one in this matter submit to the judgment of the Bishop or Inquisitor, who may, on the recommendation of the Parish Priest or Confessor, permit the reading of the Holy Bible translated by Catholic authors into the vulgar tongue, to those whom they shall judge capable of being strengthened in their faith and piety by such reading, rather than being injured by it." Such, then, is this famous decree. Let us see what it forbids.

(a) It prohibits the reading of Protestant translations or editions of the Scriptures.

(b) It forbids reading the Bible, even in Catholic versions, without having obtained permission from competent authority.

On the other hand, it allows the faithful, without any restriction—

(a) To read the Bible in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and in the Greek of the New, in the Septuagint and all the oriental versions, in the Latin Vulgate.

(b) Moreover, it permits all the faithful who have received a general or special permission to read approved modern versions in the vulgar tongue. Such being the exact meaning and bearing of the decree, it is not astonishing that the most orthodox mystics, like Louis of Granada and Luis du Pont, should have incessantly recommended the reading of the Scriptures to those of the faithful who were desirous of advancing in perfection.

11. The Holy See has at several times revised the application of this rule of the Index. It is true that Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. have intensified its strictness by reserving to the Holy See permission to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue; but this reservation, called for by the neglect of certain bishops, did not last long. The Holy See granted the Ordinaries the faculties which they had before. It, in fact, made the matter much more easy. Benedict XIV. extended the permission of reading the Bible beyond the limits drawn by his predecessors. In 1757, he approved of a

decree of the Congregation of the Index by which the faithful were allowed to read the Holy Bible in the vernacular, provided the versions were authorized by competent authority or were accompanied with notes drawn from the writings of the Fathers or Catholic authors : " Quod si hujusmodi Bibliorum versiones vulgari lingua, fuerint ab Apostolica Sede approbata, aut edita cum annotationibus desumptis ex SS. Ecclesiæ Patribus vel ex doctis Catholicisque viris, conceduntur." Pius VIII. confirmed this decree in 1829.

By these modifications, Rome has not given proof of inconsistency, as Mr. Lea thinks, p. 47, not. 3 ; she has constantly held the same principles, which are, after all, nothing but the principles of common sense and natural right ; she has only applied them in different ways so as to meet different circumstances.

12. Spain received the decree of the Council of Trent and the Rules of the Index conformably to the general laws of the Church ; she severely repressed the editions, versions and annotations of the Bible, made by Protestants. She exacted the correction of suspected books before allowing them to circulate ; she did not allow to all the reading of the sacred books, even when translated by Catholics. It was not necessary for Mr. Lea to spend six or seven pages to tell us that. But is it true that this discipline rendered all development of Biblical study impossible in Spain ? " Subjected to such shackles, and exposed to such discouragement, it is easy to understand how impossible became in Spain the development of Biblical learning." We cannot imagine how a man, so conversant with religious literature as Mr. Lea pretends to be, could venture to make such an assertion. During the two centuries, from 1480 to 1659, not only letters and science in general, but Biblical studies in particular, flourished in Spain with a luxuriance such as no other nation has ever seen. Of the four great Polyglots which the learned world possesses to-day, Spain has the glory of having, by her unaided efforts, produced one, and having had the greater share in the production of another. The great Spanish and Portuguese commentators, Pereira, Gasp. Sanchez, Pineda, Ribera, Foreiro, Villapanda, Maldonado, Francis de Toledo, Salmeron, and many others, have come down to our own time, and will always be counted in the front rank. Their only rivals are their Flemish contemporaries, fellow-subjects of the king of Spain, T. Bonfrère (Bonfrerius), A. Maes (Masius), Corn. Jansen (Jansenius Gandavensis), Francis Lucas of Bruges, W. Van Este (Estius), Corn. Van den Steen (a Lapide). Now all these great critics and interpreters were formed, and worked, and wrote, at the very time when the legislation mentioned above was strictly observed ; nay, the majority of them, even after the Council of Trent,

and during the reign of Philip. To a reflecting mind, nothing can destroy the significance of these facts. To diminish their importance would certainly require more than a few anecdotes gathered here and there by Mr. Lea, such as the statement attributed to Luis de Leon (p. 52), that there were many theologians who did not possess a copy of the Bible; or the story ascribed (p. 54) to Martin Azpilcueta (Navarrus), that there were some who wished to forbid vernacular versions of the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary; or the remark of a professor of Salamanca against the Bible of Antwerp (p. 52); or certain misunderstood lines of Melchior Cano (p. 53). By the aid of a few anecdotes of the kind, a future historian may prove to our posterity that the citizens of the United States of America, towards the close of the 19th century, were a nation of most uncivilized barbarians.

While treating of this matter, we wish to enter an emphatic protest against the system of those historians who relate in their text as fact what they feel obliged in a subjoined note to correct as untrue. Of this Mr. Lea is guilty, on page 52, where, on the authority of the unreliable Llorente, he states that in 1559 a decree of the Inquisition forced the professors of theology to give up all their Hebrew and Greek Bibles. In the foot-note (4) he is forced to confess that, "there is probably some mistake in this assertion." And he proves it then and there. Well, if Llorente's assertion was probably not true, for what purpose was it put into the text, if not to prejudice the reader? Certainly not in order to show that his "authority" cannot be trusted. Besides, Mr. Lea has either not used the whole passage in Llorente, or not understood what he read. Only two paragraphs ahead, Llorente states that by the order of the Inquisition, Bibles marked as suspect (that is suspected of containing heretical error) should be examined; that only those books could be seized which were placed on the list (evidently an Index). The above order to professors of theology is followed immediately in the same paragraph by the provision that "those who possess Hebrew, Greek or Arabic books *different from those on the catalogue* (again the list or index of forbidden books) will not be molested." Thus Mr. Lea's awful order of the Inquisition by which—as he wishes us to believe—even professors of theology were not allowed to have a Hebrew or Greek Bible, dwindles down to the then quite reasonable provision that they should not keep Hebrew or Greek Bibles corrupted by Jews or heretics; and that such editions as were placed on the Index as suspected, should be handed over for examination. Nor was this such an immense task as our author perhaps imagines; for the book market of that time was most probably not overstocked with Hebrew or Greek copies

published by some American or English Bible Society—although Llorente is absolutely silent on this point.

13. Mr. Lea seems really very slightly acquainted with the ideas and acts of the Church with regard to the reading and understanding of the sacred books. Not only has she always encouraged learned men who have striven to give their countrymen good translations of the Bible, but she wishes that in every church where it is possible the Holy Scriptures should be publicly explained and interpreted. The Council of Trent, sess. V., c. 1., *De reform.* provides that "In ecclesiis . . . in quibus . . . stipendium pro lectoribus sacræ theologiæ deputatum reperitur. . . . Episcopi eos qui stipendium hujusmodi obtinent ad ipsius Sacræ Scripturæ expositionem et interpretationem, per seipsos, si idonei fuerint; alioquin per idoneum substitutum ab ipsis episcopis eligendum, compellant," She wishes also that bishops and parish priests should frequently explain the scriptures and the law of God to their flocks: (Trent. sess. xxiv, c. 4. *De reform.*) "Saltem omnibus dominicis et solemnibus diebus festis, tempore autem jejuniorum quadragesimæ et adventus Domini quotidie vel saltem tribus in hebdomada diebus, si ita oportere duxerint, sacras Scripturas divinamque legem annuntient [Episcopi et Parochis], et alias, quotiescunque id opportune fieri posse judicaverint." Certainly, these decrees have not remained a dead letter. There exists among all Catholic peoples and especially in Italy, under the very eyes of the Inquisition and the Holy See, a whole literature of continuous commentaries on Holy Writ for the use of the faithful, *e.g.*, the works of Cattaneo, Rossi, Cesari, Finetti, and many others, who are celebrated for this style of writing.

The foregoing inquiries can lead to only one conclusion, namely, that, of all the statements and arguments set forth by Mr. Lea concerning the use of the holy Scriptures in the Catholic Church, there is not one that will bear the test of criticism; not one of which we could simply say, it is quite correct. At the same time it cannot escape the critical inquirer, that Mr. Lea has so skilfully interwoven his statements, that the reader being unaware of a continuous *suppressio veri*, will never even guess the truth. We do not dare to say that such was the author's intention; we simply state the fact.

THE ROMAN AND SPANISH INDEXES.

In all his essays, Mr. Lea shows what interest he takes in these Indexes by quoting them, we might say, on almost every page, but seldom does he do so correctly. We cannot point out all such mistakes; they are too many, both as to facts and as to the

conclusions he draws. We feel, however, that we ought to call attention to a few, taken at random, *e.g.*, p. 96.

But here we must first make this observation: We have already seen that the learned author puts the first instance of the condemnation or censure of books in the Apostolical Constitution. He mentions also the edicts of Constantine and Justinian against books written by heretics. We are surprised that the famous decree of Pope Gelasius escaped his notice, and still more that in his examination he did not look beyond the Apostolical Constitutions. Surely it cannot be that he is ignorant of the fact that in the Acts of the Apostles, c. xix., 19, mention is made of a circumstance which has, at all times, greatly influenced the judgment and conduct of Christians in this matter. Mr. Lea might also have reminded his readers of Plato's opinion about the writings of those poets who speak ill of the gods; also of the judgment of the famous jurists, Paulus and Ulpian, on books *improbatae lectionis*, not to mention many instances of intolerance on the part of the Athenians and Romans, which are recorded by Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Titus Livius, Cicero and others. Nor would it have been amiss had he devoted a few pages to the philosophic reasons for such censorship of books, were it only to refute them. Lastly, why did he not compare, at various epochs, Spanish legislation with that of other contemporary nations? Such comparisons throw light on the subject, and help the reader to form a just or at least a more impartial judgment. For instance, in the seventeenth century the learned councillor of the Elector of Brandenburg, Samuel Strykins (1701), cheerfully acknowledges the right of a prince to preserve his people from heretical and hurtful writings: "Quantum ad nos, concedimus libentissime, principum esse atque magistratuum providere ne quid libris damnatis et haereticis detrimenti capiat respublica. . . . Si qui tamen improbatae lectionis libri fuerint, illos non publice quidem divendere licebit," etc. ("Opera," b. viii., disp. ii., c. 1, n. 36.) We could cite many other Protestant authorities who defend the same.

The very first lines of the chapter entitled "Independence of Rome" furnish a most remarkable specimen of Mr. Lea's knowledge of Catholic subjects. He writes: "If any definition of faith or morals by the Vicar of Christ was entitled to unquestioning obedience by all the faithful, it would seem that embodied in the decision as to whether a book is orthodox and fitted for perusal; and yet, outside of a portion of Italy, the papal decrees on the subject received scant obedience, and, least of all, we may say in Spain, the most orthodox of lands." In what theologian has Mr. Lea read that the condemnation of a book implies a *definition* of faith? No one has ever taught such an absurdity. Every Catholic

knows the difference between a *doctrinal* and a *disciplinary* decree. If Mr. Lea wishes to speak on such topics, he ought at least to study beforehand some of our Catechisms.

But let us see how Mr. Lea, the well-informed historian, proves the fact that the most Catholic among all nations made light of the "definitions" implied in the proscription of books, or to speak more accurately, of the disciplinary decrees of the Index. "When, in 1559, Paul IV. issued the first Roman Index, Benito Arias Montano informs us that it excited the indignation of all scholars; that in France and in greater part of Italy it was not obeyed, and that in Spain it was not even suffered to be published." "Villanova, de la Leccion de la Sagrada Escritura," p. 29. Now for the truth:

a. The first Roman Index was composed in 1557, and was published, not in 1559, as Mr. Lea asserts, but in 1558, under the title: "Index Auctorum et Librorum qui tanquam hæretici aut suspecti aut perniciosi ab Officio S. Romæ Inquisitionis reprobantur et in universa Christiana republica interdicuntur." A second edition was prepared soon after, and published in 1559, shortly before the death of Paul IV. It bears the title: "Index auctorum et librorum, qui ab Officio Sanctæ Romanæ et universalis Inquisitionis caveri ab omnibus et singulis in universa Christiana republica, sub censuris contra legentes vel tenentes libros prohibitos in bulla quæ lecta est in coena Domini expressis, et sub aliis poenis in decreto ejusdem Sacri Officii contentis."

b. It is true that the Index of Paul IV. was received with but little favor, not so much on account of the method followed in it, but because of its too great severity with regard to certain works, and particularly because the punishments therein decreed were excessive and imprudent. To establish this fact, however, it was not necessary to unearth the testimony of Benedict Arias Montano, whom Mr. Lea quotes after Villanova, without relating, however, at what time and under what circumstances Montano made his statement. This, we say, was quite unnecessary, as we have a testimony far more authentic and more nearly contemporaneous with the events mentioned, namely, that, of "the Fathers of the Council of Trent in the year 1562, and that of Foreiro in the "Præfatio in Indicem librorum prohibitorum."

c. It is true that the Index of Paul IV. did not have a large circulation, partly because its author died so soon after its appearance and partly because the idea of correcting it came almost immediately. It is false, however, to assert that it was not received anywhere. As a matter of fact, as we shall see presently, Spain did receive it.

Mr. Lea continues: "Valdes, the Inquisitor General, contented

himself with announcing that catalogues of prohibited books had been issued in Rome, Louvain and Portugal, and that the Inquisition would combine them and promulgate a new one. The promised Index speedily appeared and showed that it was framed with little respect for papal decision. Books prohibited in Rome were permitted in Spain." Why this proves the very contrary to what Mr. Lea asserts. In fact, so truly did Valdes accept the Index of Paul IV., that, combining it with those of Louvain and Portugal, he made it the basis of his own. Mr. Lea himself, whose misfortune it is frequently to unwittingly contradict himself, acknowledges the fact on the very next page, 97, note 3: "That of Valdes, in 1559, had been based on papal authority!" But did Valdes have any right to include the Index of the Pope with those of Louvain and Portugal? Undoubtedly; for, at that time particular Indexes were not prohibited, provided that due regard was paid to the Index of the Sovereign Pontiff. But Mr. Lea will rejoin: Valdes did not show any deference for the Index of Paul IV., for he left out of his own Index, books placed in the Index of the Pope. In proof of this he cites, in the note, Sixtus Birch (Xistus Betulejus, not Bethulius, as Mr. Lea has the name), all of whose books are said to have been condemned by Paul IV., while only one appears on the Valdes Index. We have had no chance to investigate this fact. But, whatever it may be, in matters like this, a single exception would prove nothing. Besides, we have every reason to doubt the accuracy of Mr. Lea's statements. Thus, in that same note 3 of page 97, where he speaks of Betulejus, he writes: "As for the Adagia, Valdes only permits that work in the expurgated Aldine edition (Reusch, *die Indices*, p. 259), which is more liberal than Paul IV., who forbade all the works of Erasmus (ib., p. 183), but this was relaxed in the Tridentine Index of 1564, which permitted the Aldine Adagia (ib., p. 259)." Who would not understand this to mean that by the Index of Pius IV., published after the Council of Trent, all the works of Erasmus were forbidden, with the exception of the Aldine edition of the Adagia. Judge for yourself. We give the very words of the Index of Pius IV.: "*Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami, Colloquiorum liber, Moria, Lingua, Christiani Matrimonii Institutio, De interdicto esu carniū, Ejusdem paraphrasis in Matthaeum quæ a Bernardino Eremita in Italicam linguam conversa est. Cætera vero opera ipsius, in quibus de religione tractat, tamdiu prohibita sint, quamdiu a facultate theologica Parisiensi vel Lovaniensi expurgata non fuerint. Adagia vero ex editione quam molitur Paulus Manutius permittentur. Interim vero quæ jam edita sunt, expunctis locis suspectis, judicio alicujus facultatis theologicæ uni-*

versitatis catholicæ, vel inquisitionis alicujus generalis permittantur.

Mr. Lea continues: "After the death of Paul there was less rigidity in Rome, and then Valdes refused to respond to this liberality. The Roman Inquisitor General, Michele Ghisleris (afterwards St. Pius V.) sent to Spain an edict announcing the striking off from the Index of certain books by order of Pius IV., and permitting the reading of works free from heresy—works of medicine, science, grammar and other indifferent matters, prohibited only because written by heretics; also anonymous books and vernacular Bibles. Valdes, however, suspended the publication of this decree, and remonstrated with Philip II. against permitting currency to this papal liberality." And Mr. Lea cites Llorente i., 421. Once more, what is the truth? The Index of Paul IV., as we have already acknowledged, was generally considered too strict. Hence, the Inquisitor General, by order of Pius IV., published in 1561, a *Monitum*, entitled, "*Moderatio Indicis librorum prohibitorum.*" By that *Monitum* permission was given: "Ut tollerentur ex Indice, I. libri qui nulla alia ratione prohibiti sunt, nisi quia ab impressoribus suspectis emanarunt; II. versiones catholicorum doctorum tollerentur factæ ab hæreticis, dummodo tollerentur hæreses; III. libri Catholicorum non alia ratione prohibiti nisi quia præfationes, summulas et Scholia habent hæreticorum, purgati tolerantur." If Valdes suspended the publication of this decree, it was not that he denied its authority, but for the reasons which Llorente thus explains: "The Inquisitor General Valdes wrote to the provincial inquisitors to suspend the publication of the edict until he should have received orders from the king, whom he had consulted and to whom he had shown how dangerous a measure it might be, which, by removing the Pope's excommunication, favored the criminals whom ancient bulls did excommunicate. But there was yet another motive of Valdes' policy. This inquisitor had, on the 27th August, 1559, published a printed list (catalogue) of forbidden books which was more extensive than that of 1558, and in which he had entered all the books that had been placed in the catalogue of Rome, Lisbon, Louvain and older ones of Spain. Those who possessed and read any of those books were to be excommunicated and to pay a fine of 200 ducats. Now, among the number of these books were many, the reading of which was allowed by the last papal edict." If we may believe this statement of Llorente, which we have not been able to verify, it plainly follows that the ordinances of the Pope were considered obligatory in Spain, and that they were also executed; while the milder edict of Pius IV. created no little difficulty, seeing that it annulled measures which had been so recently enacted, and that

consequently its force was suspended until the king should have given further orders.

Let us continue : " When, in 1562, the reassembled Council of Trent took up the whole subject to make laws binding on all Christendom, Philip II. wrote earnestly to the Count de Luna, his ambassador, to prevent the Tridentine Commission from attempting to include Spain in its regulations. Spain, he urged, had her own Index and her own laws of censorship; no rules could be universal, for a book might be innocent in one place and dangerous in another. He obtained no formal exemption of his dominions from Tridentine rules; but this made no difference, and Spain continued to act with the utmost independence." Thus runs Mr. Lea's story. Here is what historical documents tell us :

a. When at the Council of Trent in the beginning of 1562, the Fathers treated of the Index, the Spanish bishops, although great patriots and very jealous of the prerogative of their king and nation, offered no objection at all. The Archbishop of Granada simply remarked that to compose an Index would be too long and great a labor to be done by the Fathers of the Council; and the Archbishop of Braga added that the work should be confided to the universities of Bologna, Paris, Salamanca, and Coimbrã. See Pallavicini, "*Storia del Concilio di Trento*," l. xv., c. 19. King Philip, says Pallavicini, wrote with much moderation, requesting only that the Index made by the Spanish Inquisition should not be changed so far as his dominions were concerned. This request proved beyond doubt that the king considered himself bound by the general laws of the Church.

b. Philip demanded neither a formal exemption from the law nor different rules of the Index; all that he requested was that the Spanish Index, based on that of Paul IV., might not be changed. Whether, in deference to his explanations, this was done or not, it is a fact that when the Tridentine Index was published by Pius IV. Philip proved himself a true Catholic king and received it with due submission. By his edict of February 5, 1569, he ordered the Roman Index to be fully observed in all his dominions (as even Van Espen acknowledges, "*Ins. Eccl.*," lib. xxii., c. 5, n. 6); nay, he gave orders to have it printed; for the Index which the Duke of Alba, by the will of the king, had printed by Plantinus in 1569 and 1570 is precisely the Index of Pius IV.

According to Mr. Lea, p. 98, " The Tridentine rules and Index, in fact, were not adopted by the Council, but in the hurry of the final session were referred to the Pope, under whose authority they were revised and published." In this assertion there is some truth. The whole truth is as follows :

The Council of Trent, after resuming its meetings under Pius IV.,

meant to deal with pernicious books. The Fathers thought it very important, for the preservation of faith and morals, to publish an Index by which dangerous books issued since the origin of Protestantism should be forbidden to the public. They wished to enforce this law rigorously among all Catholics. Then, too, the Council deemed it expedient to examine, together with the books published since the rise of heresy, the censures which had been passed on them in different places. The Council undertook further the examination of the censures contained in the Index of Paul IV. The Fathers were left free to adopt any means they might think most simple and most expeditious to carry out the examination of both the books and the censures. They agreed unanimously upon a committee, which should be entrusted with this duty. The members of this committee were to be appointed by the cardinal-legates. All this was done before the session of February 26, 1562, was held.

The committee was occupied with their work for eighteen months. They asked for the help of theologians from the different Catholic nations, that thus they might examine with more accuracy both books and censures. As a final result the committee wrote out general rules; they revised Paul IV.'s catalogue, which they admitted, *paucis demptis paucis additis*, as, Foreiro says: "they noted the books which might be allowed to be read when corrected."

Before the close of the Council of Trent the committee on the Index had given the finishing touch to its work, as we are informed by the very words of the Council: "Cont. sess. 24, die 4^a Dec. Audiens S. Synodus huic operi (Indicis) ab eis (delectis lectis Patribus) extremam manum impositam esse, nec tamen ob librorum varietatem et multitudinem distincte et commode possit a Sancta Synodo dijudicari, præcipit, ut, quidquid ab illis præscriptum est, Sanctissimo Romano Pontifici exhibeatur, ut ejus judicio atque auctoritate terminetur et evulgetur."

So the Council requires that the work done by the committee should be reported to the Pope to be approved by him and promulgated by his authority. Now the bull of promulgation, *Dominici gregis*, reads as follows: "Peracto concilio, cum ex ipso synodi decreto, is Index nobis oblatus fuisset, nos doctissimis quibusdam probatissimisque prælatis eum accuratissime legendum examinandumque commisimus, et ipsi etiam legimus. Cum igitur eum magno studio, acri judicio, diuturna cura confectum, et præterea commodissime digestum esse cognoverimus, nos . . . ipsum Indicem una cum regulis ei propositis, auctoritate Apostolica approbamus."

We must conclude from all this that the Index is not only a Pontifical work, but also the work of the Council. It was not hard to

find these particulars ; we had only to consult the acts and decrees of the Council, the bull of Pius IV., and the preface which Foreiro wrote for the first edition of the Tridentine Index.

If Mr. Lea has an imperfect knowledge of the way the Index was composed he has no better knowledge of the editions of it. If, before setting pen to paper, he had made some researches on this subject he would have ascertained that, in the period he is dealing with, there were four chief editions of the Index, *i.e.*, the editions of Pius IV., Clement VIII., Alexander VII., and Benedict XIV. (see Benedict XIV., *Quæ ad catholicæ religionis*). He would have learned that it is superfluous to accumulate and quote indiscriminately (p. 34, 104 and *passim*) true editions and their reprints; that it is superfluous also to quote the supplements which are wont to be published between two editions, as those supplements contain nothing that may not be found in the subsequent editions; and that it is still more superfluous, not to say unscientific, to quote private together with official editions. To quote thus is what may well be styled throwing dust into the eyes of ignorant people, besides exposing oneself to the danger of inaccuracy; and this has happened more than once in the work of Mr. Lea, which we are reviewing. Thus (p. 104, n. 2) Mr. Lea, to prove that the book of Poza was condemned in 1628, refers us to the "Librorum post Indicem Clementis VIII. (prohibitorum) decreta, Romæ, 1624!" A line of explanation was necessary, for an attentive reader will ask how a catalogue published in 1624 can possibly mention a book condemned in 1628. With his ordinary recklessness he quotes the Elenchus of Capiferreo in one place, *i.e.*, p. 34: "Elenchus librorum omnium;" in another, *i.e.*, p. 104, "Elenchus libb. prohibb." As for Erasmus, he refers us, p. 24, to the Index of Clement VIII., Romæ, 1596, pp. 43, 44, 46; but, in those pages we have found no mention whatsoever of this writer; the only page where Erasmus is named is 28. Again, p. 34, Mr. Lea quotes the Index of Sixtus V., but he does not inform the reader that this Index was not published officially; for Clement VIII. says in the bull *Sacrosanctum*: "Sixtus Papa quintus prædecessor noster, multis illustratis atque ad regulas adjectis necessariis rebus, mandavit ut nonnulli alii ejusdem generis libri, eidem Indici adderentur. Verum cum idem Sixtus, re minime absoluta, ab humanis excesserit; Nos . . . quod jam pridem utiliter captum, et a multis diu desideratum erat, hoc tempore omnino perficiendum atque in lucem edendum duximus."

Is Mr. Lea more fortunate in the interpretation he gives of the Index? Alas, no! And the proof you will find further on, for instance, in a note, p. 66: "The Tridentine rules (Regula II.) allow the use of books written by heretics on other subjects than religion,

after examination and approbation by bishops and inquisitors. In the Roman Indexes, however, the first class consisted of the simple names of authors, all of whose works, without exception, were prohibited." We should like, first of all, to know why the author brings in this distinction between the *Tridentine* rules and the *Roman* Index; the rules and the catalogue being equally Tridentine or Roman, as we have seen. Moreover, we will observe that it is not true that the Tridentine rules grant permission, in a general way, to read books written by heretics which do not treat of religious matters. The second rule makes a distinction between the *heresiarchs* and ordinary heretics. All books written by heresiarchs, whatever the subject-matter, are prohibited. Books written by ordinary heretics are equally prohibited when they treat professionally (*ex professo*) of religious matters; otherwise they may be read, provided, however, they have received ecclesiastical approval. Neither is it true, as repeatedly asserted by Mr. Lea, that all the books of authors named in the first class of the Index are prohibited, nor is it true, consequently, that there is a contradiction between the second rule which permits certain books, written by heretics, to be read and the general prohibition of the first class. Both the rules of the Index and the division of the catalogue into three classes were drawn up by the same authors; and it is hard to believe that so distinguished a body would have contradicted itself. The fact is that Mr. Lea does not understand the question at all. The Index of Pius IV., like the present one, was arranged in alphabetical order; but the matter under each letter was divided into three classes, which division was maintained up to the time of Alexander VII. The first class contained not the titles of books, but the names of authors, heretics, or persons suspected of heresy. In the second class were indicated books written by Catholic authors, but of dangerous tendency. The third and last class contained the titles of anonymous books whose doctrines were pernicious; these are the three classes of the Index catalogue which we find so frequently mentioned from the time of Pius IV. It is easily seen that the second rule agrees with the division into three classes. The authors contained in the first class are heresiarchs, all of whose books are prohibited; or the books of ordinary heretics; the works of the latter (which the Index does not enumerate) are prohibited *ipso facto*, if they treat of religion *ex professo*; if they do not treat of religion they may be read, provided they have ecclesiastical approval.

Mr. Lea frequently quotes the so-called *Expurgatory Indexes*, and in connection with them he tries, pp. 77-79, to show that the methods of the Roman Congregations (Index and Holy Offices) are opposed to those of the Spanish Inquisition, to the advantage

of the latter, as more liberal and just. Here again Mr. Lea is wrong. The Spanish Inquisitory Indexes are conformable with the Roman Index. In fact, according to the rules of the Roman Index, there are books which cannot be read as long as they have not been corrected; when corrected they are, or at least, may be, allowed to be read. Thus runs the third rule: "Si quæ vero annotationes cum hujusmodi quæ permittuntur versionibus vel cum vulgata versione circumferuntur, expunctis locis suspectis a facultate theologica alicujus universitatis Catholicæ aut inquisitione generali, permitti eis poterunt quibus et versiones." Again, so runs the fifth rule: "Libri illi qui hæreticorum auctorum opera interdum prodeunt, in quibus nulla aut pauca de suo apponunt, sed aliorum dicta colligunt . . . si quæ habeant admixta quæ expurgatione indigeant, illis Episcopi et Inquisitoris una cum theologorum Catholicorum consilio sublatis ac emendatis, permittantur." So again the sixth rule: "Quod si hactenus in aliquo regno vel provincia aliqui libri sint prohibiti quod nonnulla contineant quæ sine delectu ab omnibus legi non expediat, si eorum auctores Catholici sunt, postquam emendati fuerint, permitti ab Episcopo et Inquisitore poterunt." So finally the eighth rule: "Libri quorum principale argumentum bonum est, in quibus tamen obiter aliqua inserta sunt quæ ad hæresim seu impietatem, divinationem seu superstitionem spectant, a Catholicis theologis, Inquisitionis Generalis auctoritate expurgati, concedi poterunt. Idem judicium sit de prologis, summariis seu annotationibus quæ a damnatis auctoribus libris non damnatis appositæ sunt. Sed post hac non nisi emendati excudantur." Whence we conclude that the Tridentine rules of the Index suppose other Indexes to exist (quod si hactenus in aliquo regno vel provincia aliqui libri sunt prohibiti, etc.); they admit, also, that books written by heretics may be corrected; they leave the care of such correction to Catholic faculties of theology, the Inquisition, etc. In consequence of these dispositions several books that had been prohibited were corrected and, in different places, especially in Spain, catalogues of expurgated books were published.

We can show that, both theoretically and practically, the fundamental principle of the Spanish Index was to keep in perfect harmony with the rules of the Roman Index. The Index expurgatorius of Cardinal Quiroga may be usefully consulted on this question. However, with regard to this valuable book, we may remark that Mr. Lea quotes frequently, *i.e.*, p. 82, n. 1, the edition of Saumur, without telling the reader that this edition, published by Calvinists, is preceded by a preface injurious to the Holy See, which, however, must not be imputed to the great Spanish Cardinal.

The Spanish Inquisition had received from the Sovereign Pontiff authority to examine and censure books. It enforced the decrees of the Roman Congregation; it was authorized to add to its own catalogue books which had not yet been inscribed in the Roman, and which it considered pernicious. We find an instance of the exercise of this power in the famous decree of the 10th June, 1683, by which the Spanish Inquisitors prohibited books already condemned by the S. Cong. of the Index, and others which had never been censored. Now we readily acknowledge that the Spanish Inquisitors, for reasons which we need not examine, sometimes exceeded the limits of their authority. For instance, they had no right to condemn books on account of opinions tolerated in the Church or doctrines which were freely discussed among Catholics. They forgot this essential principle when they passed censure on many of the volumes of the "Acta Sanctorum" (1595); they forgot it also when, in the Expurgatory published in 1747, they inscribed among prohibited books the "History of Pelagianism" and the "Dissertation on the Fifth General Council," of the celebrated Cardinal Noris. We have not the time nor the wish to discuss these details with Mr. Lea. We would have to point out too many blunders. For instance, in the foot-note 2, of p. 75, he speaks of the absurd claim of the Carmelites to have been founded by *Enoch*! He must mean the prophet *Elias*. He mentions a certain *Papenbrock*; the celebrated Bollandist, *Papebroch*. Again, he quotes *Theodore* of Alexandria, instead of *Theophilus*, we think! And so on.

To prove that the decrees of the Index had no force in Spain, that they were admitted or rejected at the whim of the king, Mr. Lea alleges, pp. 98-99, the measures ordered by the *Fase* and the *Recurso di fuerza*. He should have noticed, but does not, that these measures, at least under the kings of the house of Austria, were never enforced against papal acts dealing with doctrine, liturgy, clerical discipline, or sacramental penance. They were enforced only against acts concerning benefices, the collection of ecclesiastical taxes, the trial of certain causes, and then only when there was a probability of infraction of royal prerogatives or of the rights of a third party. He should have noticed, also, that while enforcing these measures, the Spanish rulers, far from pretending to independence, based their right on the privileges conferred on them by the Popes. Finally, he should have noticed that these measures were not regarded as definitive but as suspensive to the effect of giving the opportunity of enlightening the Pope and of asking him to change his decrees. Will Mr. Lea please read the two principal Spanish canonists who have defended those measures, *Cavarruvias Pract. Quæst* and *Salgado, de Suppli-*

catione ad Sanctissimum? He will see that their pretensions do not go beyond the limits we have named. As to Salgado in particular, whose name is often found in the pages of Mr. Lea, we desire, in conclusion, to oppose his authority to that of Mr. Lea. Mr. Lea asserts that no nation was less docile to the decrees of the Holy See condemning books contrary to faith and morals. Now here is what Salgado says (*Op. cit.*, p. 1, c. 3, n. 5): "Inter omnes totius orbis Christianas nationes, nulla excellentior hispanica in *obsequio præstando Sedi Apostolicæ*, in ejus auctoritate tuenda, in *reverentia et obedientia pontificum decretis* propter fidei puritatem et ardentem Catholicæ religionis zelum et cultum, quo semper Hispanorum reges, eorum ministri efflagrasse noscuntur."

Here we rest our case. Volumes would be needed to point out and refute all the falsehoods, mistakes, follies, contradictions contained in the five hundred and six pages of Mr. Lea. We think we have said enough for the purpose we had in view, which was to show the critical and scientific value of Mr. Lea's work, and the amount of confidence his lucubrations in Church history deserve.

THE ÆSTHETIC IN EDUCATION.

IT is one of the curious results of a certain flurry over "sun-flowers and lilies," a few years ago, that the very word "æsthetic" has fallen under the ban. With a large number of the community, æsthetic means sentimental, and to introduce such an element into a scholastic course would stamp it as ridiculous. Our title, therefore, must be rescued from the enemy before it can be a proper heading for any educational article.

Beauty—essential beauty—belongs only to God. From this essential beauty of the Divine nature have emanated all those forms, colors, combinations of light and shadow, which captivate the eye, entrance the imagination. Earth, air, the very caves of ocean bear witness to this essential beauty existing in the mind of the Creator and directing His works. The same may be said of harmony; and the delight in sounds, in the eternal music of the spheres, in the rhythm of poesy, carries us back to the Creator as the essential, uncreated harmony of the universe. We see this expressed in a bas-relief on Giotto's Tower under the title of "universal harmony," and Aristoxenes, a disciple of Plato, regarded the soul as a vibration of the uncreated harmony, which Plato himself says: "Those who can apprehend the eternal and immutable are philosophers, and those may truly be called artists who fix their eyes on a perpetual standard of beauty before attempting to elucidate its theory."

There can be, therefore, no fashion, either in beauty or in harmony, nor will there be found any in the works of the great masters, whether of sculpture, painting, music or poesy—arts in which the æsthetic has found a refuge from the beginning. This is why a fragment of Greek sculpture may become the germ of a school like that which grew up around Niccolo Pisano, and still makes the study from the antique considered a necessary training for genius. This, too, is why the chords of Hebrew psalmody and of the Greek chorus weave themselves into the compositions of Bach and of Palestrina. The essential beauty and harmony can never die. It is the turning away from them which brings decline into the arts, but they never become extinct; and suddenly the old harmonies and the ancient laws of beauty come to some soul like a lost dowry, and we remember that beauty and harmony are eternal. It is in this sense of the word that æsthetics can and even must enter into every enlightened plan of education, although depending, happily, less upon text-books than upon surroundings.

We all know what orators are produced by elocutionists, what poets by grammarians, what painters and sculptors by an academy, even while we insist upon this aid.

“Plant and flower of light”

is a line which no lily in a florist's window could have inspired, as no caged songster could have inspired “The Meadow Lark.” We know this. But let us go back to our Greeks and see how they practiced what we know.

First of all, Homer as the exponent of Greek genius. Here is a boy living three hundred years after the Trojan war who is heir to all popular traditions and ballads, who sees, not as one in the conflict, but through the transfiguring atmosphere of time, of distance. Yet this is not all. Born under the skies of Ionia on the shores of the Ægean sea, his baby eyes open not only upon a far horizon, blue skies and olive groves, but dilate to take in all the grandeur of processions in honor of the gods, and the hymns chanted in full chorus fill his infant ears. Year after year come processions, not mere civic shows to entertain the people, but religious processions, into which fall every rank of society, and in which all hearts find themselves uplifted, which the beauty of the costumes, the harmony of the chorus, the very multitudes, animated as they are with one heart and voice, kindle the venerating imagination of youth. Thus the songs of the bards, chants, as they are, in honor of the beloved traditions of his nation, and the recitation in which the actor is the poet as well, like our own Shakespeare. The first buddings of intelligent curiosity are stimulated by the delights of travel, and Phœnicia, Asia, Africa, with her “hundred-gated Thebes,” her pyramids, nourish that lofty mood into which reverence enters to exalt all forms of loveliness. And when he returns and the familiar ballads of Troy, of gods, goddesses and heroes are again in his ears, they suggest grander possibilities than he had before dreamed of, until, all at once, they are fused in the glowing alembic of his imagination into one magnificent epic, which the world will cherish as long as the world exists. Such was the public school in which Greece educated her youths nine hundred years before Christ.

Let us now take the lyrist, Pindar himself, the master and leader of that train of poets, touching with tender, heroic or reverent hand the lyre of song.

Born in the neighborhood of Thebes in Bœotia, 522 or 518 B.C., he was not only descended from Cadmus, but his family had been distinguished for generations, poetically and musically, at the great festivals, a distinction among the Greeks which brought

signal and lasting honors. But although, by birth, a child of song, no inherited gifts were supposed to supersede the necessity for assiduous culture in everything pertaining to the lyric art. Like Homer, his surroundings fostered poetic inspirations not only through the loveliness of nature, but the charms of the legend, the grandeur of historic narrative, above all, the religious rites and ceremonies, while the Olympic wreath swam before his boyish imagination as no civic honors could have done. Our Pindar belonged to a people to whom song and all the delights of the imagination were a daily necessity, not an occasional luxury. The atmosphere was vitalized by the chant of the bard and the chorus of the procession. What, then, was more worthy of labor to acquire than the secrets of harmonious song? As an infant his ear was familiar with the rhythm of musical utterances, poetic sentences, and as a boy the rules of composition, the harmonies of metre and their possibilities were treated as a science. To this was added orchestric dancing, the poetry of motion, an art in itself among this imaginative people, and also the mysterious harmonies of instrumental and vocal music. He was thus furnished not only with themes from tradition, history and religion, but with a language of universal import through which to express the most sublime conceptions, the most heroic sentiments, the most ærial fancies. Nor was he left to the influences of his own family or his own city. Athens was to develop all these resources and stimulate all these subtle motives which belong to the poetic organism. Instructors, like Lasus, would guide his muse, perfect his sentences, while such mistresses of the lyric art as his countrywomen Myrtis and Corinne watched over the efflorescence of a genius that was to become a competitor with them, before the eyes of all Greece, for that laurel wreath more desired than the bay of the conqueror.

We cannot leave these competitions without a word as to their influence. By the way in which people often refer now-a-days to these Olympic games, one might suppose some restoration of this spirit had appeared among us. We may not have our chariot and foot races, or our wrestlers, but have we not our college regattas! contests so absorbing as to put class poems out of mind? We seem to forget that the laurel crown not only gave distinction to the poet, but secured to successful competitors of all sorts a reward which made purses of gold and silver cups absolutely valueless. It was the Ode, chanted while the procession bore the victor through the gates of his city, wearing "the garland of wild olive, cut from the sacred tree in the grove of Altis, near the altars of Aphrodite and the Horæ," as his only prize, which stamped this honor with the choice characteristics of Greek civilization.

No sooner was a victory won, than every poet grasped his pen,

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as every warrior had grasped his sword for the combat; and to live in the odes of Greece was indeed fame. The two verses by Simonides, inscribed on the monument to the three hundred who fell at Thermopylæ, "all Greece, for centuries, had by heart. She forgot them, and Greece was living Greece no more." It was this demand upon our poet for the most august as well as the most festive occasions, which made poesy, not the passing fancy of youth, not the mere blossom of his springtime, but the serious occupation of an entire life; and so far from diverting his mind from the observance of the pious usages of his times, hymns to the gods allowed him to express the venerating sentiments of a nature as devout as it was poetic. Pindar chanted his own hymns with an enthusiasm which was echoed by all Greece.

It is a common saying to-day: "Poets cannot be grown." What was it that all at once blighted Ravenna's Forest of Pines? Showing that these giants, the growth of centuries, were dependent upon hidden springs, and were the exponents of influences and surroundings which could be destroyed, even if they could not be created by one generation.¹

Passing from the classic ages of Greece, and even of Rome, as under similar æsthetic influences, we come to those Christian ages which Ozanam has so carefully analyzed, touching with his divining-rod of exquisite sympathy the primal chords of that poesy which was crowned in Dante and his *Divina Commedia*. Instead, however, of regarding this as a solitary monument of those ages, he tells us: "In the thirteenth century poesy had not taken refuge in the heart of a single citizen of Florence; it was everywhere. In the actions of the times which saw the last crusades, the fall of Frederic II., the vocation of St. Louis, the apostolate of Saint Francis and of St. Dominic, when God, having sown on His part, great events, expected them to spring forth in great thoughts. It was in the monuments of a period which built the Holy Chapel, founded the cathedrals of Cologne and of Florence, inspired Eudes de Montreuil, Niccolo Pisano, and Cimabue."² And then he takes us back to that charming little paper-covered favorite, to be found in every bookstall of Italy, "Fioretti di San Francesco," the Little Flowers, grown in the sunshine of that dear St. Francis who preached to the birds, and whose life of utter poverty had such a charm for the children of opulence; by whose "Cantic to Holy Poverty," to his "Brother the Sun," chanted to the airs of the people, the voice, and the ear, and the very heart of Italy, were trained in a school which compelled Dante to write, not in the

¹ See *La Pineta Distrutta*, by Dr. William Thomas Parsons.

² *Des Sources Poétique de la Divine Comédie*, Ozanam.

stately classic tongue, but in his own Italian ; thus educating the centuries, crystallizing his Tuscan speech, and making it, by his own sublime intensity, the language not only of the contadini and the cantatrice but of ecstatic vision ; while it was, also, the age of Jacopone di Todi and his immortal *Stabat Mater*. We need not refer to the age of Petrarch and Tasso, as that of song, for all ages have been this in Christian Italy ; and, to this day, it is as essential to her festivals, even in the family, as to the Greek in the days of Homer or of Pindar.

There is none of the " familiarity which breeds contempt " in uniting such examples of æsthetics in universal education to those of our own times, only that homeliness, which is one of the marks of genuineness, and which we should see much oftener than we do in the models of poesy were we as familiar with their times as with our own.

Who has not been a favored visitor, at least, in some of those old towns, villages we might say rather, where simplicity without rusticity, marks a phase of æsthetic culture never approached in populous cities ; where the very headstones of families bear witness to a poetic vein which needed not to borrow, even from Gray's " *Elegy*," lines befitting the grave of the flower of village girls, as well as of the patriarch ; where, no matter how solemn or joyful the anniversary, the graceful impromptu or the stately ode has never been wanting to crown the occasion ? How well we remember Washington's birthday, celebrated in Old Deerfield, when George Bancroft was at the height of his fame, and was the orator of the day. With what awe we watched, from one of the square side pews of the meeting-house, the procession as it entered the middle aisle, and one after another of the dignified personages pointed out to us and named ; and when the orator stood up in that high pulpit, not, indeed, of storied marble, but of the choicest mahogany, of proportions a Pisano might have given, with its hangings of silken damask, and its side-lamps of silver, he left a picture on the mind of the child in the square side pew not to be forgotten. But the crowning enthusiasm came to the soul of the child when the choir of fully fifty voices, from *soprano* to *basso*, gave out, accompanied by stringed instruments only, the ode for the day :

" Hail to the day which gave Washington birth ;
Joy to Columbia, hope to the earth."

Written by one whose father, grandfather, great-grandfather had kept alive all the traditions of country, of town, and even of the village, to be transmitted by an ode worthy of the best days of heroic verse, and which, in Greece, would have won the laurel crown for its poet.

A few years after and another of these events was celebrated which give to this ancient town so honorable a celebrity; it was the laying of the corner-stone of the monument which marks the spot where fell, on the 18th of September, 1675, seventy young men, "the flower of the county of Essex." No fairer day ever shone in September, and the purple grapes on the road-side reminded one of the fatal security which lured this choice band to pluck them from the vines hanging so temptingly above them. The swampy ground had been reclaimed for more than a century, and the only trace of it was in a winding brook, among its lush grasses tall stalks of the scarlet cardinal flower, and named "Bloody Brook," from the massacre of that day in 1675. The fair village took this brook into the width of its street, and all around us were the evidences of civilized thrift. But no meeting-house could contain the thousands flocking to this spot. The rostrum was built under two spreading walnut trees, and only their canopy of leaves, touched by the light frosts of September, rose above the orator of the day, who was no other than Edward Everett; and never did that graceful figure stand out before a more inspiring background; the blue sky cleft by the summit of Mount Sugar-loaf, and overhanging the beetling precipices of purple sandstone, King Philip's seat. The wind was lulled in the arms of autumn, and the voice of the poet-orator rang out as clear as a flute over the plain, dark with breathless listeners. Seated on the knees of my mother, I heard and saw everything, and the march of that fated band through the forests on the morning of that other 18th of September became a living reality, until when, with one of his inimitable gestures, the orator exclaimed: "Ha! the red plume of an Indian chieftain!" I closed my eyes with a shudder, full of the terror a child feels for an ambush, only to hear the dulcet voice say, reassuringly: "No, only the red leaf in the changing maple!" What rocky pass, even of Thermopylæ, ever gave more startling imagery than that which came to the New England orator on the grave of these seventy young men, "The flower of the county of Essex," in the shadow of King Philip's seat?

The conditions of the æsthetic never change, whatever may be the changes of scene or of circumstance, and the æsthetics of heroism certainly lie as precious germs in our national history. The celebration of her anniversaries, instead of becoming puerile, given over to the picnics of boys and girls, should be celebrated with ever-increasing splendor. City should vie with city to blazon forth on the evening sky the fiery outlines of great national victories by land and sea, while orator and poet should be called upon for their noblest periods, their most exalted measures.

Behold the education, the public education, which the greatest

Republic the world has ever seen should give to her generations as they rise up by millions within her borders, nor will there fail to be planted the seeds of forests outrivalling those of Ravenna, to be nourished by springs too deep, too copious for man's engineering to cut off. The æsthetic capabilities of our Republic can be developed only by an education which cherishes traditions too inspiring to be forgotten, too sacred to be profaned.

Thus far, with all the accentuation we may be disposed to give to classical antecedent, to patriotic story, we have skirted only the base of our Pisgah, around which circle fair cities, noble governments, centres of science and of art, according to that natural order common to all races, countries, beliefs. But above and beyond this region, delectable as it may seem, within easy reach, too, of human attainment, we discern heights of thought, actual summits of created perfection, towering serenely into an atmosphere which seems no other than Heaven itself, and lending to these summits such spiritualized hues and forms as we associate with a land of vision. Yet these summits belong to that aerial range of æsthetics born of Christian faith, nourished by Christian contemplation and Christian prayer, to which the eagle's wing alone can aspire, under the patronage of St. John, whose gospel opens with the mystical words: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Here we touch the secret of that supernatural force which has lifted our mountain summits above Assyrian, Roman or even Greek æsthetics, while to follow the upward way at ever so slow a pace we must have as our guide that infallible teacher, the Church of God, on which has been bestowed all the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

One of the characteristics of this "Higher School of Æsthetics," as we may venture to call it, is its universality. While putting to blush the claims of Socrates by eliminating sophistries from the heart as well as from the intellect; while taking in the sciences of the material world and the logic of human reason according to Aristotle, and the science of spiritualities as achieved by Plato, as segments are taken into perfect circles, no grades of preparation are required for admission to its ranks, the tutelage being given through world-wide Sacraments and a world-wide Liturgy.

These world-wide Sacraments are not only seven fountains of sanctification, but the energizing forces which at times assume almost a creative power, as if bringing virtues into existence as well as developing their germs, while the world-wide Liturgy is the lifelong educator of the individual, and from age to age of nations and continents, raising them, whether from the grossness of barbaric ignorance or the degradation of inherited heathen vices to the practice of the most delicate gradations of Christian sen-

timent as well as of Christian morality, and even of that chivalry by which social intercourse is exalted, until period after period has effloresced in ideals of beauty and of harmony which can never die, since, even if destroyed to the sense, they must live forever through the impetus they have given to human thought. Is it, then, rash to declare this Liturgy to have been for these nineteen hundred years the world's educator in Christian æsthetics?

The first stroke of catacomb art, when compared with the antique or pagan, discloses the existence of a new motive, of a new ideal. Compare the virgin huntress Diana, belonging in its type to one, two and three of the noblest periods of Greek art, with a Christian virgin like Saint Pudentiana on the walls of Saint Priscilla's subterranean cemetery. The first is, indeed,

"As chaste as ice, as pure as snow,"

a glittering negation, a scorner of affection, while the last is a positive flame, fed by the love of God, tending toward Him so as to draw with it all human sympathies, all compassionate tendernesses. In the same way compare the strength of the pagan Hercules with the strength of a Saint Christopher, which is not the strength of the body alone, but of a mighty will, intent upon serving God altogether and utterly. Again, compare that most noble, and at the same time that most tender, example of antique pagan maternity Eirene, with the child Plutos, by Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles, with a Madonna, we will not say by Raphael, but with that Madonna of the first Christian century on the wall of the same cemetery of Saint Priscilla as mentioned above. It is impossible to mistake one for the other, nor is it possible for the most uncompromising champion of classic art to deny the superiority of the spiritual ideal in such instances over that of physical perfection, the beauty of the soul, of the heart, supernaturally exalted over any merely natural sentiment of maternal affection.

The same motive, so evident in those works of Christian art addressing themselves to the eye, is to be recognized in all the music which can be called religious, but above all in those compositions which embody, we might rather say enshrine, the sacred liturgy. We may take the Preface for Trinity Sunday as the most familiar, set to the Gregorian notes as given in the Missal. In vain shall we seek through the entire world, including Greek chant, for sentences of such sublime musical power as those which enunciate the mystery of the Triune Godhead; the musical phrases with their solemnly emphatic pauses according to the text, like it, having a majesty which soars above all ordinary expressions of

thought. To hear it sung, as we have heard it by the solitary voice of the celebrant, unaccompanied, as it ever should be, by organ or any instrument whatsoever, and that voice one which filled serenely without effort every arch of the cathedral, is to hear what carries the soul truly on eagle's pinions to one of our aerial sunmits.

But let us take Holy Week as a concrete exponent of the Liturgy as it appeals through the eye and the ear to the highest interior sense of beauty and of harmony. To begin with Palm Sunday and its procession according to the rubric, the palms waving to the chant of the *Gloria, laus, et honor, Tibi sit*. What pictures has it not inspired from Duccio of Siena to Overbeck in our own days, and as we have watched the solemn gladness on the faces of old and young, we have felt certain that not even a Duccio or an Overbeck could give a more exalted expression than that worn by thousands during a procession on Palm Sunday here in the United States. Nor can we forget those three evenings when the Matins and Lauds are sung as the mournful *Tenebrae* and the Lamentations of Jeremiah once more recall that Jerusalem which slew her prophets and rejected those who came to her from on high, as if the nightingale of sacred song had withdrawn herself to thick woods, there in darkness and seclusion to chant the Passion of her Lord. The charm of these Nocturns is too subtle to explain, but they draw crowds who never think of opening a Holy Week book or following one chanted psalm.

Then Holy Thursday and its pontifical ceremonials. The groups in the sanctuary as august as on any frescoed wall of Rome, of Tuscany or Umbria. The chaste beauty of color coming in among the gold and white vestments, the mitred majesty of the celebrant bowed before the unseen Presence on the altar, the blessing of the oils, and that "*Ave Sanctum Chrisma!*" "*Ave Sanctum Oleum!*" breathed over the unctuous ampullæ, the chant of priestly voices as they are carried in procession to the distant sacristy growing fainter and fainter. But the crowning glory of the solemnity is the procession of the Blessed Sacrament. Under the canopy the unmitered prelate bearing the sacred burden, preceded by waving censers and flowers giving forth their odors under his footsteps, the chanted *Pange lingua*, the resplendent Repository where the Lord of the Tabernacle is to repose adored by silent throngs until to-morrow's sorrowful dawn. What is there in scenic representation outside this Liturgy which can for one moment so lift the heart and at the same time so solemnize its pulses? And this to lead by transition which would shock were it not sustained by a ritual which surpasses all mere human invention, to the solemnity of Good Friday! The thronging multitudes

pressing forward to touch their lips to the feet of the Crucified One, while those "Reproaches" which have come down to us in all their heart-breaking pathos without the change of a note from the fifth age of our Christian era reiterate the story of the Passion which has been already chanted, its *Crucifige* piercing the ear and the heart which still keep the memory of the low minor chord in which the Man of Sorrows responds to the cruelty of His blinded creatures,—and all this puts the puny tragedy of the stage as far from us as fiction is removed from a supernatural fact, a difference never to be measured.

The silent pathos of the hours which follow until the solemnity of Holy Saturday is one of the world's acts of fealty to an ideal transcending its own power to produce. It simply yields to its potency. But dull indeed must be the pulses which are not quickened, sluggish the feet which do not hasten to catch the first flash of the Paschal fire in the vestibule, or the first note of the "Lumen Christi," as the procession goes toward the sanctuary. And yet these are all taken in, as into one gush of jubilant song, with the first note by the "Exultet:" *Exultet jam angelica turba cœlorum*, given of a single voice, unaccompanied except by the throbbing hearts of holy souls watching for the first dawn of the Resurrection. The ritual for the Paschal candle, with the placing of the five grains of incense, the lighting of this effulgent column, is one of those transcendent flights of poesy under the influence of religious fervor and devout erudition which will act upon the human imagination, nourish its most hidden and sacred springs so long as the Liturgy itself endures.

The same may be said of the Blessing of the Font, the significance of which has entered into the mosaics of the great decorators of the early ages, as seen in that chapel of the ancient church of St. Praxides in Rome, called, for its splendor, "Orto del Paradiso," down to the mosaics in the apse of St. John Lateran and of St. Mary Major, by Jacopo Turrina, while an evidence is given of the value attached to the significance of the Prophecies read with so much ceremony on Holy Saturday, by seeing their subjects chosen by Raphael for the representations on the ceiling of his immortal Loggia. In fact, innumerable are the instances in which the Liturgy is taken as the guide of the great theological artists like Orcagna, Signorelli, Michael Angelo and Raphael in their choice of subjects. So rich, indeed, is the Liturgy for Holy Week in suggestions, so powerfully have these suggestions acted upon the world of poesy and of art, that we have been ready to say of Easter Sunday, with its magnificence of promises fulfilled, that, like the sun, its wonder is over when once risen.

But while Holy Week is the most complete as well as the most

concrete example of the influence of the Liturgy, we cannot pass over in silence the processions of the Rogation Days, remembering for how many ages they have been the guardians of the agricultural districts of Christendom against all the subtle foes of the husbandman. There are Catholic rural neighborhoods in our northwest in which the pious traditions of the Old World are preserved and practiced with a picturesque simplicity which meets all the conditions of a scattered population. The large farm-wagons, into which a whole family, including the youngest child, can be loaded with provisions for an entire day, are drawn in procession by stalwart horses up and down and across all the boundary lines of sections, while the Litany of the Saints, of the Blessed Virgin, are sung as they proceed, until every farmer has the satisfaction of knowing that, during these three days, upon his acres, whether few or many, have been invoked all the guardians of the fold and the field; and we can believe how fervently the Feast of the Ascension is celebrated, not as a holiday of hard obligation, but as one of praise and thanksgiving.

Quite as pointedly stands forth the Corpus Christi procession. Beautiful as this can be even within the limits of a parish church, the far-reaching effect is never so apparent as when this Corpus Christi procession goes forth under the blue sky of the beautiful season in which it occurs. In our own country, these open-air processions are left to those favored regions under monastic patronage, inviting, as they do, not only their own communities, but the inhabitants for ten, twenty miles often, to share in the gracious hospitality of this Feast of Divine Love. Of the beauty of such processions as we have enjoyed in these favored districts, it would be vain to write; above all, when, as at Notre Dame, Indiana, nature has lent herself so completely to their service as to reflect in her pellucid lakes the procession on their shores, until we repeat that line from Wordsworth:

"The swan on sweet Saint Mary's lake
Floats double, swan and shadow";

and we feel for the time being that nature is once more in accord with her Creator, no more to bring forth thorns and thistles as her participation in man's fall, but to join with him in the joyous canticles of a renovated world.

By such celebrations of great festivals has the Liturgy, as we have said, educated entire Europe, all Christian Asia, Africa on her Mediterranean shore and her Cape of Good Hope. To America, and these United States of America, she holds out the same gracious privileges, not only of civilization in its work-a-day prosperity, but of that highest culture which is not merely of the

intellect, but of the heart, the soul; making an atmosphere in which the most sensitive imagination is conscious of delightful conditions of grace, which in themselves are inspirations. To cut off or suppress these celebrations for ever so short a time, as we feel only too keenly in our own country, with our mixed population, is to deprive whole generations of what all the books in the world will vainly endeavor to supply,—the enthusiasm of actual participation; and how many a heaven-sent vocation has been stimulated, actually brought to consciousness, by some one of these solemnities cherished in the Liturgy?

As we write, across the village street we see a group of children training a young goat to follow them and come to serve them. How do they set to work? First one dimpled hand, then another, plucks a clover blossom from the road-side, and holds it temptingly to the shy animal; and as he nibbles it daintily, a tuft of fresh leaves is held towards him by another until the goat follows his young friends at their will, thus fulfilling St. Augustine's declaration, illustrated by this very example, that "we are drawn by our likings."

Noble eras of faith and of enthusiasm, of august celebration of those feasts which recognize the eternal destinies of mankind, and set forth the fulness of our Redemption. Noble eras, which nourished not only a St. Dominic, a St. Francis of Assisi, but a Dante, a Perugino, and the Angelical Doctor, St. Thomas of Aquin, evidencing that piety, poesy, painting, philosophy are alike guided by those glorious rubrics of a divine Liturgy which stand along the mountain side, beckoning us onward to those summits of ecstatic contemplation where we enter, with St. John, upon the life of vision, and which has been the inspiration of genius as well as of sanctity, lo! these nineteen hundred years, and will be to the end of time.

IRELAND'S CAUSE, IRELAND'S LEADER.

ONLY a few months ago the friends of Ireland throughout the civilized world were anxiously watching the struggle for Home Rule carried on by the Irish Parliamentary party under Parnell, and powerfully aided by the veteran Gladstone and the Liberals of Great Britain. The questions which the most experienced and sagacious observers asked themselves were: "Will the long tried endurance of the Irish agricultural population hold out till the end of the present Parliament? Will the desperate resistance of the wretched tenantry not give way to the ever-increasing energy of Secretary Balfour's coercive measures, to the skilfully combined assaults of both the constabulary and the military? Where are the many thousands of evicted tenant-farmers, whose numbers are fearfully swelled of late, to look to for money to provide them with the bare necessities of life while they heroically 'keep their grip of the land?'"

Such questions we asked ourselves as the autumn of 1890 drew nigh, and the dreadful spectre of famine arose and stalked abroad in the open daylight in the desolated districts of the south and west of Ireland, adding the horrors of possible starvation and fever to the chronic and manifold evils of the Irish farmer's lot.

The exploring tour undertaken by the Irish Secretary through Ireland, through the distressed districts of Connaught and Munster especially, surprised not a few even of the most observant. But to those who knew with what formidable armed forces Mr. Balfour had garrisoned every mile of Irish ground, it was clear that he had nothing to fear. While he was pursuing his exploration, the O'Shea trial, which good people had hoped never to hear of again, was announced, all of a sudden, as about to be brought to a final issue.

This suit—and the Salisbury government were well aware of it—was the last and most masterly movement in their strategy against the National cause.

At the first credible reports of great distress and probable famine in one-half at least of Ireland, the generous American heart was moved; and forthwith public meetings were held, an organization was formed for the relief of the sufferers, and well-known citizens, Americans of the Americans, appealed to their countrymen for prompt succor. . . . Just then came among us a deputation of the Irish Parliamentary party, with the two-fold

purpose of soliciting pecuniary aid in favor of the multitudes of tenants evicted by Balfour's merciless magistracy and constabulary, and for helping to carry on the parliamentary campaign in favor of Home Rule. The visitors, while among us, were to explain to the citizens of the great republic in every State of the Union, the objects for which Parnell, Gladstone and their followers contended.

It had been remarked that when the proposed visit to this country of the Irish representatives was made known in Ireland, indictments for conspiracy and violation of the Crimes' Act were brought against Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, the most deservedly popular of the Nationalist leaders, the very men whose simple appearance in any American city, or among the least Irish of American audiences, was sure to create enthusiasm. Few words would be needed from such men, so tried and so true, to obtain from our people much more than the advocates of Home Rule would ask for.

Mr. Balfour knew this, and he hoped to defeat the appeal of Ireland to the American republic by sending once more to prison and the plank-bed, John Dillon and William O'Brien. But the imprisonment of these two patriots under such circumstances would not have quenched the ardent sympathy felt here for Irish wrongs nor closed our hearts and our purses to the need of Ireland.

They baffled Balfour and came to us. The world knows what a welcome we gave them. They kindled a flame of enthusiasm in favor of Irish nationality which spread over the continent, crossing our border to Canada and warming up its less ardent population to give, in due time, practical aid to the righteous cause of Ireland.

The funds contributed for the Home Rule campaign promised already to go far beyond hundreds of thousands of dollars—when the anti-Irish conspiracy in Great Britain suddenly "played its trump card." The O'Shea case was called. The "respondent" obstinately refused to appear or to put in an answer. Of course, the "co-respondent" could not appear alone. And so, while the members of the Irish deputation were busy canvassing the Eastern and Middle States, the Atlantic cables brought, morning and evening, to our daily papers the delectable details of the one-sided testimony furnished by Captain O'Shea.

Men asked each other, in surprise or alarm, as they did, during the first sham-trial before Lord Coleridge about "Parnellism and Crime," and throughout the weary months of the second trial before the Judicial Commission—the most solemn judicial farce

mentioned in all history—whether Mr. Parnell was really the author of the forged letters, and whether the Parliamentary party were a band of criminals who had been long conspiring in the dark to violate or defy the most sacred laws of a Christian community.

The thunder-clap of the Pigott confession and suicide did not suffice to overthrow the Salisbury-Balfour Cabinet. The light poured on the public mind by the protracted sessions of the Judicial Commission, though it convinced the whole civilized world outside of Great Britain of the iniquity of British governmental methods in Ireland—could not open the eyes of the three judges. Their report and the subsequent parliamentary debates thereon were a disgrace to constitutional procedure, an insult to the intelligence of the English-speaking world.

The *Times*-Balfour-Salisbury conspiracy having utterly broken down and reflected nothing but discredit on British justice, English common sense, and both the Parliament and the Judiciary of England—the conspirators used their wits in another direction. They had failed in their endeavor to dishonor the Irish leader, and thereby to turn away from him the party whom he had formed and disciplined, and failed as well in thereby depriving the Irish Nationalists of the support of Mr. Gladstone and the British Liberals.

The money spent in purchasing the wretched tools of this gigantic conspiracy and in covering the expenses of a trial and proceedings, surpassing in magnitude, if not in duration, the trial of Warren Hastings, would have sufficed to open and establish once and for all time the fisheries of Ireland, creating fishing centres, docks and harbors all around her coast.

Time which ends by tearing the mask from the deepest hypocrites and the veil from the darkest plots, may possibly reveal to us some day, sooner even than we think, how the enemies of Ireland planned and achieved, for the time being, and to all human seeming, the defeat of the Irish national cause, the overthrow of the fondest, holiest hopes ever cherished by a people.

The clever strategy of the Tory leaders and of their zealous helpmates in the daily press, was further shown in the way they had studied the weak points in the Irish Parliamentary party and in the English Liberal party under Gladstone respectively.

It was no secret that more than one among the followers of Parnell occasionally showed signs of restiveness under the stern control and severe discipline enforced by the leader. No matter how much the cleverest among them owed to Mr. Parnell, who has discovered their talents and encouraged their forensic efforts,

it was not in human nature, not even in Irish human nature, not to push for a foremost place. We need only recall what happened in Ireland when the ill-starred election took place in Galway, at which Mr. Parnell braved the resentment of the foremost men in his party, by bringing forward the now notorious O'Shea. It was no secret that Parnell's somewhat autocratic interference had severely tested the temper and obedience of his followers. Nor was the name of his candidate then mentioned without mysterious and angry mutterings, to which every succeeding year added a fuller significance.

It had been well for the Irish leader, and well for Ireland's dearest interests, had he who was most concerned heeded the warnings such mutterings convey or read the signs of uneasiness, dissatisfaction and discontent, which should have pointed the attention of a nature more passionate and a mind less sagacious to the rocks on which he must shipwreck his honor and the cause of a nation, should he refuse to alter his course.

The moral sensitiveness of a man so stainless in his private life as Mr. Gladstone, was also counted upon as well as the high value set upon the public morality of political leaders by the English, Scotch and Welsh Dissenters, who sent so many representatives to swell the ranks of the Liberal party. It is a curious study to read not only the utterances of the Church of England religious press, but those of the Dissenting organs, from the very first moment the O'Shea trouble was mentioned, and all through the subsequent phases of the unsavory trial. It was easy to see that a deep feeling of distrust was growing steadily against Mr. Parnell, and that a powerful current of public opinion was being set in motion against him in the Liberal constituencies. Not of a sudden, therefore, nor without loud and reiterated warning, did the Protestant pulpit speak after the divorce court had given its verdict.

We are not here contrasting what might seem the ultra-Puritanical character of public opinion or British political morality at the present day, or as manifested in the late disastrous events, with the moral looseness and apparent unscrupulousness of political parties in the past. What is the use of bringing into the argument great names on which some blemish rests, or notorious names of men who led their party to victory, or who governed with splendid ability a country that did not care or dare to lift the veil from their private life? Were we to make or to quote parables, they might apply on both sides of the ocean.

There was, when the O'Shea trial came up in November, a golden opportunity for Mr. Parnell to satisfy his countrymen that

his honor was untouched, and thereby to maintain his position as the National leader. This he could and should have done by acting exactly in accordance with his own precedent on the occasion of the production of the Pigott forgeries. Mr. Parnell, from his place in the House of Commons, then solemnly pledged his word of honor that the letters never had been written by him. This perfectly satisfied the Irish people and the Liberal party in England. It satisfied all but the most incredulous and bigoted Tories that a forgery had been committed, and that both the *Times* and the government were in greater peril than the honor of the Irish leader.

In November last, when the divorce court was sitting, and Mr. Parnell's honor was questioned and involved in the issue, when, too, he was told by more than one voice in the public press and one friend in private, that if the verdict went against him he must descend from his position as leader of a great national party,—what was his conduct?

Did he publish letter, address or manifesto affirming on his honor as a gentleman that he was guiltless of the crime—no less heinous than forgery—laid to his charge by his once friend and follower, Captain O'Shea?

Neither then, nor since, not even when a simple though solemn denial of guilt would have saved the Irish party from disruption, and turned away from the National cause the mortal blow aimed at it,—did Mr. Parnell vouchsafe one word of denial or self-justification.

To all who to the last clung to the belief that Mr. Parnell was innocent and that the O'Shea lawsuit was only the last act in the Tory conspiracy against Ireland, which would result in Mr. Parnell's turning the tables on his slanderers, his conduct on the above occasion was a sore disappointment.

It is true that some vague passages in Mr. Parnell's public utterances have been interpreted as a request that his friends and the nation at large shall suspend judgment in his case. And we are also aware that a theory of his innocence has been seriously entertained, based on the eccentricities and peculiar methods of the man, notably his action at the time of the Pigott investigation. Still, the fact stares us in the face, that not a single formal, authentic and unquestionable assurance of innocence has by him been given to any one.

But be that as it may, his guilt or his innocence forms no essential factor in the solution of the Irish problem as it now confronts us. The public will discuss and solve the question of criminality or guiltlessness according to its own partiality, prejudices or passions.

If the verdict of guilty is final and general, men of the world will not be at a loss to find circumstances which will appeal to the compassionate and merciful side of our nature.

If Mr. Parnell is really innocent, and can triumphantly prove himself to be so, he may indeed thus vindicate his personal purity, but the vindication must henceforth be at the expense of his political sagacity. For, he the leader of a nation, by his very willingness to appear guilty, has precipitated in Irish affairs the same disastrous consequences as if he were the guilty and dishonored man Captain O'Shea has been endeavoring to prove him to be. It was unpardonable, considering the position he held among a people so proverbially pure and so watchfully jealous of the sanctity of their homes, in Mr. Parnell to continue his relations with the O'Sheas after the Galway election, together with his suspicious and mysterious conduct ever since.

This is a first count on which the verdict of public opinion must be against him.

The second fault committed by him, in this regard, was his not making known to the men who had a right to his confidence, some good reason for the silence maintained by him after the verdict in the divorce suit was rendered; and, more especially for not reaffirming the assurances given to the Archbishop of Dublin when the divorce proceedings were first instituted.

A learned jurist once said that "the next thing to being right was to *appear to be right*." If this be true—and it is most certainly—surely the worst thing conceivable for the cause of Ireland was that her chosen and popularly idolized leader should be really innocent of the one sin most abhorrent to Irishmen next to faithlessness to God, while allowing himself deliberately to be proclaimed or to be held guilty of it.

Under whichever of these two aspects we view the case of Mr. Parnell, we are compelled to say that he has betrayed a weakness of which he was not suspected, grievous moral frailty, on the one hand, and a woful lack of political sagacity on the other. Both together, like the breaking down of the main-shaft and the in-rush of the mad waters on the "City of Paris," have left the Irish cause helpless and adrift in mid-ocean. The leaders in Parliament and the Irish people at home and abroad have, by this sad blundering, become the prey of deplorable dissensions. The question forces itself on all serious-minded men: How can a man so discredited by his own fault or by his lack of judgment in such a momentous crisis, ever hope to resume his former usefulness as the leader of the National party?

Another feature of this sadly memorable series of events is the part taken by the body of Irish archbishops and bishops in their

endeavor to save the life of their nation and the cause of Home Rule, by saving the unity and integrity of the Parliamentary party, by laboring to reunite its two sections, and by securing to them the continued support of the English Liberals.

This is a point on which the Irish hierarchy have been both misunderstood and misrepresented. Let us here remind Irish-American Catholics that the part which the bishops and priests of Ireland have, perforce, to play in so momentous a crisis in the history of their nation, can neither be compared to, nor judged by, the conduct of our own bishops and clergy here in the United States.

Home Rule, and all that goes to constitute a real and effective independence for Ireland, can only be won by constitutional methods, with the active and generous co-operation of the British Liberals, aided by the ever-growing public opinion in Great Britain in favor of long-denied justice to Ireland. But the only national movement carried on in Ireland on constitutional lines, which this British public opinion could sanction and successfully support, is one in which the great vital force of Religion would form *one* with the united forces of patriotism and politics. Bishops and priests, the people and their representatives, must be the strands of the cable binding all classes together, and the core of that cable must be Religion, firing the national soul with its incomparable energies.

This was the hopeful condition of things in November, 1889, when Mr. Parnell went to Hawarden to consult Mr. Gladstone on the prospects of the Irish question in the contingency of an early dissolution of Parliament, and of a general election favorable to the Liberals in the three kingdoms.

We say, that Religion was then the chief unifying and energizing element in the National movement. In the autumn of 1889, as in that of 1890, this was so confessedly the case, that the Tory journals and their Roman correspondents were continually setting afloat rumors about the Vatican's interference with Irish politics. People on both sides of the Atlantic, who knew anything about the sentiments of the Pope, were thoroughly aware that he had, again and again, expressed his opinion that the National cause was a just one, and that all just-minded men must wish it success, so long as it was carried on in accordance with legal and constitutional methods. No word was ever spoken or written by him, save only to keep the Irish Nationalists from employing, in the furtherance of their sacred Cause, any means of a nature to injure it in the eyes of God and man. He was, and is, and ever must be, anxious to see the vital interests of an ancient Catholic nation kept free from guilty or questionable agencies—so dear to the venerable Pontiff are the intricate claims of the Irish people!

English intrigue and influence in Rome, as well as Tory man-

œuvres in London and Dublin, were used to weaken or divide the Irish episcopacy, standing practically, as it did, a unit for Home Rule, during the twelvemonth elapsed since the now memorable Hawarden conference, and the issuing, on November 29, 1890, of Mr. Parnell's Manifesto. The bishops at the first sounds of discord in the Parliamentary party, at the first notice of the reopening of the O'Shea divorce suit, were very reasonably alarmed at the probable consequences to the cause so dear to them and to the august head of the Church.

What did the Irish bishops do in this trying emergency? Remembering the assurance that Mr. Parnell had commissioned Michael Davitt to give to Archbishop Walsh, at the first inception of the divorce proceedings, that he would come out of the ordeal with his honor free of spot and untarnished, they did simply what thousands and tens of thousands of their fellow-countrymen did throughout the world, they waited—patiently, prayerfully, hopefully—for that one word of reassurance from Mr. Parnell which would have gladdened their hearts and lifted the cloud from their unhappy country. But, alas! they waited in vain, for that word was never spoken; and so they acted—and acted only as the religious teachers and the moral guides of a Catholic people could act. The task was a sad one, but its performance was imperative. Guilty or innocent, Mr. Parnell himself had made it so.

To those who understand anything of the relations of the Irish bishops and priests to the Irish people and their political movements, and especially during the present crisis, their action needs no explanation or defence. They were the backbone of the whole struggle from the very beginning, and to their influence, both at home and in America, more than to any other one agency, is due its magnificent success at every stage. Therefore, it was to them that the people first looked in the hour of doubt and danger, as they ever will look in trial or in triumph, as their safest guides and truest friends.

The bishops of Ireland, not only by their position, but by the well-deserved confidence of all past generations, are the natural guardians of the nation's interests, and as much looked up to for a faithful discharge of their trust as are the National representatives in Parliament.

Their action, during the lamentable occurrences which have filled the past two months, was not an uncalled for, unwelcome, or obtrusive meddling with politics outside of the sphere of their sacred ministry. It was the performance of a high and holy duty, one which they owed to Ireland and to Religion.

And that some such document as the Address of the Episcopal Standing Committee was expected by the great body of the Irish

people, is furthermore proved by the fact that during the entire period when the divorce proceedings were so painfully fixing men's attention, no accredited organ in the Nationalist press ventured to say that Parnell, dishonored, should continue to be the leader of a Catholic nation proverbially chaste and cherishing the sanctities of the home. Mr. Parnell perfectly understood this when he commissioned Michael Davitt to assure the Irish archbishops and bishops of his innocence. And that he fully appreciated the position of the Irish bishops and priests in the National struggle is afforded by the testimony of the present Archbishop of Cashel, who, at a memorable assembly held in Kildare, about mid-October, 1885, in presence of the Archbishop of Dublin, of several other prelates, of Mr. Parnell and others,—members of Parliament, clergymen, and leading gentlemen from the surrounding counties,—gave an historical account of the beginning of the Land League movement under Mr. Parnell's direction. He affirmed that Mr. Parnell came to him and declared, in view of the incalculable importance which the new agitation seemed likely or certain to attain, *that he was unwilling to take a single step without securing the sympathy and coöperation of the bishops and priests of Ireland.* This discourse, and Mr. Parnell's confirmatory reply, were made in the hearing of the author.¹

The letter of Mr. Gladstone, calling for the withdrawal of Mr. Parnell, taken together with the verdict of the divorce court, seems to have disturbed the usual equanimity of a man weakened by long illness and racking anxieties. We cannot otherwise account for the contradictory judgments given by Mr. Parnell himself of the famous visit to Hawarden Castle, and his irreconcilable estimates of Mr. Gladstone's trustworthiness as an advocate of a full measure of Home Rule for Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone's letter, Mr. Parnell's Manifesto, and the subsequent letters and interviews of themselves and their friends, relating to the Hawarden conference are of too recent occurrence to need recounting here.

Setting aside the questions of consistency and truthfulness arising out of the painful conflict of statements and actions, comes another grave matter for wonder. How, if Mr. Parnell left Hawarden on December 19th, 1889, impressed, according to his own account, with the absolute inability or unwillingness of Mr. Gladstone and his associates to advocate for Ireland any but a most disappointing, unsatisfactory, and worthless scheme of self-government,—did Mr. Parnell again and again, at Liverpool and in London, proclaim to the world his grateful admiration of the

¹ *Life of John McHale, Archbishop of Tuam.*—N. Y., 1890.

Liberal party and its leader, and his firm and implicit confidence in the plan of Home Rule they were devising and elaborating?

Assuredly there is in the Parnell who speaks to Ireland and the world in the Manifesto just issued, and the Parnell who addressed the Parliamentary party at Westminster on June 30th last past, a self-contradiction most astounding.

That the alliance existing between the Irish Nationalists and the Liberal party of Great Britain, was looked upon by Irishmen at home and abroad as the only sure means, under God's good providence, of achieving such independence as we all hoped for, no one had asserted more solemnly and positively than Mr. Parnell himself, and on the public occasions adverted to within the last twelve months. He calls it "an honorable alliance, honorable and hopeful for our country, . . . an alliance which will last and bear permanent fruit."

No change, in so far as the public knows, had taken place in Mr. Parnell's mind in this regard, up to the verdict of the divorce court, Mr. Gladstone's letter requesting the Irish leader to retire from political life, and to the private entreaties of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants to the same effect.

If Mr. Gladstone, in the conversations at Hawarden, had only given to Mr. Parnell nothing but the most unsatisfactory plan of settlement described in the Manifesto, then the latter was most culpable in speaking in Liverpool and afterwards at the banquet in Westminster of the alliance between the Irish Nationalists and the Liberal party, and of the forthcoming satisfactory and acceptable scheme of Home Rule. Putting together these speeches and the revelations of the manifesto, we say that Mr. Parnell was guilty of almost a crime for having so monstrously deceived his countrymen and the followers who were exposing their very lives.

It must be borne in mind, that not only all through the year 1890, but ever since the accession to power of the Tories under Lord Salisbury, they had been using every artifice to discover the precise nature of Mr. Gladstone's new plan for Home Rule and the settlement of the Irish question, in the probable and near event of a general election resulting favorably to the Liberals. The persistent efforts made to force Mr. Gladstone "to show his hand," or to obtain, at least indirectly, from the leaders of the Irish party some clew to Mr. Gladstone's next Home Rule scheme, were well known to all politicians. It was, then, and for obvious reasons, most important that this scheme, while in preparation, should be kept a profound secret by the leaders on both sides. And, inasmuch as the "suggested" measures which were the subject of the conversation at Hawarden, were not kept secret from Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley, in like manner are we justified in

believing that Mr. Parnell was expected, on his side, to inform such of his own colleagues as Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. William O'Brien, of Mr. Gladstone's intended measures. We consider that, under the circumstances, and in view especially of the defects of the discussed scheme as after revealed by the Irish leader, he failed in performing an essential duty to his party and to the Irish nation. The proposed scheme of self-government for Ireland as known to the Liberal leader and his chief colleagues, was of far more vital importance to Ireland than to Great Britain. Mr. Parnell was not, in any sense, so wholly and exclusively entrusted with the vital interests of his nation and people, that not one among their representatives deserved to be let into the secret of what Mr. Gladstone was preparing to do or not to do to fulfil the hopes and satisfy the just claims of Irishmen. Had his most trustworthy colleagues been judged worthy of his confidence and treated with the regard shown by Mr. Gladstone to Harcourt and Morley, how different would the condition of the Irish party now be! and how hopeful Irishmen everywhere could feel of seeing the Parnell incident closed without disaster to their Cause! There could have been no need of such a Manifesto as that so suddenly sprung upon the nation and the entire Irish race all over the world as that issued in the last days of November. The members of the Irish parliamentary party made acquainted with the nature of Mr. Gladstone's proposals, would not have allowed the year 1890 to pass without insisting on further consultation with Mr. Gladstone, and without urging on him their conviction that the plan of self-government discussed at Hawarden was no settlement at all, and never could be accepted by Ireland. We believe, in that view, that the discourses delivered in Liverpool and at the banquet in Westminster would either never have been spoken, or that their fulsome praise of Mr. Gladstone and his party would have been founded on more substantial promises than those given on December 18 and 19, 1889. At any rate, Mr. Parnell would have, to confirm his account of the Hawarden Conference, the testimony of his own trusted colleagues, to whom he must have, as in duty bound, communicated the result of the Conference, on leaving Hawarden. Then the world would have been spared the pain of contrasting Mr. Parnell's unsupported, somewhat confused, and contradictory statements, with the peremptory denials of Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Morley. In our judgment the cause of the present unfortunate imbroglio is in great measure the consequence of Mr. Parnell's excessive, impolitic and unwise secretiveness on the one hand, and on the other of his violation of the state secret confided to him. It was a grave political blunder, to give all at once to the

public what had not been deemed fit to trust to the most honored members of the Irish party.

Whoever may henceforward be chosen to lead the Irish Nationalist members of Parliament, must not so isolate himself from his associates, as to be or to appear to be a kind of dictator, bearing within his own breast the mightiest State secrets and consulting no one in matters and emergencies involving the ruin of a Cause and the very life of a nation. It is not so that Americans understand political leadership. It is not so understood by the two great British parties. Why should it be understood differently in Ireland?—as if the Irish National movement were something like the insurrection of the Roman slaves under Spartacus, in which a servile mob blindly followed its leader, as fearful of his rebuke or his lash, as of the threats of their masters and oppressors of yesterday.

There are few, if any, incidents on record in the most momentous debates of any representative assembly that can be compared in thrilling dramatic interest to the passage of arms between Mr. Sexton and Mr. Parnell during the stormy debate of December 1st. The former had been, together with the members of the opposing majority, openly, formally accused of having allowed “their integrity and independence to be sapped and destroyed” by the radical wing of the Liberal party.

“Integrity,” proudly replies Mr. Sexton, “is not an unconditional acceptance of the views of any man. Independence is not submission to the will of any man. We are your colleagues, Mr. Parnell, but we are not your slaves. . . . I claim in the face of the world; I claim in the presence of the Most High, that the integrity of the Irish party is unstained, and that its independence is absolute. The question—the urgent question—is between the leader we have loved, whom we never can forget and whose useful tenure of his position circumstances have rendered impossible—and between the *Cause* to which our fealty is due. If the leader is retained, in my judgment, the Cause is lost. If the Cause is to be won, the leader must retire.”

This is the very soul of the Irish question: the *Cause of Ireland* must be the supreme law for every National leader. The leader must be guided by the vital interests of that Cause; nor should these interests and that Cause ever be made secondary or subservient to the interests of any one man or party.

The joint letter of the delegates of the Parliamentary party in America, when it became a sad but urgent necessity for them to declare publicly their dissent from Mr. Parnell's Manifesto, contains a paragraph which should be reproduced here for more than one reason. They say: “The Manifesto of Mr. Parnell . . . cuts us off

from the last hopes to which we clung, anxious (as we were) to avoid uttering a word that might embitter the controversy. We shall not dwell on the cruel injustice with which he treats the members of the party, who followed him with a loyalty and affection such as no leader ever experienced before. His recollection of their fealty to him in many an hour of trial might well have saved them from the imputation that any section of them could have allowed their integrity to be sapped by Liberal wire-pullers. Nor would we do more than enter a protest against this violation of all constitutional principle in flouting by anticipation the decision of the elected representatives of the people, from whose votes the chairman of the Parliamentary party receives his authority, and resorting to a vague general appeal over their heads.

"Considerations like these we should willingly have waived in the interest of the national solidarity. But the method in which, ignoring the origin of the present calamitous situation, Mr. Parnell endeavors to fasten the responsibility for it upon Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley, compels us to dissociate ourselves in the strongest manner from the imputation which we believe to be reckless and unjust. . . .

"Deliberately bringing things to this position, Mr. Parnell has entered upon a rash and fatal path, upon which every consideration for Ireland's safety, as well as our personal honor, forbids us to follow him."

Passing over the deplorable scenes enacted before and during the Kilkenny election, and writing while the conferences at Boulogne between Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Brien are still in progress, one thing seems clear, that Mr. Parnell must retire from the National leadership. But who is to succeed him?

Parnell, as we now convince ourselves, has what the French call *les défauts de ses qualités*, "the very defects or excesses rather of his acknowledged qualities." No one, up to the moral cataclysm which followed the verdict of the divorce court, could justly deny him the elements of leadership. He was skilful, sagacious, cool, deliberate, courageous and firm. We need not, after what precedes, dwell on his defects. A few months ago, ere the blight of a dishonored name had fallen on him, and ere the "hard necessities" of retaining his leadership had made him recklessly unjust to the Liberal party, and the English people, to his faithful colleagues and to his country, the Irish race everywhere was proud of him, worshipped him.

He was identified with the *Cause* of Ireland; that *Cause* had made him what he was.

He had been able, with the co-operation of a united people and clergy, to make a living and powerful reality in Parliament of the

Independent Party of Opposition, which John of Tuam strenuously advocated all his life, which O'Connell sought to create; which the great Archbishop of the West preached so eloquently after O'Connell had passed away, after the Catholic Defence Association had disappeared in the Sadlier-Keogh betrayal; and pressed unweariedly on public attention until the new Home Rule movement under Isaac Butt sprang up and fired the soul of the nation. The moral force wielded by Isaac Butt, Mr. Parnell had the sagacity to grasp and to increase.

This party of Independent Opposition and the Land League movement started by Michael Davitt had carried the car of Charles Stewart Parnell triumphantly forward till the end of last November. All the moral forces which stirred the depths of a nation's soul and inspired the hopes of all its past generations, Mr. Parnell wielded as the electrician uses the mighty elementary forces of nature.

These great moral forces existed in the past in greater volume even than at present. But Irish statesmen or politicians knew not how to store up these resistless energies in unity. It shall ever be Parnell's glory that he may be said to have created and kept together an independent parliamentary party such as Ireland never had known till now. Supported by the Catholic masses and by their religious guides, and appealing to legal and constitutional methods only, he forced the Liberal party of Great Britain and its leaders to confess that all the former methods of government in Ireland had been wrong, cruel, unjust and oppressive. *Justice* alone must be tried and coercion abandoned. And so the Cause of Ireland, represented by a compact body of eighty-six Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament, advocated by Mr. Gladstone and the great Liberal party, supported by a majority of the people of Great Britain and by the constantly increasing public opinion of the three kingdoms and of the English-speaking world,—was morally certain of a great legislative victory in the near future—when in last November came the O'Shea verdict and Mr. Parnell's Manifesto.

But though the leader has fallen, the Cause is not lost. It is a most just Cause; and *justice* is immortal and eternal.

Mr. Parnell was heard with attention both in the British Senate and all over the civilized world; because his voice was that of Ireland, too long misgoverned and oppressed.

Is her Cause so absolutely identified with Mr. Parnell's fortunes, that his disgrace, or his retirement from political life, or even his death, would so paralyze her voice, so injure her claims, that the people of Great Britain, so lately awakening to the sense of her cruel wrongs, would close their ears, their minds, their hearts to

what justice, humanity and their own dearest political interests demand in favor of the sister island?

And will Irishmen and men of Irish race consent to bury forever out of sight and beneath the earth that Cause of Ireland, so enthusiastically upheld but yesterday? God knows, we Irishmen are clannish enough; and this very clannishness, the devotion to a name and a man, the narrow love of the tribe and the locality in preference to the country and the nation, has been too often our bane in the past. It dashed all the hopes of our people and rendered useless all the slaughters and sacrifices made for religion and nationality for the past two or three centuries.

That this clannishness is not a thing of the past, what has just happened in Ireland, as well as in our own free America, proves but too conclusively. The name of the man, not that of the Cause or the country, is the spell our speakers conjure with, the will-o'-the-wisp which leads our countrymen astray and lands their country's Cause in quagmires from which there seems no escape.

We must learn to love Ireland for her own sake, not for the sake of the men who represent or misrepresent her. We must be devoted to the *Cause* through good repute and evil repute, through good and ill fortune, because we believe it to be a Cause fated never to be lost.

It depends on us, on Irishmen in the three kingdoms, and on Irishmen here and wherever the English language is spoken, to prevent the Cause of Ireland from being a lost Cause. The man who shall be chosen to succeed Mr. Parnell, will be the lawful representative of the *Cause*, and bear the flag around which all should rally, who deserve the name of Irishmen.

This is no time to listen to the utterances of the Tory press at home, or to the correspondents of such of our great journals as love to echo the sentiments and prophecies of the enemies of Ireland and Home Rule. And if we cease to quarrel among ourselves in the United States, and if we give our united aid and sympathy to the men who are fighting in the gap at home, and upholding the Cause and the flag, we shall easily win back to both, the American friends we have lost by our bickerings and dissensions.

A leader will have to be chosen, competent to speak for the party in the House of Commons, to occupy officially the place just made vacant, to be the acknowledged and respected representative of Ireland in dealing with Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. We do not see among the Irish Parliamentary party any one man, who may, for the time being at least, enjoy the confidence won by Mr. Parnell as a statesman, debater and leader. But whoever is chosen, he will be a man of ability and unblemished char-

acter. There are, among his followers, no lack of tried, varied and eminent talent; there are plenty of men to do, and do well, all the work which the coming struggle for final success will put upon them.

Present divisions and the awful dangers which these threaten for Ireland, will, we doubt not, serve to make the present majority more united than ever before. Let them show to the minority, the present dissentients, that forbearance and spirit of conciliation, to be expected from true patriots working disinterestedly for the noblest of causes, and there will be soon no minority.

The friends of Ireland among the English, Scotch and Welsh Liberals, are too sensible and too honest to give up the Cause of Ireland, for which they have sacrificed so much, for the faults or failings of one man or a few. They, too, have been for years eloquently, generously pleading that Cause before the public opinion of their country. The case is still on trial; the jury have not returned the verdict which shall be the verdict of an empire. What if the chief advocate of the plaintiff has fallen helpless in court before bringing his plea to a successful issue? The evidence is there; and the majority of the jury have spoken in no uncertain tones. The excitement and uncertainties of the present hour are rapidly passing away and the English constituencies, with whom rest the final decision, will deal out that measure of justice to Ireland, which equity, policy and Christianity demand.

One consideration we must, in concluding, press upon Irish Catholics in America, and that is, that no man who has read of the struggles of the Irish nation ever since the days of the Eighth Henry, but must know that the dominant power, which aimed to extinguish Irish nationality aimed also to extinguish with it the Catholic faith. It would be both ingratitude and suicidal madness to tell the Catholic bishops and priests to stand aside and let the battle go on without them, when they have been the very soul of the struggle. Ireland, we hope, in conquering her constitutional freedom, her full right of self-government, will remain evermore a Catholic nation.

People and priests and friends of Ireland, stand together !

FINANCIAL RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

AT the epoch of the French Revolution, the possessions of the Catholic Church in France, having a recognized legal status, whether for the benefit of designated churches, convents, seminaries, charitable or educational foundations, monasteries, or endowments for special pious purposes, yielded, even under the paternal administration of religious custodians, an annual income of two hundred millions of francs—equivalent to a much larger sum in modern times.

The great capital which produced this revenue had been aggregating for centuries; it consisted mainly in productive estate, derived from the bounty of Christian monarchs, princes, nobles, and wealthy individuals; including vast tracts of productive land which had, in the course of time, been reclaimed from a waste and barren state by the labor of monastics.

It has been stated that the beneficiaries of this income, from the highest to the lowest functionary or dependant, numbered 400,000.

The Church, the royalty, and the nobility of title and of robe, were the established privileged orders in France. The Church was not accountable for the alleged faults or crimes of the other orders; she had been the solace of the poor and the afflicted; and she had stood between the peasant and his lord, when the oppression of the latter trenched upon morality or justice; nevertheless, she was made to pay the penalty of her co-existing rank.

Her extensive estates and properties, in common with those of the crown and of the nobility, were sequestered to the state by the revolutionary Convention.

The overthrow of this grand fabric of religion in France was complete; but the martyrdom of so many venerable and holy servants of God, which accompanied its prostration, amid the carnage and disorders consequent upon the upheaval of the impoverished and maddened people of France, was apparently the purchase-price of its subsequent restoration.

In the beginning of the present century, Divine Providence made Napoleon the factor by which religion was restored to France. Had the great soldier fulfilled the trust with sincerity, his own destiny and the destiny of Europe might have been far different; but, after re-establishing the hierarchy and installing the priesthood, he was tempted by ambition to subordinate the universal Church to his power, and he sought to yoke the venerable Vicar

of Christ to his triumphant chariot; his failure maddened him; his persecution of the saintly Pontiff drew upon his head the wrath of God, and his meteoric career was ended in bitter exile.

The reconstruction of the hierarchy and of the priesthood upon the desolated religious foundations of France was accomplished upon a scale much less grand, and was, probably, more practically suited to the actual necessities of the people and of the times, than when the Church had flourished side by side with royalty and its surroundings.

The hierarchical system was modified by the consolidation of some episcopal sees, and by the cancellation, so to speak, of others; probably half the number of archbishops and bishops replaced the venerable prelates who had been guillotined or exiled, while 30,000 priests were appointed to care for twice the number of desolate parishes.

The restoration of religion and the reconstruction of the hierarchical institutions, was accomplished by Napoleon under the conditions of a treaty concluded between the Holy See and the existing government of France at the time, commonly known in history as the Concordat of 1801.

As the revolutionary government had seized, confiscated, and, to a great extent, had sold, the productive property of the Church, which her ministry had, in a fiduciary capacity, during previous centuries administered for the maintenance of its support, and for religious purposes generally, so the state assumed the expense requisite for the support of the hierarchy and clergy of France, as re-established under the Concordat above referred to. This was the beginning of the present system, by which the archbishops, the bishops, and the clergy are paid a yearly salary by the state.

In the organic laws forming part of the treaty with the Holy See, and designed to give practical effect to its conditions, Napoleon fixed the yearly sum to be paid each class of incumbents; the salary of the hierarchy was passably fair, for that time, but for the lesser hierarchy and the clergy generally, it was very small.

No increase was made in the scale of salaries during the first Empire, but after the restoration of the Bourbons the salaries of the bishops were increased about twenty-five per cent.; that of the canons, vicars-general, and curés, proportionally; while the vicaires, or assistant priests, were only moderately cared for. This was seventy-five years ago, since which, the scale of salaries has remained as was thus augmented.

The insufficiency of the government allowance under the Concordat, for the support of the hierarchy and clergy of France, was the subject of a brochure written sometime since, by Monseigneur Guilbert, bishop of Gap.

According to this prelate, the yearly salary of an archbishop is \$4000. That of a bishop, \$3000.

These salaries are paid out of the public revenues of France and are, in all respects, government salaries, "as much as are the salaries of a postman or of a custom-house officer."

"But," says Bishop Guilbert, "it is not of record that any French bishop of recent times has enriched himself out of the allowance of the state for the administration of his see."

Vicars-general, who are next in rank, and who, in certain cases, become the representatives of their bishops, are paid a salary of \$500 per annum. They are not provided with residences by the state, and they have no fees, no extra allowances wherewith to supplement their salaries.

Canons are paid \$320 yearly salary, having to provide their own lodgings and, like the vicars-general, enjoy neither fees nor allowances.

"It will be seen," says Bishop Guilbert, "that some of the most venerable and distinguished of the French priesthood are compelled to live upon a yearly allowance which most employees in business affairs would look upon with contempt."

When the scale reaches the annual allowance paid by the state for the maintenance of parish priests and their assistants, the paltry provision made for their support becomes still more apparent when the responsible and confidential position filled by these incumbents is taken into account.

The yearly salary of a parish priest in France is \$300 for the first-class curé and \$240 for the second class.

The vicaire or assistant of the curé receives according to circumstances, from \$100 to \$180 per annum; when the latter incumbent shall have reached the age of 60, his salary is increased \$40 per annum.

In addition to these pittance, all that a French priest, doing parochial work and having no income from personal property, has to depend upon, is the fees, or "stoledues," of his sacerdotal office; the light shed upon this source of revenue derived by priests in France, by Bishop Guilbert, will probably surprise some of our American priests.

"The revenues," says the bishop, "of the French clergy derived from all casual sources put together, are of no importance save in a few parishes situated in the wealthy quarters of populous cities; and in these exceptional parishes the value of the fees and offerings is more than balanced by the continuous demands upon an incumbent's charity.

"Far, therefore, from growing rich by the revenues of his benefice, a curé is most likely to sink in it any private property which

he may possess; and he rarely leaves a will of much consequence to legatees."

Bishop Guilbert states "that all the casual receipts of every parish priest in his diocese, if added together, would not average to each a sum of \$6 annually.

"In a neighboring diocese, moreover, another venerable prelate who carefully examined this subject, discovered that the receipts of his clergy from casual sources did not exceed 17 francs, or \$3.40, per annum for each parish, by general average."

The bishop also states "that the minds of conscientious prelates are frequently disturbed by the necessity which forces them to appoint to certain parishes, curés who are young men entirely without pecuniary resources; and who, on this account, are obliged, in order to provide a few indispensable articles such as are needed for household use in every establishment, however humble in its requirements, to contract debts which they can only discharge by long years of subsequent privation."

What a contrast with the way these things are managed among American Catholics!

Priests, worn out with worry and toil, after reaching the age of 65, may obtain from the government, upon their retirement, an annual allowance of \$120 *on certain conditions* which, however, Bishop Guilbert qualifies as exceedingly hard.

"He must, in the first place, be more than 65 years old and a curé of the first or second class; if he is only a vicaire or assistant, the annual allowance is fixed at \$100; if he is not over 65, the chances are that he will only be allowed \$60 per year;" at the end of his first year's retirement, he will be called upon to renew his application for a stipend for the ensuing year, and so on. Year after year, instead of being allowed to end his days without further anxieties, he is obliged to undergo the humiliating ordeal of a bureaucratic gauntlet, with its delays and possible insults, all of which cannot but be repugnant to the self respect of the venerable, the refined and the scholarly men included among the beneficiaries of this modest stipend.

"In the larger cities, one-fifth of the rents for chairs in certain churches is set aside for the assistance of infirm priests; but the maximum of state, of parochial and of other aid for a worn out priest in France, having no assistance from family sources for his support in his old age, cannot exceed \$160 per annum, even were he able to obtain assistance from private subscriptions, which must, however, *have been authorized by the government.*"

There is a deep reverence in the average American Catholic heart for France.

She it was, under the old régime, who helped our colonial sires

to win their freedom, and later, dating from 1789, from her sanctuaries, which had been founded and sanctified by illustrious saints, came to our shores, exiles, the elite of the sacerdotal rank of all Europe; brilliant and holy men who, under the direction of Carroll, spread the faith in our undeveloped domain, laid the foundation of the American Church, became our missionary bishops and the precursors of the illustrious hierarchy of our present age.

To an American priest, this is a sad picture which Bishop Guilbert presents, even, if charitably applied only to the poorer of the rural provinces of old France. Does it not appear that many secular priests are so poor that, at times, they are forced to deny themselves the sweet consolation of the visit of a friend, in their modest presbytery, for lack of the means to provide for a few extra dinners or of a few bottles of wine? And how sad is the prospect of the priest without personal resources, who, when incapacitated by sickness or old age from doing parochial work, must fall back upon the alms of the state, which he can only obtain at the price of his self-respect?

The object of Bishop Guilbert's brochure was, apparently, to direct the attention of the Catholics of France to a subject in which they were deeply interested; and by the expose of the situation of their clergy, so far as had reference to the inadequacy of the provision made by the state for their support, to excite such influence as might induce the government to adopt a more liberal scale of remuneration for this overworked class of public servants; commensurate with duties "which neither time nor distance limits," and in some measure corresponding with other employees of the Government whose salaries had not been fixed nearly a century ago; justly claiming that the cost of living is now much greater than when the present scale of salaries was established.

Unfortunately, the time was inopportune; each succeeding ministry has proved more radically opposed to Christianity.

Schools and charities have been laicised, religious institutions broken up, and one after another of the almoners, chaplains and religious directors of public institutions have been removed and replaced by unbelievers.

Generally speaking, the Catholics of France, from the small land-owners and moderately-provided rentiers—both classes quite numerous—to the bourgeoisie; and from the latter to the estated gentry and the hereditary nobility, are said to be, and they probably are, the most frugal and comparatively the richest in their respective classes in Europe; and yet the inference may be drawn from the preceding statements that the clergy have been permitted

to endure privations unbecoming their exalted station and their social position.

It might be suggested that the surroundings of the see of Gap are peculiarly exceptional as to condition and prosperity. It is the capital of the department of the Hautes Alpes, in Dauphiny, bordering on Piedmont, which has the smallest population and which is probably the poorest, in other respects, of the departments of France. The adjoining department, the Basses Alpes, having a little more territory and population, is about as poor; and in both may be found much of the fossilated *débris* of feudal times.

The departmental area of the Hautes Alpes comprises more than a million acres, one-fourth of which is probably cultivated; but the product of its soil does not sustain its 119,000 people.

Its chief city has been an episcopal see since the fourth century, and was at one time governed by a prince-bishop.

It has a record which is a history in itself, extending back to the Roman era; it had, in its prosperous days, a population of 16,500; but its historians allege that its decline has been the result of civil wars, plagues, Saracens, Lombards, Huguenots and, most of all, they say, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Its present population does not exceed 6000.

So poor are the people of this department that 6000 adults migrate early in October, and of these, 5000 return the succeeding June, bringing home an average of forty dollars, saved from what they have earned during their wanderings as laborers, showmen, hawkers and musicians; while the remaining 1000 never return to their cantons; this is a loss equivalent to 4000 souls each year.

Rich only in the memory of feudal ages and surrounded with lovely and romantic alpine scenery, this diocese, with its sister in the adjoining department, are probably the poorest in all France, while decreasing in population year by year. Many of its outlying chapels and stations on mountain top or in deep valley, are almost inaccessible, and yet they are faithfully served by God's holy ministers. Taking into consideration the exceptional surroundings of the standpoint whence was directed the brochure of Bishop Guilbert, it is respectfully suggested that its worst inferences, accepted generally, would be unjust to the reputation of the great majority of the people of France.

It is more than probable that not only in the cities, but also in the greater number of the provincial parishes, the French clergy have been liberally aided by the municipal bodies in many departments in their religious work; and by individual contributions from the bourgeoisie as well as from the nobility; while their occasional requisitions for the promotion of missionary, of educational

and of charitable interests, have been liberally met where economical concurrence permitted.

Admitting as a fact that the legatees of deceased priests, have, as a rule, benefited little by their share of the "successions," and that prelates have also, as a rule, left small estates when called from this world, what higher tribute could be paid to the memory of a departed priest, than to say that he gave all his worldly means for the alleviation of human misery, or for the encouragement of piety and of morality where most needed.

The wisdom is all the more apparent, and the posthumous glory all the more certain of the French bishop, who, during life, while receiving the moderate salary paid by the State, did not put away a certain margin of it, but rather expended such surplus as his apostolic life admitted, where it would tell to the best advantage.

The admission of Bishop Guilbert that many newly-ordained curés, when assigned to duty, have no personal means, has probably suggested the remark made in certain quarters, that if the secular priesthood of the republic could be recruited to a greater extent than it is from the well-to-do classes, the hardships incidental to the sacerdotal state in parishes as poor in every way as those in the departments of the Basses and the Hautes Alpes, might be mitigated by the assignment of young curés having personal income, to those parishes most difficult to serve; where good conveyance and comfortable clothing are requisite for the incumbent when called by duty to out-of-the-way places.

These and other requisites for his presbytery, including a supply of medicine for the sick poor, his moderate salary could not provide, and the poverty of his parishioners would prevent assistance from the legitimate source.

In such cases, a personal income could not be put to a more charitable use than in providing the means for bringing promptly the consolations of religion to the faithful, whose humble homes were on some distant mountain side or in some valley equally difficult of access.

In the organic laws attached to the Concordat, Napoleon had inserted a clause forbidding the ordination of curés who had not an income of 300 francs per annum, equivalent to a capital of about \$1200.

This regulation, however, was not enforced after the return of the Bourbons.

Under the military code of France, company officers cannot marry unless they have a personal income outside the pay of their grade, which has been fixed at such an amount as would suffice for the support of their family in keeping with their rank.

It is, however, more than probable that for some time past the

greater number of vocations have been generated in respectable rural homes with traditional Catholic surroundings, however economical in other respects these surroundings may have been.

It may be, moreover, assumed that many French parents living in comfortable circumstances, would not care to foster a vocation in a son when a career in the secular priesthood during the present situation of affairs in France, was to compensate for the sundering of family ties so deeply cherished in the hearts of the people of the Gallic race.

The history of her wars during the present century, shows that France did not gain her great victories by soldiers from the faubourgs of her cities; these were won by the courage, the endurance, and the discipline of her conscripts from her rural cantons.

The young men of this age, providentially inspired with vocations for the priesthood, and who worthily embrace the sacerdotal state amid such adverse surroundings, may be relied upon in any exigency which future events may develop.

Of the thirty-eight millions comprising the population of France, probably thirty-four millions were baptized in the Catholic Church; and in the four millions forming the minority, is to be found the comparatively small infidel element whose compact organization has enabled it to grasp sufficient political power wherewith to influence other parties and virtually control the republic.

From an American standpoint it might be inferred that the Catholics of France lack unity and leadership; it is probable, too, that the bourgeoisie comprising the mercantile, the manufacturing and the banking interests, who are proverbially timid, have been too much moved to uneasiness, by the weather-worn scarecrows "Clericalism" and "Ultramontanism," paraded in political fields, as they were in the times preceding 1830 and 1848, when the infidel cry "à bas les Jésuites" was acknowledged to mean, down with Christianity. This is, however, a matter in which the French people themselves are most deeply interested. Some day there may rise up among them a Windhorst, who will unite their ranks and lead them to victory.

From an American standpoint again, does it not seem, to say the least, peculiar, that a French prelate as well as a curé, must present his formal voucher every quarter day to, perhaps, an infidel official, to obtain the money allowed for temporal support; but this is the "recognized law" in France, and has been for about a century.

And yet, prelate and curé understand, that a word uttered by either against "the powers that be," no matter what the provocation, may result in the suppression of their stipend, or in worse consequences.

This however is the status, "pure and simple," of the relations of the hierarchy and clergy with the government of the Republic of France.

The officials of the latter hold the purse-strings from whence nearly a hundred of the hierarchy and forty thousand priests periodically receive a stated sum for their support.

Imagine such a state of things in America! Archbishop Corrigan's secretary prepares a voucher for a quarter's salary, which is signed by His Grace and taken to the sub-treasury—upon which, when in proper shape, the money for current expenses is paid.

In the same way, fancy Father Ducey, for instance, sending his sexton down to Wall street on quarter day with a voucher for his quarter's salary of \$75.00, with which he is expected to support himself for three months!!

So universally Catholic however are the people of France, that small as the stipend paid in each case may be, the aggregate for each year forms no inconsiderable sum.

During the first Empire the hierarchy numbered about fifty; and the clergy thirty thousand.

The annual *Budget du Clergé* averages, for the Church, about ten million francs; and for other creeds about one and one-half millions more.

Besides this, the sums expended annually during the same period for the restoration of cathedrals, churches, évêchés and presbyteries, was quite large; as the finest religious edifices in France were desecrated, and in some cases ruined, during the revolutionary epoch.

Serious complications affecting the hierarchy and clergy ensued during the later years of the first Empire, and after the restoration.

Bishops who had been living in exile returned and found their Sees, which in many cases they had never resigned, amalgamated with others and administered by prelates duly appointed through the Holy See; curés who had kept away from France, found on their return, their former parishes consolidated or otherwise occupied by incumbents in regular standing.

Neither bishops or priests, unfortunately, had the means, generally speaking, necessary for their daily support.

Such, briefly stated, was the status of ecclesiastical affairs on the return of the Bourbons, to say nothing about the complications, both religious and political, between France and Rome, which had drawn upon the head of the Emperor the malediction of the Church.

The religious spirit of the French people, which had become dormant, was recalled to vigorous life by the liberal policy of the government of Louis XVIII. towards the Catholic Church. There seems, also, to have been no limit to the liberality of the national

legislature in voting money for religious purposes. The same spirit seems to have prevailed in the departmental and municipal bodies throughout France.

On August 24, 1819, the Count Decazes reported to the king that the salaries of the hierarchy and clergy had been so augmented, "that not one of the thirty thousand recipients could be found who had not experienced the happy results of the presence of His Majesty among his people."

In the meantime aged bishops without sees,¹ venerable ecclesiastical dignitaries and priests without fixed positions, besides destitute religious, were assigned pensions requiring an annual outlay for this purpose of eleven million francs.

The Count further reported that the *Budget du Clergé* amounted to twenty-two million francs per annum, exclusive of eleven million francs expended annually for ecclesiastical pensions and twenty millions which had been capitalized to endow twenty-four hundred seminary bourses of four hundred francs each.

The Count also reported "that large as was the aggregate of the expenditures stated, it was doubled every year by the supplemental sums voted by the Councils General of the Departments in the respective Provinces; by the one thousand or more municipal bodies for additional compensation to curés and vicaires; as also for the purchase, construction, or repairs of religious edifices; by the revenues of fabriques; by legacies and donations authorized by the Government; and by the casual offerings of the faithful."

"The situation of the clergy," continues the count, "had been found deplorable; His Majesty had done all that was possible to alleviate their condition, while at the same time it would have been cruel to have done less."

Louis XVIII., desirous of signaling that year by a special mark of his bounty, had placed at the disposition of Count Decazes an extra million francs, to be distributed where most needed, but especially to such poor parishes as were unable to restore their churches and presbyteries.

It will be seen by the report of the minister, that the annual *Budget du Clergé* proper was thirty-four millions on the part of the government, and an equal sum voted by departments and municipal bodies, making a total from these sources of sixty-eight million francs expended for the Church in 1819.

Passing over the monarchical eras of Louis XVIII., Charles X., and Louis Philippe, during which the Church in France regained much of her former splendor, and assuming that the sums officially applied each year averaged fifty million francs; passing over, also,

¹ See vol. ii., *Quatre Concordats*, l'Abbé DePradt.

this difference materially, while there has been an increased outlay in Algeria.

The notable changes in 1890 are as follows :

	Francs
Suppression of seminary charges,	1,044,200
Canons of St. Denis,	199,500
Salaries of the hierarchy (less),	582,900
Ecclesiastical pensions lapsed,	60,000
Maintenance of cathedrals and churches (less),	2,756,977
Reduced cost of government administration,	5,900
	<hr/>
Reduction;	4,649,477

There was an increased outlay for the salaries of curés and vicaires of 2,189,440 francs ; also, for Lutheran pastors, of 156,564 francs ; and 46,500 francs for Jewish seminaries and synagogues. There was a decreased outlay of 83,500 francs for Lutheran seminaries, and 43,500 francs for Jewish rabbis. Under Napoleon III., Mussulman mosques, temples, etc., in France and Algeria, cost 857,200 francs ; while, in 1890, the sum to be expended is 208,440 francs.

While the official tables quoted above disclose the disbursements of the national government in the *Budget des Cultes*, there are no official tables available to show the sums voted in the respective arrondissements by the communal or municipal governments, and paid out of their local revenues, for the repairs of churches or to supplement the salaries of overworked curés or their assistants ; such sums, in the aggregate, during the second Empire may have nearly equalled the total outlay of the national government ; it is, however, highly probable that, under the Republic, where infidel influence is potent in many of the local councils, the aid extended in this manner does not exceed, in the aggregate, one-third of the national outlay ; the discrepancy would, however, be supplied by the generosity of wealthy Catholics among the nobility and bourgeoisie. The estimate of the total outlay, officially made, for the Church in France, would not be complete if the municipal supplement was not included.

Neither does the budget for 1890 cover the total of national outlay ; considerable sums are annually charged the department of fine arts for paintings and statues authorized by the government for cathedrals and churches—probably more for the encouragement of native artists than from religious motives.

The summaries of the national outlay charged up as the *Budget des Cultes* for 1861, show a total, for all creeds, of over forty-eight million francs, out of which forty-five and one half millions, including cost of administration, were for the Catholic Church, while

two and one-half millions were charged for Lutherans, Jews, and Musselmen.

During the present year, the fixed expenditure is limited to forty-five million francs, of which forty-three millions is for the Catholic Church, and two millions for Jews, Lutherans, and Mussulmen; the cost of administration inclusive for all.

These proportionate results corroborate the estimate given of the strength of Catholicism in France.

On a basis of thirty-eight millions population, the average share of each inhabitant of the Republic of tax for the national outlay for religion, this year, will be one franc and twenty-five centimes, or about twenty-five cents, and probably double that amount would cover national and municipal taxes for this purpose.

Estimating the number of families at nine millions, the average share of each family per year of the religious budget of the State and of municipalities would be ten francs or two dollars.

Reverting to the despoliation of the Church in 1789 of her properties yielding two hundred million francs per annum, this income, with interest at the end of twelve years, would make a capital of three billion francs, when the Concordat was signed, in 1801, and the Church restored to France.

The interest on this capital, at four per cent., say one hundred and twenty million francs per annum, and the two hundred million francs of revenue originally sequestered, would be the yearly sum due the Church by the government; this was the equity of the case of the Church *versus* France in 1801. The annual sums paid from the revenues of France, commencing with the Consular government under Napoleon, and continued to the present day, however large these may have been under the Bourbons, directly or indirectly to the Church, for whatever purpose, are comparatively small in proportion to the debt which the State actually owes the Church, and which is fast increasing with each year's deficit.

Could a compromise be made, and a fair amount per annum be agreed upon as a partial indemnity to be paid over to the fiscal agent of the hierarchy, for the support of the Church, she would be freed from the annoyances incidental to her present dependent position; the burdens of her ministry would be borne more equally; she would gradually come into closer contact with the laity, and her priesthood would soon learn to lean on them for her support.

Scientific Chronicle.

ELECTRO-MAGNETIC THEORY OF LIGHT.

ITS CONFIRMATION.—PART III.

ALTHOUGH the theory advanced by Maxwell, that light is but a form of electrical energy, was adopted by many eminent physicists, still it remained for about a quarter of a century without experimental verification. Such a confirmation would link together irrevocably two important branches of physical science and throw light on the obscure problem of the nature of electrical energy. To add this last link in the chain of the argument was the dream of experimenters, and while studying the views of the great physicist for this end, our notions of electricity underwent great changes and modifications, intricate phenomena were studied in a clearer light, and the new views were already highly developed, when Hertz came forward with the long looked for empirical confirmation. The existence of electrical oscillations was admitted for years, but Prof. Hertz showed how they might be detected and studied.

The period of a wave of light is, roughly speaking, 10^{-15} of a second, and we know of no way of producing electrical oscillations having anything like this rapidity. Previous to Hertz's experiments the most rapid electrical oscillations experimented with were given by the discharge of a Leyden jar through a resistance, and they had a period of about 10^{-6} of a second. Obviously, the proof of the identity of electrical and light radiations was to make electrical oscillations of the same rate as light waves, and determine whether they had the same properties. The electrical waves so far examined were not rapid enough, but theoretically a much shorter period could be obtained by conducting wires, forming an open circuit with small knobs for terminals. This is the form adopted by Hertz in his experiments to determine whether or not measurable oscillations were produced. The period in this case should be some hundred millionths of a second, 10^{-8} as compared with 10^{-15} for light.

To detect the electrical oscillations Hertz had recourse to the principle of resonance. The application of this principle in acoustics is familiar to the student of physics. There are myriads of vibrations around us in the air which produce no sensible impression upon us, but hold to the ear a shell or other hollow body and a confused hum is at once audible. This is due to the fact that the air in the shell has a natural rate of vibration in unison with some of the weak vibrations in the air around, and, taking them, strengthens them, and thus makes us conscious of motions of which we were ignorant. It is on this principle that musical sounds are analyzed, and most musical sounds which to us seem simple are proved to be compound. The musical instrument is sounded before a set of resonators consisting of a number of vessels of different capacities. The rate of vibration will be different for these different volumes, so that

the air in those vessels will be set in vibration, in which the volume is such that its natural rate of vibration corresponds to the sounds produced by the instrument. When a single note is sounded on a musical instrument it is found that the air in several of the resonators is set in motion, thus showing the existence of several rates of vibration, or of different notes in that which at first is regarded as simple. The vibrations of the different columns of air are made visible by transmitting them by means of a membrane to a current of gas. Burning this gas in front of a rotating mirror the pulsations in the gas are observed in the serrated band of light reflected from the mirror. A still more striking experiment to illustrate resonance is to take two tuning-forks of exactly the same pitch. Having mounted them on suitable resonance-boxes, place them some distance apart and sound one of them. The second will be set in vibration simply by the sound waves coming from the first. The first air-pulse to reach the distant fork starts it vibrating, and, as its rate is the same as that of the waves striking it, the second wave comes after a complete vibration, and at the right time to increase its motion. Such forks are said to be sympathetic, and by means of a circuit in sympathy, or in resonance with the waves started in the ether, Hertz detected and began to study them. To understand how these waves are started it is well to remember that when the electric charge along a conductor is in any way disturbed equilibrium is again reached only after a series of oscillations to and fro, which gradually decrease in amplitude and finally die out. This may be illustrated by the oscillations of a pendulum, or the surging backward and forward of water when the vessel holding it has been tilted. As in the case of the pendulum and of the water the time of oscillation is definite, so with electricity its period of oscillation is definite. When the charges on the opposite coatings of a Leyden jar are combined, waves are started whose period depends on the capacity and the self-induction of the circuit. The resistance to elastic force, and hence the rapidity of the vibrations when the jar is discharged, is increased by decreasing the capacity; and the greater the self-induction of the circuit through which the discharge takes place, the greater the time of oscillation of the discharge. This latter law is expressed in another way; the rush of the electricity from one coating to the other constitutes a current and sets up a magnetic field around the conductor. But, it takes time to build up this field, and hence the establishing of the field is a drag on the electricity, and the more intense the field the slower the rush of the electricity, and hence the longer the time of oscillation of the discharge.

Now, by a very simple device, Hertz produced waves in the surrounding space of such rapidity that they were short enough to be measured. He obtained this result by extending the rods attached to the secondary terminals of an ordinary induction coil and increasing their capacity by attaching two metal plates to the extremities. Under these conditions the charge between the terminals was oscillatory and its period could be calculated. This he called the generator or vibrator. The plates attached to the induction coil being charged, say one positively and the

other negatively, there will be a discharge across the gap separating them. But, as in all such cases, there will be an overdischarge of one of the plates, and hence there will follow immediately a discharge in the opposite direction, this discharging in alternate directions lasting through about a dozen vibrations; as the time of each vibration is about the one two-hundred-millionth of a second, it is clear that the whole discharge is over in less than a millionth of a second. But this action may be repeated several hundred times a second, depending on the frequency of the spark given by the induction coil.

To detect the vibrations thus started, Hertz used his sympathetic resonator, a very simple device. It consisted of a loop of wire of such length that the period of electrical vibration in it was the same as in the vibrator. There was a small gap in the resonator, and when the length of the resonator was adjusted so that it was in unison with the generator a spark crossed the gap in the former every time there was a discharge in the latter. The necessity of adjusting the size of the resonator in order to get the spark shows that the forces acting are periodic. Equipped with this apparatus, Hertz discovered that his tuned receiver not only responded to the impulses of the vibrator, but that the sparks in the former showed a series of maximum and minimum values, recurring in periodic order as the receiver was carried away from the centre of electrical disturbance.

The fact that the conducting material of which the resonator is made has no effect upon the spark, shows that the spark is due to a series of oscillations induced in the circuit, and hence are dependent on self-induction and capacities which are time constants. Again, when the knobs of the induction coil are so far apart that no spark passes, the spark disappears in the resonator, thus showing that the electricity in the latter is due not to the charging current in the primary, but to the discharges, and hence to the oscillations started by these discharges. This is further established; for if the cause is really due to oscillations of the character of regular vibrations, then an oscillatory current of definite period would exert a greater inductive effect upon one of equal period than upon one differing from it. So, when we have two such currents, their mutual effect should be diminished by altering the capacity or the co-efficient of self-induction of one of them; as this change would alter its period. This is what actually occurred in Hertz's experiments on changing the capacity of either the generating or receiving circuit, while the other remained constant. Hence it is clearly established that the phenomena noted were due to oscillations in the generator of a period approximately equal to that calculated, namely, the one hundred-millionth of a second.

To further prove the oscillatory character of the induced currents, Hertz surmised the existence of nodes or points of zero disturbance. If a string one yard long be tightly stretched between two supports, and then plucked, it will begin to vibrate as a whole. If it be dampened at one-third its length the remaining two-thirds will not vibrate as a whole, but will divide into two parts, the point of division remaining at rest. This point is called a node. If we touch a vibrating string at a node

the vibrations will not be destroyed. So Hertz determined to test his resonator in a similar way to determine whether the current in it was oscillatory or not. While it was in unison with the generating circle the gap was adjusted so that the spark could just pass. Then a sphere was placed against the wire, and, moving it to different points, it was found that the sparks ceased, except when the sphere was in the middle, thus showing that the centre was a nodal point. Hertz proved that we could have electrical oscillations with one or two nodes, but he considered it doubtful whether we could produce the higher electrical overtones analogous to the overtones of a musical note.

Hertz studied the mode of propagation of electrical waves in wires, and found the nodes and loops characteristic of all other wave propagation. For, on moving his resonator along the wire carrying the electrical oscillations, it gave maximum and minimum effects at regular intervals. Having thus established experimentally the existence of electrical oscillations, the method of detecting them was directed to a study of their properties.

First placing the generating induction coil in the centre of a large room, it was found that no matter what part of the room the resonator was taken to it gave the sparks, showing that the electrical waves are sent out in all directions. This is a simple but beautiful experiment, and it is peculiarly striking to watch how the loop of wire, which you carry around the room and which is entirely disconnected from the induction coil which stands in the centre of the room, gives across the small gap left in it a series of electric sparks in perfect tune with the sparks at the induction coil. It never fails once to respond if it has been perfectly adjusted. In fact, you may walk into an adjoining room and close the door after you, and the intervening brick or plaster wall will not break the spell; the little resonator is as faithful as before in responding to every call of the induction coil. A metal shield will alone protect it from the influence of the generator. Thus Hertz showed that some substances transmit the electrical oscillations while others do not, just as some substances transmit light while others are opaque.

As both theory and experience show that conductors are good reflectors of electro-magnetic waves, Hertz constructed two large parabolic reflectors of sheet-metal, and placing the generator in the focus of one of them, and the resonator in the focus of the other, the resonance phenomena were obtained at a greater distance than without them. By this means it was proved that these electric oscillations are reflected according to the laws governing the reflection of light. Hence, conductors bear about the same relation to electric oscillations that opaque bodies do to light.

The next step was to determine whether dielectrics acted towards these same oscillations as transparent bodies do towards light. When a ray of light passes from one transparent medium to another of different density, it is bent out of its course, or refracted. By interposing a large pitch prism in the path of the electrical waves as they travelled from one mirror to the other, Hertz found that the resonator did not respond

in its old position, but had to be moved to a new position before the sparks were obtained, thus showing clearly that the waves were refracted in passing through the pitch. The index of refraction for the pitch was determined to be 1.7, or, electro-magnetic waves travel through the air 1.7 times as fast as through pitch. But, as in the case of light, the wave theory was definitely established by interference-phenomena, so, in this case, the effects were proved to be due to wave motion by interference-phenomena. Waves in any medium may combine so as to strengthen, or so as to neutralize each other's effect, the maximum strengthening occurring when the crest of a wave in one set corresponds with the crest of a wave in the other, there being complete neutralization when the crest in one case corresponds with the hollow of an equal wave.

Preparing one wall of the room as a reflector by covering it with zinc, he started his vibrator, and on carrying the resonator to different positions between the vibrator and the reflector, he found that sparks were obtained only at fixed positions, which were at regular intervals from each other with definite air spaces between. This is exactly the effect of interference. If sound-waves interfere in this way, we have points of maximum and minimum motion corresponding with points of least and greatest condensation and rarefaction. In a single wave these points are called nodes and loops. Now, the nodal point in the case of electric oscillations is the point at which the changes in magnetic induction will be a maximum, and the changes in electric displacement a minimum, while a loop is a point of no magnetic induction, while the electrical displacement will be a maximum. Hertz, by properly adjusting his resonator, found, first, the positions of maximum and minimum electric displacement, and then those of maximum and minimum magnetic intensity. He found that the points of greatest electrical displacement alternated, at regular intervals, with the points of greatest magnetic intensity, thus constituting true electrical nodes and loops, and showing the phenomenon to be a true interference-phenomenon, depending on wave motion.

From this same experiment the wave length was determined, and deducing from the form and dimensions of the generator the time of vibration, the velocity of propagation was readily deduced. As obtained, it was approximately that of light, and the difference between the two could be readily due to the fact that the period of vibration of the apparatus cannot be calculated with accuracy.

The similarity in properties was further established by showing that the electrical oscillations can be polarized; wire screens effecting changes in the oscillations transmitted in the same way as tourmaline polarizes light. By these, and other experiments, electro-magnetic waves were proved to have properties similar to light waves, and to be governed by the same laws. They are reflected as light, refracted as light, give interference-phenomena as light does, are diffracted as light, polarized as light, and travel with the same velocity as light, and outward in all directions from the source of disturbance, as light from a luminous centre. The points of agreement are too many and too important to

ignore the theory, in confirmation of which they have been experimentally determined. All concede, that as far as we can see at present, these experiments of Hertz, and numerous others made since by other experimenters, fully confirm Maxwell's theory that light is an electrical phenomenon, and light waves are electro-magnetic waves. They are both ether waves. What, then, is the difference between light waves and the electro-magnetic waves sent out from Hertz's vibrator? The only difference is one solely of wave length. The electro-magnetic waves thus far manufactured are too long to affect the eye. If a means be devised to so shorten them that they will have the length of a wave of light, then the vibrator will become a luminous centre, and we will have a means of generating light waves directly without the useless expenditure of energy, in the shape of heat, which accompanies our present methods. We will then be no longer in the awkward position thus graphically described by Professor Lodge: "It is as though, in order to sound some little shrill octave of pipes in an organ, we were obliged to depress every key and every pedal, and to blow a young hurricane."

THE SPECTROSCOPE IN ASTRONOMY.

ALMOST every one is familiar with the history of the spectroscope in revealing the materials of which the heavenly bodies are made up. But this is only a small portion of the work done by the spectroscope, now an indispensable instrument in every well-equipped observatory. It enables us to measure the invisible without making it visible, and its accuracy in this respect is daily increasing with every new development in the science of spectroscopy. The first revelation of the spectroscope was the nature of the substances of which the sun and stars are composed; then, their condition, whether gaseous or solid, of high or low temperature; but it now presents itself as a measurer of distances and of masses. In this last connection the determination of the rate at which a star is moving away from or towards the earth is an interesting point.

There are in the heavens what are known as double stars. Their distances apart along the line of sight may be very great, but when both stars are projected on the celestial sphere, the line joining them subtends such a small angle at the eye of the observer that they coincide and appear to the unaided eye as one star. Before the invention of the telescope, the principal star in Capricornus was known as a double star. But the telescope shows numerous double stars so close together that they can be separated only by high magnifying powers. Over ten thousand such stars are now known, and their number is continually increasing. But the spectroscope has told us of a double star so close that no telescope will separate the components, although each is bright enough to be seen by the naked eye.

To understand this, it is necessary to know how the spectroscope tells its story. Although the rainbow was the first solar spectrum ever be-

held, still Newton was the first to imitate the rainbow and analyze light by means of a prism. When a beam of light falls upon a glass prism, it is split up into its constituents, and instead of the original white beam which fell upon the prism we have, when it emerges on the opposite side, a band of colored light, red on one end, violet at the other, intermediate colors filling in the space between the two. The cause of this dispersion, as it is called, is that the rate of vibration is different for each of these constituents, and when the light enters the dense glass from the air, those colors which have the shortest wave length will be retarded most on their journey through the prism, and hence bent most out of their course. Hence the colors arrange themselves in the order of their wave lengths. It is on this luminous scroll that the sun and stars write their history, and much of it we are already able to decipher. Although Newton made many experiments on the spectrum, still, for over a century, physicists had no notion of its true appearance. This was due to the fact that Newton had used in all his experiments a cylindrical beam of light. Such a method, as is evident on trial, does not give a pure spectrum, for the colors overlap. It was in 1802, that Wollaston changed the circular opening in the shutter for a narrow slit, and first obtained a pure spectrum, in which each color had its own distinct place in the spectrum. With this change, Wollaston examined the solar spectrum, and found that it was not, as Newton had supposed, one continuous band of light, an unbroken rainbow, but that it was really broken by a series of fine black lines crossing it at right angles to its length. In 1814, Fraunhofer mapped out these lines to the number of 576. Hence, they bear his name, and the principal lines are designated by the letters, A, B, C, etc. At first, these dark lines were regarded as the boundary lines of the pure colors of the spectrum. But it was found that in the continuous spectrum of an incandescent non-volatile substance there were no dark lines. Therefore, there must be some special cause for their appearance in the solar spectrum. But their true significance was not pointed out until 1859, when Kirchhoff identified the D lines as due to sodium vapor in the atmosphere of the sun. By coloring the flame of a Bunsen burner yellow, which is done by putting a small amount of salt in it, it gave in the spectroscope not a continuous band of different colored lights, but two yellow lines near the D lines of the solar spectrum. It was further shown that, if, while an observer was viewing a continuous spectrum, the yellow sodium flame was placed before the slit, two dark bands were observed in the position of the D lines of the solar spectrum, and exactly where the yellow lines of the sodium flame would appear if that light alone was in front of the slit. Thus it was apparent that the yellow sodium flame cut off certain rays of light, and hence their place in the spectrum was blank, and, moreover, that it intercepted just those rays of light which it was capable of emitting. Hence, Kirchhoff justly concluded that the D lines of the solar spectrum were sodium lines, due to the fact that vapor of sodium in the sun's atmosphere absorbed light of that particular refrangibility, which was emitted by the incandescent core. Other lines of the spectrum of the sun and stars

were made the object of careful study, and we soon became familiar with the materials out of which these distant heavenly bodies are built.

But these dark lines also tell us the rate at which these apparently fixed bodies, the stars, are travelling through space, and reveal unresolvable double stars. It is only of late that this branch of stellar spectroscopy is receiving the attention it deserves, and it promises to repay well the labor devoted to it. We will glance briefly at the principles involved in the work, and at the accuracy of the results.

If we examine, spectroscopically, the light from a fixed star, we find that the spectrum is crossed by five black lines, due to the absorption of certain rays in the star's own atmosphere. These lines are in a fixed position in the spectrum of the star, and if the earth and the star remain the same distance apart there is no reason for these lines changing their position in the spectroscope. If, however, the star approach us we expect a change in accordance with Doppler's principle. In the case of a sound, for example, we know that the pitch depends on the rate of vibration. If a source of sound is at a constant distance from the observer, any definite note from that source will retain its pitch. But should the observer remain at rest, and the source of sound move rapidly towards him, giving out the sound at the same time, he will perceive the note to rise in pitch. This change in pitch is due to the fact that although the sound does not change, still, as the source is approaching the observer, a greater number of vibrations will be received in a second than if it was stationary. Now, as the pitch depends on the number of vibrations in a second, and as a greater number of vibrations reach the ear of the observer on account of the approach of the source of the sound, the sensation will respond to this increased rate of vibration, and the pitch will be higher. This principle applies to all wave-motion, and hence to the light from a star, so that when a star is moving towards the earth the light which gives that portion of the spectrum on either side of any dark band, will, practically, on account of the forward motion of the planet, have a higher rate, and, as the position to which light is refracted depends on its rate, they will be moved towards the violet end of the spectrum. Since the dark line indicates rates between these two which are missing in the spectrum, it will also move towards the violet end. This does not mean that one portion of the spectrum changes position, the other remaining constant, but as all kinds of light travel with the same velocity, the whole spectrum will be moved towards the side at which the violet appears. Now, this is what should happen on the supposition that the source of light approaches us. The lines will move in the opposite direction when the source of light recedes from us, as the shrill note from the whistle of a locomotive rises in pitch as the engine approaches us, and falls as it moves away from us. A motion as described is actually observed in the lines of the spectra of some of the stars, and it can be explained only on the supposition of the motion of the star relative to the earth. By measuring the amount of displacement of any one of the dark lines, the velocity at which the star is moving can be easily determined. The difficult point to be determined is the exact

amount by which the line has been displaced. In order to spread out the spectrum as much as possible, and thus give the best opportunity for measuring the displacement, several prisms must be used. Now, this means diminution in brightness of the spectrum, which can be ill-afforded when the supply of light is already niggardly. Therefore, it is not surprising that this branch should, at present, be undergoing vigorous development, since our large telescopes are capable of collecting so much more of the star's light, and thus permit of this greater dispersion. Another reason, which accounts for the present activity in this line of research, is the development in photography, and the success with which it can be applied to obtaining permanent records of celestial phenomena which may afterwards be studied at leisure.

This study of the spectrum is one of the three lines of research prosecuted with such vigor at Mount Hamilton, with the great Lick telescope. This part of the work is under the care of Mr. James E. Keeler; and some of the observations made by Mr. Keeler give us a good idea of the accuracy of the method. The able director of the observatory, Prof. Ed. S. Holden, writing to the *New York Herald*, about two months ago, gives the results of the experiments.

In the month of August last, Mr. Keeler, using the spectroscope, determined by the method above referred to the velocity of the planet Venus. The figures he obtained, were 7.3, 8.3, 9.3, 7.5 miles per second. The motion of the planet can be calculated from its orbit, and hence we have a means of testing the accuracy of the spectroscope-work. This latter method gave the real motion, at the time of the above observation, as 8.1, 8.2, 8.2, 8.2. The error of the spectroscope, then, amounted to 0.8, 0.1, 1.1, 0.7 mile per second. That is, we can be sure of the motion of a planet or star, as determined from the spectroscope, within less than one mile per second. This method has been applied to some stars, and the fact of their motion relative to the earth, as well as the velocity of this motion, determined. The only other way in which we could arrive at this conclusion would be by observing the change in the apparent disk of these stars, but, these heavenly bodies are so far away from us that, viewed in our most powerful telescopes, they remain points of light, and hence this method is impossible. The spectroscope also reveals the motion of some of the nebulae relatively to the earth.

The way in which the spectroscope tells of double stars, so close that no telescope may resolve them, can be gathered from the remarkable discovery lately made by Professor Pickering, of Harvard. From photographs of the spectrum of the star Mizar, taken at the Harvard observatory, it was noticed that some of the dark lines changed at intervals. Thus, in the photographs taken on March 29, 1887, on May 17, 1889, and on August 27 and 28, 1889, the K line was clearly doubled. On other dates it was hazy, as if the components were slightly separated, while on other dates it was well defined and single. Examination of the series of photographs revealed a periodicity in this doubling, so that it could be predicted. A prediction of the doubling was made for December 8, 1889, and on that date it was confirmed by each of three

photographs. It is also certain, that several of the other lines are also double when the Kline is double. On examination, it was seen that the duplication occurred every fifty-two days. Professor Pickering concludes that the star is double; and several interesting results have been worked out in support of the hypothesis. Manifestly, we have here not one but two spectra from stars so close that they are superimposed. That is, Mizar is a binary star, the two components revolving around a common centre in twice the period of the duplication of the lines. When one is approaching and the other receding from the earth, the lines will be separated by the difference of their relative motions. When one is most distant and the other nearest, neither will have any motion relatively to the earth, and the lines will coincide. During the next semi-revolution the lines will be again displaced, but also transposed, as the one which was receding before is now approaching. At the end of this half-revolution they will be at rest, relatively to the earth, and the lines will coincide again. Therefore, there are two doublings of the lines in one revolution, and, as the doubling occurs every 52 days, the period of revolution must be 104 days. Another deduction from the observations was, that the two components are of the same brightness, as the lines were equally black; hence it is inferred that they are nearly equal in mass. The motion indicated by the displacement is 100 miles per second, but this is twice the actual motion, as the displacement is due to the opposite motion of both. Regarding one of them as stationary and the other in motion in a circular orbit, the circumference of this orbit would be 900,000,000 miles, and the distance apart of the two stars 143,000,000 miles. This is about the distance of Mars from the sun. But the period of Mars is 687 days. Hence the motion of our star is over six times as rapid. But the mass must be increased to preserve a circular orbit by the square of this ratio. That is, the mass of the two stars is about 40 times the mass of our sun. In other words, two stars, each twenty times the size of the sun revolving around each other at the distance of Mars from the sun, would give the phenomena observed in the spectrum of Mizar.

These points, then, give us some idea of the revelations made by the spectroscope, and the results we may expect in the lines of research to which it is now being applied.

ELECTRICITY FOR TIME OF WAR.

MANY devices have been proposed to show the adaptability of electricity as an indispensable agent in modern warfare, and new ones are daily brought to light. Some are practicable and efficient; others are impracticable or inefficient. Some have been discarded, and some now in use may be abandoned, but some have undoubtedly come to stay, and prove that in any future war electricity will play an important part.

One of the earliest applications of electricity was to the submarine mine, so useful in harbor defence. This mine consists of a number of water-tight tanks, which are anchored in different parts of the harbor, along the line which vessels entering the harbor must take. These tanks contain charges of gun-cotton, varying from 100 to 1000 pounds. They are all connected by cables with an operating-room on the shore, where the batteries and measuring instruments are kept. Floating above each tank is an automatic circuit-closer, consisting of contact points, which are closed by the shock from the passing vessel. This closing of the circuit works a relay in the operating-room, which throws in the circuit a current strong enough to heat the fine platinum wire in the fuse. This ignites the fulminate of mercury. The fulminate detonates a primer of dry gun-cotton, which in turn detonates the full charge of damp gun-cotton in the submerged tank. All this takes place in an instant, so the offending vessel ignites the fuse for its own destruction.

A similar plan is carried out in the subterranean mine destined to defend the approaches to a fort or other available position. The torpedoes are buried in the ground, and may be discharged either automatically by the soldiers as they walk over them, or by an observer in the fort who can view the approaches, and who knows the position of the mines. When the besiegers are over a mine he can send the current, and one can easily imagine the injury to, as well as the consternation in, the approaching ranks.

In harbor defense, it is not sufficient to wait until the enemy is in the harbor, but there must be some means of meeting him half-way. For this purpose we have the dirigible self-moving torpedo. This is still in the experimental stage, but good results have been obtained. In this torpedo, electricity is both the motive and directing power. In the Sims-Edison type, the electricity is transmitted by a wire which unrolls from a bobbin on the shore as the torpedo moves out. In the Halpine-Savage type, the source of energy is carried along in the shape of storage batteries. When this torpedo strikes the vessel its motion is reversed, and it returns, leaving the explosive behind. This later is exploded after it has gone a certain distance, determined by the length of a chain attached to it. The use of these dirigible torpedoes in a naval conflict is apparent, and they undoubtedly give electricity a new field in warfare.

On land, the telegraph is indispensable in marshalling large armies to the scene of battle that by their concerted action victory may be more secure. But, on the field of battle itself, temporary telegraph and telephone lines are necessary for the transmission of an order, on the prompt reception of which victory will depend.

On sea, our war ships are not only lighted by electricity, but in the latest and best equipped, the ammunition is hoisted on deck by means of electricity, as on board the *Atlanta*, and the guns are trained by means of electricity, as on board the *Chicago*. By means of the electric hoist on the *Atlanta*, a 250-pound shell can be raised on deck in nine and a half seconds. The motor used is specially designed for this work, and the speed of the hoist is entirely under the control of the operator. The

speed at which the operator turns a wheel determines the speed of the hoist. If the operator stops the hoist stops. So, if the operator should be killed or the motor injured during an engagement, the shell would remain in whatever position it might be in at the time. Thus the danger resulting from forcing the shell up against the deck, or letting it fall back in the vessel is avoided.

By means of the electric training apparatus on the *Chicago*, one of the eight-inch guns is absolutely under the control of the gun captain. Ordinarily he has to tell some one which way and how far the gun is to removed, but now he can move the gun himself just where he wishes, that is, he moves a lever in the direction required and the electric motor moves the gun in the same direction. When it is in position he stops the lever, and the motor stops. Thus mistakes arising from the misunderstanding of orders are avoided. By this means the gun can be adjusted rapidly and with the greatest accuracy.

But even more can be done by electricity. The gun can be discharged by its agency, and its efficiency increased by the increased rapidity of discharge. An order by the government to construct a motor which could be attached to the barrel of the gun and would move with it, which would be out of the line of sight, and which would not interfere with the elevation and depression of the gun, and which could be worked by the electric-lighting plants on the ship, has brought out a motor fulfilling these conditions, and which makes the Gatling gun automatic. Ordinarily, two men were required to manipulate this gun, one to direct it and the other to turn the crank which works the breech mechanism. This causes the barrels to rotate. There are ten barrels, and, as they are discharged successively, there are ten shots each revolution. By the application of the motor a rate of 1500 discharges per minute has been reached, which is much higher than will ever be required.

This improvement is significant when we recall the fact that the opinion is growing that these smaller guns will be much more effective in actual engagement than those enormous guns which so weight large war vessels as to make them unwieldy, and whose seafaring qualities in time of conflict is an experiment to be yet made. Opinion gives the preference to the smaller guns for utility in repelling attacks and for general fighting at close quarters, where the quick-firing gun will be effective in damaging armor and in injuring the enemy's large guns, which, on account of their size, are necessarily much exposed.

This is a brief account of some of the applications ; many others might be mentioned, but it gives an idea of the place of electricity in modern warfare. Hence, the suggestion of the establishment of a corps of electrical engineers in connection with the army is favorably received by those who understand best the situation. In time of war and in the heat of the battle, emergencies will arise in the application of this agent which will require the experience of trained electricians. While such a body of experts, studying the possibilities of electricity with a view to this special application, would undoubtedly devise new methods, increasing manifold its utility as an element in warfare.

NIAGARA FALLS POWER COMPANY.

FOR years the engineer has watched regretfully the lavish waste of energy at Niagara Falls, and sighed for some means of harnessing it to our machinery that it might be turned to account for the practical side of life. It is true, that for a long time a canal about three-quarters of a mile long has been in operation, working about twelve mills, principally flour mills. But the great desire to utilize the falls on a large scale is about to be realized. The great obstacle has been the difficulty of cutting through the hard limestone rock a tunnel of adequate dimensions.

A company known as the "Niagara Falls Power Company" has been formed, with capital sufficient to carry on the work, which has already been begun. The plan is to make a tunnel, horse-shoe shape in cross-section, 160 feet below ground. The tunnel will run from water-level below the falls back to about one mile above the falls. It runs parallel with the river at about 400 feet from it. The area of the cross-section is 490 square feet. This is sufficient to discharge the water from wheels furnishing 120,000 horse-power.

The water is brought from the river by means of surface canals to the wheel-pits, which are sunk below the level of the canals. The tunnel will serve as a tail-race for these wheel-pits. The company intends placing turbines in some of the pits, in order to furnish power by cable, pneumatic tubes, or electricity. They will also lease privileges to customers to make their own pits, and furnish their own wheels and connections. Although there is a fall of 160 feet from the canals to the tunnel, still they intend to use only 120 feet fall, leaving the remaining 40 feet for free discharge of the water. It is calculated that this plan of utilizing the water of the falls will take from the river only 4 per cent. of the water now flowing over the falls. Hence, there will always be an abundant supply, and the stopping of the mills for want of water will be unheard of. It is expected that the first section will be ready for use in the early part of 1892. As the mills are a distance above the falls, and back from the river, the natural beauty of the falls will not be impaired, and will still attract the usual number of sight-seers. With such a source of cheap power, Niagara should become a flourishing manufacturing centre.

STEAMERS PROPELLED BY WATER-JET.

MANY marine engineers have given attention to this mode of propelling vessels, and some practical results have been attained. They have been encouraged in their work by the hope of giving to the world a method of propulsion which, without sacrificing any of the good points in our present highly-developed system, would remove its defects. We are aware that our great ocean steamers, when they are under full headway, cannot be brought readily to rest, or turned with that rapidity

required when a collision is imminent. In rough seas, the vessel is tossed and the screw comes out of the water with the full force of the steam applied to it, and not meeting the resistance of the water, it races, jarring and weakening the machinery, in many cases leading ultimately to break-downs. The breaking of the main-shaft is of frequent occurrence, and seems to be the result of strains and flexures due to varying load and movements of the hull of the vessel.

The mode of propulsion proposed to obviate these difficulties is the water-jet. Powerful pumps, worked by the engines of the vessel, discharge a jet of water in the direction opposite to that in which it is intended to drive the vessel. At least two jets are to be used, and placed one on each side of the hull, near the midships. These jets may be worked either by the same pump or by separate pumps. Of course, the number of jets may be increased on large vessels. The first great advantage claimed for this system is that of safety. It conduces to safety because there is no screw to race or shaft to break. In case of fire, the pumping capacity, which is the main thing in this system, is capable of extinguishing any fire. Again, in case of a leak, this same power, which is inadequate in our present ocean steamers, is at hand to prevent sinking and at the same time to propel the vessel forward by the very water it pumps out of it. The pumping power may be as high as 2000 tons per minute. Such a pumping capacity would have saved many a vessel that has been lost from being inadequately supplied in this respect. By this system the vessel is completely in the hands of the officer on deck, who, by a movement of the hand, can instantly reverse or stop, without the necessity of transmitting orders to others. While the vessel is under full headway, the officer can reverse the direction in which the water is discharged, thus applying, instantly, the whole force of propulsion opposite to that in which the vessel is going, bringing it to rest, as has been done, in some trials, within its own length. Should the rudder be disabled, the vessel may be steered by regulating the discharge on the sides; and during trials, vessels propelled in this way have been turned on their centre. This is effected by using the discharge on one side only.

With all these good qualities, it is yet doubtful whether this will be adopted as the sole mode of propulsion for our vessels. The objection to it is, that it does not give the required speed. A gun-boat, 160 feet long, and 32 feet beam, of 1300 tons displacement, with an indicated horse-power of 750, and discharging 350 tons of water per minute, has reached a speed of 10 knots per hour. When the experiment has been tried on a large scale we will be able to judge better of the speed that can be attained. Although it may never become the sole mode of propulsion, still this method is a useful adjunct on our large vessels as furnishing a ready means of stopping and turning, and supplying a large pumping capacity. Its utility on our men-of-war, in time of actual engagement, cannot be overestimated, since it furnishes such a ready control over the movements of the vessel.

One of the most interesting applications of this method of propulsion

is in the English life-boat, Duke of Northumberland. After a careful consideration of the best plans for such a boat, paddle-wheels were rejected, because she could be so easily disabled by the slightest obstacle from a wreck. The screw was also rejected as such a boat must be used in rough seas where the screw must be out of the water most of the time and hence useless. Hence the water-jet was adopted. The engines work a turbine which gives the water-power. The vessel was subjected to some very severe tests. Going at full speed she made, with her rudder, half a circle in 35 seconds, and a complete circle in 52 seconds. Going slowly, and using both rudder and water-jet to turn her, she made a full circle in 40 seconds. The water-jets brought her to a dead-stop in 32 seconds, and she regained full headway in 4 seconds. She was steered by means of the jets as easily as with the rudder. Her ordinary speed is 9 knots an hour.

In this kind of propulsion there has been much dispute about the size of the water-jet. Some claim that small jets under pressure will give better results than large jets. To prove this, a boat has been constructed at Brooklyn and furnished with small jets to be worked at high pressure. Phenomenal speed was predicted for this vessel. She has made her trial trip, but, as far as we know, no data as to speed have been published. So far, the utility of the water-jet system, as a supplementary mode of propulsion, seems to have been established as well as its superiority as sole power in certain particular cases, but its future for large vessels will depend on experiments made on a large scale.

THE GREAT FORTY-INCH LENS.

THE glass for part of the objective, to be placed in the telescope of the new observatory of Southern California, has been received by the Clarkes of Cambridgeport, Mass. They have the contract of making the great objective, and when both its parts are completed and ready to be placed in the telescope it will probably be worth \$65,000. The diameter of the lens will be forty inches, or four inches more than that of the great Lick lens. The length of the new telescope will be about sixty feet. The Lick telescope is fifty-seven feet focal length. The new observatory will be on Wilson's Peak in the Sierra Madre range of mountains, about fifteen miles from Los Angeles. Mt. Hamilton, on which the Lick observatory stands, is 4209 feet above sea level; Wilson's Peak is 6000; so the new observatory will stand nearly 2000 feet higher. The great advantage of these high elevations is a clearer sky, and, as a consequence, the greater number of nights on which observations can be made during the year. These large lenses have the advantage of collecting a greater amount of light from the heavenly body, and hence it may be examined under a higher magnifying power. They are especially useful for three kinds of work—to examine the features of a planet, to photograph star clusters and nebulae, and to condense the large amount of light necessary for spectroscopic work.

THE PORTELECTRIC RAILROAD.

It is known that, if a hollow cylinder be surrounded by a coil of wire and an electric current be passed through the coil, a piece of iron held in front of the central opening in the coil will be sucked into the centre of the solenoid. If, at the moment of entering the solenoid, the current be cut off from the coil, the piece of iron, on account of its momentum, will move on some distance. A railroad for the transportation of mail and express packages has been designed on this principle. In the *Chronicle* for October, 1889, we described the Weems railway, designed for the same object. About the same time a model of this Portelectric system of transportation, as it is called, was on exhibition in the Old South Church, Boston. Now an experimental track has been constructed in the suburbs of Boston, near Howard Street Station, on the New York and New England Railroad. The track is 3000 feet long, oval in shape, and includes two curves of different radii, some straight level sections and two grades, one of 8 per cent. and another of 11 per cent. Here the system was subjected to tests with a view to the requirements of commercial service. The track consists of large solenoids placed six feet apart on top of a frame work, with one rail running through the lower part and another through the upper part of the solenoids. The car is an iron cylinder ten inches in diameter and twelve feet long. It runs along the lower rail on two wheels, and has two guide-wheels to run on the rail above the car. As the coils have an internal diameter of eleven inches the car passes through them freely. The lower rail is connected with one terminal of the dynamo, and the other terminal is connected with a wire parallel with the lower rail. This wire is connected with the six-foot sections of the upper track. The car completes the circuit between the rails through the solenoid ahead of it, and is drawn forward into the coil. When midway through the coil this circuit is broken and a new one made with the next solenoid, which in its turn draws the car ahead. There were difficulties in adapting the car to the compound of grade and curve. But it was driven around the 3000 feet track in one and a half minutes. Its speed reached 45 feet per second. The highest acceleration was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet per second, which, if kept up for a minute, would give a speed of about two miles per minute. This could no doubt be reached on a straight level track, but not on the present one, with its complication of curve and grade.

Prof. A. E. Dolbear, the electrician of the company, feels confident that it will be a commercial success.

Book Notices.

LES CRITÈRES THÉOLOGIQUES. Par le Chanoine Salvatore di Bartolo, Docteur Romain en Théologie et le Droit Canonique. Ouvrage traduit de l'Italien. Paris, Berche et Tralin. 1889.

A French translation of *I Criteri Teologici* of Canon Salvator di Bartolo, of Palermo. Truly, a most remarkable little work, and one we are sure will give rise to many and most important controversies. It is positively startling in some of its conclusions; and yet, it comes to us indorsed by many of the greatest authorities in the Church—cardinals, bishops, professors in universities, and doctors in theology. Cardinal Manning writes to the author: "I hope your clear and pacific reasonings will act efficaciously on those who differ from us in faith." Cardinal Gibbons writes: "It cannot fail to strengthen faith and to remove prejudices."

Every letter, and there are many, praises the author highly, and approves of the work cordially, although some criticise this or that proposition. The book is full of reverence for the teaching authority of the Church and the Roman Pontiff, yet, its keynote is the right of human reason in the domain of theology as well as that of science, and the whole work is a vindication of that right. We will give a summary of this notable work. It begins with twenty propositions on the province of reason in Catholic teaching (33 pages). Then follow the ten Criteria, developed in positive and negative propositions: 1. The teaching Church; eight positive and eleven negative propositions. 2. General Councils; six positive and eight negative propositions. 3. Roman Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedra*; five positive and fourteen negative propositions. 4. Universal belief; four positive and four negative propositions. 5. Positive teaching—the symbols of faith; dogmatic teaching; the teaching of the doctors and of theologians; four positive and seven negative propositions. 6. Negative teaching; condemnation of heresy; two positive and nine negative propositions. 7. Doctrinal precepts; six positive and five negative propositions. 8. Tradition; ten positive and eleven negative propositions. 9. Holy Scripture; Canon of Scripture; one positive and one negative proposition; original texts, three positive propositions; the Vulgate, two positive and five negative propositions; inspiration of scripture, three positive and four negative propositions; sense of Scripture, nine positive and thirteen negative propositions. 10. Church, tradition, Scripture, three propositions. Then follows an appendix on legislation of the Church, eight positive and three negative propositions. The author concludes by making some suggestions (328 duodecimo pages).

To illustrate: We take one of his longest propositions, from the third criterion, the Roman Pontiff speaking *ex cathedra*. The fourth negative proposition is thus stated: "Pontifical decrees, even those that are authentic, and collections of condemned propositions, even when such collections have been made by order of the Pope, do not constitute a proposition made to the Church in the form of decrees *ex cathedra*." "We speak here of decrees contained in the Corpus of canon law, which gives them undoubted authenticity. Now, every decree is not a proposition made to the Church of an *ex cathedra* teaching, because the Roman Pontiffs are men, using their intelligence, and that intelligence has its opinions, probabilities, and conjectures. We must except, however, the case where the exercise of the gift of infallibility is necessary for the

good of the faithful. The sovereign Pontiffs themselves prove the truth of our proposition in their own decrees, and we ought not to demand more than they do." He confirms this assertion by the words of Melchior Cano and Ballerini. Coming down to the *Syllabus* of Pius IX., he says: "The Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX., in 1864, had published in the form of an *Index* a collection of all the errors he had condemned during his pontificate; now, according to the explained criterion, we do not hold that the *Syllabus* is an infallible document, *per se*. . . . The Pope never declared the document infallible. He gives it a name which expresses its real value—a *Table* of condemned propositions. Now, if the decree of Gratian . . . *has not the force and weight of law*, what shall we say of the *Syllabus*, which was only communicated to the bishops by the secretary of state, Cardinal Antonelli, by the Pope's order. If the body of canon law is not an infallible document, much less can the *Syllabus* be so considered. Besides, to understand the meaning of each of the condemned propositions (and this takes away from the *Syllabus*, infallibility *per se*), recourse must be had to the source of each one of these propositions." To confirm these views, he quotes the words of Cardinals Newman, Lavigerie, Capecebatro, and Pecci (now Pope Leo XIII.) In the preface of the edition of the *Syllabus*, published by the Camera Apostolica of Rome, the authorized edition, we read: "Whoever wishes to find out the true sense in which these propositions have been condemned by pontifical authority, must examine the letters, encyclicals, and allocutions."

In the concluding chapter on Papal infallibility, *ex cathedra*, after quoting the words of Ballerini, *de Potes. Eccl.*, that it is "no wonder that true and certain pontifical definitions enjoying absolute infallibility are very rare," the author expresses this wish concerning the exercise of the gift of infallibility: "Obedient child of the Catholic Church as I am, full of respect for the ever-living magistracy of Peter, having in view the actual state of men's minds and impending changes, out of love for revealed truth and for just theological freedom, I humbly ask of the Sovereign Pontiffs that when, for the future they shall, in their prudence and wisdom, exercise their infallible authority, to make use of the actual words of the Council of the Vatican; that is to say, that they shall declare that they speak *ex cathedra*, and that they address all the faithful."

"If the words, *Transubstantiation*, *Matter*, *Form*, etc., have passed from the schools into conciliar definitions, it will not be an untimely novelty if the words, *ex cathedra* pass from the schools into the pontifical definitions; and the disciples of the Supreme Master will then recognize the authority which the same Master has given to his teaching" (pp. 122-3).

The author concludes his work in these words: "Behold the end of our work. These theological criteria, developed in positive and negative propositions, cannot, we think, beget any doubt as to their orthodoxy in the mind of any instructed Catholic; they will help to dissipate the prejudices of those non-Catholics who are seeking sincerely for the truth. By the light of these rules, we will appreciate the historical development of dogma, and we will recognize the large liberty of affirmation we enjoy in the domain of theology, as well as outside of that domain. May God guide us on our way."

Do we approve of the book? We confess candidly that many of our own conclusions are against those of the author. We do not believe in *minimizing* in matters of faith. It is one thing to say that such-and-such is *strictly de fide*, and another to assert that one is entirely free in all matters that are not strictly *de fide*, which is the conclusion that weak

human nature will draw from several of the propositions of the author. It is true, that for those who are outside of the Church the work may do great good, but we doubt whether it will work for edification to those who are of the household of the faith.

JOHN McHALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM. HIS LIFE, TIMES AND CORRESPONDENCE. By *Rt. Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, D.D.; D Lit.* Laval. Domestic Prelate of His Holiness. In two volumes. Fr. Pustet & Co: New York and Cincinnati, 1890.

This Life of John of Tuam, the Great Archbishop of the West, comprehends in its scope much more than its title expresses or even suggests to one who is not aware how closely interlinked he was with Ireland's history from the beginning of this century, and with all the events and movements, material, political, educational and ecclesiastical which have influenced, for weal or woe, the condition of the people of Ireland during this period of time. Born, as he was, in 1791, and possessed of rare intellectual gifts, which, under the influences that surrounded him, were quickly developed, he was an intelligent and deeply interested observer of the events of that memorable year for Ireland, 1798. From the lips of his parents, of his preceptors, and other intelligent persons with whom it was his good fortune to be associated, he drank in the tragic story of Ireland's wrongs; and, even in his boyhood, the sad condition of her people, the causes of that condition, and the true remedy for them, constantly occupied his thoughts; and from January, 1820, when he published the first of that memorable series of letters under the *nom de plume* of "Hierophilos," up to 1881, at first his fruitful, powerful pen; and, soon after, both voice and pen were employed unceasingly in exposing the real sources of Ireland's miseries, the cruel exactions of Ireland's landlords, the bad faith and the crafty devices of British rulers to rob the people of Ireland of their religion, the subtle diplomacy and intrigues of the British government to mislead and delude the Holy See into conceding to that government the nomination of Irish bishops, or, failing in that, a *veto* on their appointment. During the most active and important part of Daniel O'Connell's career, the movement for the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, the Young Ireland movement, the controversy over the Charitable Bequests Act, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, the Tithe Act Repeal, the Catholic Emancipation Bill, the struggle for freedom of Christian education, the opposition to infidel colleges; in short, of every important movement—religious, political, educational—to promote the true interests of the people of Ireland, it may with truth be said, that John of Tuam, for upward of sixty years, *magna pars fuit*; one of the most potent and conspicuous factors. Those sixty years of ceaseless activity on his part comprised a period of constant bitter conflict, involving questions of momentous importance to Ireland, and has never been exceeded in any country in the world in the intensity and persistence of the strife of mind with mind, or the far-reaching consequences involved in the struggle. There were giants on both sides; and among them all towered John of Tuam, conspicuous for quickness of perception, sagacity in detecting subtle plots and snares, for varied and profound learning, statesmanlike judgment, strength of intellect, power of argument, brilliant eloquence, undaunted courage, ardent patriotism, combined with unquenchable zeal for religion. Thus, when broadly considered, the life of Archbishop McHale, fitly styled the "Great Archbishop of the West," and also, with equal fitness, the "Lion of the Tribe of Judah," is the history of Ireland during the time in which he lived. "Born in

the penal days, he lived to see shackle after shackle struck away; and, mightiest and most trenchant of the strikers upon the galling irons of ascendancy in religion and rule—whether in the pulpit, the press or on the platform; whether in the professorial chair in Maynooth or on his episcopal throne—was John McHale. He saw three rebellions, a decade of land agitations, three famines, the tithe war, the struggle for emancipation, the war against proselytism, the great repeal movement, the stand-up fight between religion and godlessness, the national demand for home rule; and, from the ripening moment of his ardent and intellectual manhood to the last moment of his life, his hands, never wearied, were uplifted to the God of battles for blessings on, and in stout aid of, the cause of country and of creed. The anointed colleague of O'Connell; the foe of Derby, of Russell, and of Palmerston, the diary of this prince of the Church is the history of Ireland for the greater part of the century."

With broad and comprehensive views, such as we have just quoted from obituary notices of Archbishop McHale (some of them from the *London Times* and other journals that during his whole life were irreconcilably opposed to him and the measures he advocated), the author of the work before us undertook the congenial task of depicting in the two volumes before us the life and times of John McHale, Archbishop of Tuam. For the successful performance of this congenial task (for evidently it was a work of love) the author possessed rare advantages. He is thoroughly acquainted with the history of Ireland, with its people, of every rank and condition of life, and with the character and individual history and careers of all the distinguished personages whom the Great Archbishop of the West, on principle, lovingly and sagely counselled and mightily co-operated with; and also with those whose insidious schemes and measures this "MAN OF GOD," from devotion alike to country and the true religion, thoroughly exposed and resisted with all the power of his gigantic intellect and his heroic courage. In addition to these great advantages, the learned and indefatigable author has had free access to all the manuscripts and the treasures of the immense correspondence of Archbishop McHale, and the co-operation and assistance of his nephew and executor, the Very Rev. Thomas McHale, D.D., of the Irish College, at Paris.

That these great advantages have been turned to the best possible account it is needless to inform the many persons, in other countries as well as in this, who know or know of the distinguished author of these volumes. For this his well-earned reputation is an all-sufficient voucher. Nor is it necessary to say that his charming style befits his lofty, noble theme. The work is not only one of absorbing interest; it is simply invaluable to every one who would acquaint himself with the interior meaning and significance of the events which crowd Ireland's history during the present century down to this very day; and with Ireland's heroic contention for freedom, religious, educational, political and industrial; and with the profoundly important and far-reaching issues involved in the right and just solution of questions still pending between the people of Ireland and the British government.

Most gladly would we prolong this notice and mention in detail the important subjects elucidated in these volumes, but regard for limit of space forbids us.

As regards letter-press, paper and binding, their excellence well befits the value of the contents of the volumes. They are still further enriched by a number of admirably executed engravings: portraits of

Archbishop McHale, of Very Rev. Thomas McHale, D.D.; and pictures of holy places, shrines, abbeys, churches; and of the magnificent scenery of the West of Ireland in the midst of which John of Tuam so long lived, so devotedly labored, and so heroically, mightily fought for his God and for his *country*.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament. By *Crawford Howell Toy*, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1890.

"Judaism and Christianity" is a book fairly well written; it is in excellent type; the paper is very good, and the binding neat. Having said so much, we have said all the good that can be spoken of the work. We might, however, on second thought, add one more word of commendation, viz., that, in our humble opinion, the author is altogether too modest. The title he has chosen for his book is, we fear, rather misleading, and little calculated to bring prominently before men a correct notion of the wonderful intellectual treasures that lie within its pages. "A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament," is entirely too tame and unsuggestive a heading for a work so marvellous. How much more attractive would have been the following title: "Judaism and Christianity, from the Standpoint of a Rationalist," or, better still, "The Bible, under the Spencerian Microscope." At a glance, persons would then comprehend the high and pre-eminence nature of the work. The world would come to an early recognition of the author's greatness; and some fine morning, in the very adjacent future, he would have awoke to find himself famous.

But, seriously, would not either of our suggested titles have been more appropriate, and decidedly more truthful? For, under the smooth-sounding title of "A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament," the author has given us a book teeming with the most pronounced Rationalism. Professor Toy is a Rationalist. The calmness with which he sits in judgment upon the most sacred portions of Holy Scripture, and from its sacred pages not only eliminates every vestige of inspiration, but explains away every fact and doctrine, is astounding. Verily, hath learning made him mad. He has a yardstick by which everything must, and therefore can, be explained. What matters it that the whole world believes Christ to have been divine—that his miracles confirm it—that He, Himself, laid claim with his own lips to that high prerogative? Professor Toy, with all the pomp and ceremony that comes of conscious power, denies it. Professor Toy's great oracular theory does not so deliver itself; therefore, despite the world's belief, and the miracles of our Lord, and his own express claim to that title, Christ is not divine. Who says the death of Christ was in expiation of the sins of men? If our memory be not at fault, we have that doctrine from the lips of Christ Himself, which even our author admits in his reference to the words of Christ as handed down to us by St. Mark (c. x., v. 45); yet, on page 352 hear his reasoning:

"It is doubtful in what light He (Christ) looked on his own death—what significance He attached to it. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah represents the death of the servant of Yahwe as vicarious and expiatory in the general sense that God accepts the life of his pure and perfect servant in lieu of the punishment which would naturally fall on his erring people. Such may have been the view of Jesus; such is the general meaning of his declaration (Mark x., 45) that He came to give his life a ransom for many. He had a lofty consciousness of power; he may have felt that the sacrifice of his life was an essential step toward the

establishment of his doctrine. But, it would be only in a general sense that we would regard his death expiatory—the sense in which suffering in general is looked on in the Old Testament as an atonement (as in Isaiah xl., 2) ; and from the meagreness of the data, we must remain in doubt as to the precise nature of this feeling. The saying quoted above is the only one given in the Gospel of Mark in which he refers to this point. In this connection, he is speaking only of service as the mark of greatness for his disciples ; and he adds, in order to set them an example, that He, Himself, came not to be ministered to, but to minister. The concluding clause, ‘and to give his life a ransom for many,’ is not quite in the line of the preceding remarks. It may have been uttered by him as the expression of the culmination of his ministry ; or it may have been added at a later time, when the belief in the expiatory character of his death had become fixed. No such view is hinted at in the sermon on the mount. If Jesus really said it [this in the face of his words in Mark x., 45—the reviewer], it did not belong to his earlier teaching, but was reached by his later reflection, called forth by the continually thickening dangers that surrounded him, and his prevision of his tragic end.”

From the above quotation, we have a sample of the author’s honesty and fair-dealing, and of the effrontery with which he tramples on every recognized law of interpretation. He has a mission to fulfil, and at whatever cost he will accomplish it. For preposterous assumption, for calm, deliberate, and unruffled self-contradiction, we have never before, nor do we hope soon again, to meet the author’s like. On one page, as for example, on page 423, we have him saying that never in thought or word did Christ claim for Himself divinity. By the way, how did our author come to a knowledge of the thoughts of Christ as distinguished from his words? On another page, as for example, on page 350, we have our learned author admitting that Christ—in answer to the high priest, asking Him if He did really lay claim to a divine character—did declare Himself to be divine, and the Son of the Most High. What are we to think of such contradictions? And these cited, are only instances, examples, of many others of equal importance. The book, in our opinion, and we feel that we but give expression to the opinion of all fair-minded critics, has not one redeeming feature—if we except a fairly good style and the work of the publishers. We know not if the author has attained honorable fame, but we feel convinced that the work we have examined will bring him none. One virtue we should ever find in an author, viz., honesty of purpose ; but, we are sorry to say, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the author of “Judaism and Christianity” possesses that virtue.

SAYINGS OF CARDINAL NEWMAN. London : Burns & Oates. New York Catholic Publication Society.

Anything having relation to dear Dr. Newman must be most welcome to our readers. We have in this little book newspaper clippings of reports of his addresses and replies during the last forty years of his life. Some of them read almost like *verbatim* reports, and were on subjects of intense interest, such as : “On receiving a batch of converts,” “On receiving notice of his elevation to the Sacred College,” “On the relation between Catholics and Protestants in England,” “On the conversion of England,” “What a Cardinal ought to be.” We thank the editor for giving us this result of his loving care. As the publisher says : “They will be welcome to many. Nor is any apology needed at such a time for reprinting what is part and parcel of the history of the Church

in England during forty years." We think our readers will thank us for quoting "At the funeral of Henry Wilberforce" from the letter of one who was present at the funeral which took place at the Dominican Monastery at Woodchester in 1873.

"During the office a venerable figure came quietly up the aisle, and was going meekly to take a place on the chairs at the side; but H—— saw him and took him into the sacristy, whence he soon made his appearance in cassock and cotta in the choir, and was conducted to the Prior's stall, which was vacated for him. This was dear Dr. Newman. He followed the office with them, but after a while could contain his tears no longer, and buried his face in his handkerchief. At the end of Mass, Father Bertrand said something to Dr. Newman, and, after a little whispering, the venerable man was conducted to the pulpit. For some minutes, however, he was utterly incapable of speaking, and stood, his face covered with his hands, making vain efforts to master his emotion. I was quite afraid he would have to give it up. At last, however, after two or three attempts, he managed to steady his voice, and to tell us "that he knew him so intimately and loved him so much, that it was almost impossible for him to command himself sufficiently to do what he had been so unexpectedly asked to do—to bid his dear friend farewell. He had known him for fifty years, and though, no doubt, there were some there who knew his goodness better than he did, yet it seemed to him that none could mourn him more." Then he drew a little outline of his life—of the position of comfort and all "that this world calls good" in which he found himself, and of the prospect of advancement "if he had been an ambitious man." Then the word of the Lord came to him as it did to Abraham of old, to go forth from that pleasant home, and from his friends, and all he held dear, and to become"—here he fairly broke down again, but at last, lifting up his head, finished his sentence—"a fool for Christ's sake." Then he said that he now "committed him to the hands of his Saviour," and he reminded us of "the last hour, and dreadful judgment which awaited us all, but which his dear brother had safely passed through," and earnestly and sweetly prayed, "that every one there present might have a holy and happy death."

An admirable portrait of the great Cardinal, taken only a few weeks before his death, is the frontispiece of the book. It alone should induce every admirer of Cardinal Newman to purchase the little volume.

HISTORISCHES JAHRBUCH. Im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft, herausgegeben von Dr. Hermann Grauert. xi Band 4 Heft München, 1890. Kommissions-Verlag von Herder & Ko.

This number finishes the eleventh year of the historical bibliography of the Görres Society. The work appears quarterly, in January, April, July and October, and gives almost a complete list of all historical works and studies that have appeared in the various languages of Europe during the quarter preceding, together with reviews of the more important.

The present number has two long articles, one on the "Discovery of a Treatise de Unitate et Trinitate Divina," which is supposed to have been written by the famous Abelard; the other on the "Existence of a Liber Papiensis." Then follow three shorter articles: (a) the works of Gerhard Zerbolt van Zutphen, *De libris Teutonicalibus*; (b) the cataloguing of the Vatican manuscripts; (c) Statistics of the Franciscans in 1493. After these follow two lengthy reviews of the "Correspondence of Blessed Rhenanus" and of the "List of Students of the University

of Rostock." The fourth part is taken up with a full list of historical serial publications, historical magazines and historical articles in other magazines of the various countries of Europe and America. The fifth part gives in 70 pages all works on history which have appeared during the last three months, philosophy of history, universal history, church history, political history, history of the various arts and sciences, and literature. The work concludes with information concerning the special labors of the members of the Görres Society in historical research. This analysis of this one number will show how valuable, nay, indispensable this publication is to the historical student, and that no historical society or public library should be without it. It is wonderful what an amount of information is condensed in its pages. We hope that this Jahrbuch will become better known to American readers; for we are sure, if once known, it will be appreciated as it deserves. Its price is \$3.00 a year for subscribers, and \$2.00 for members of the Society. The cover of the book calls attention to the publication of the 2d volume of the "History of the Catholic Church in Ireland," by Dr. A. Bellesheim, with a notice that the 3d and concluding volume is now in press. The learned author gathered his materials from the secret archives of the Vatican, from the Archives and libraries of Rome, the English archives and British Museum. The work forms a fitting companion to the same author's studies on the "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," in two volumes. It is published by Franz Kirchheim, Mainz. First volume, 16 marks 60, about \$4.50. Second volume, \$3.75. The Blackwoods have published an English translation of Dr. Bellesheim's "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland," in four volumes. Father Hunt-Blair is the translator. We hope that they will be encouraged to do the same also for this "History of the Church in Ireland."

ORBIS TERRARUM CATHOLICUS, SIVE TOTIUS ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE ET OCCIDENTIS ET ORIENTIS CONSPECTUS GEOGRAPHICUS ET STATISTICUS. O. Werner, S. J. Freiburg Brisgoviae Herder, 1890. St. Louis.

"What a sublime sight it is to behold the west and the east, the whole Catholic world with its two hundred and thirty millions of souls differing in nationality and ritual, distributed hierarchically with dioceses, archdioceses, ecclesiastical provinces, patriarchates, all united most perfectly under one head?" These words of the learned and pains-taking author furnish us with the scope of his work. He gives the geography, brief historical data, and the statistics of every diocese in the Catholic world, not only those directly subject to the Pope, but also all those known as missionary, and, therefore, subject immediately to the Propaganda.

Judging from the historical notes given concerning the various provinces of the United States, the author has made a thorough search of the Jesuit archives in Rome. He furnishes the statistics of the Church in our land for the years 1830, 1842 and 1889. His authorities for the latest facts are Sadlier's and Hoffmann's Catholic Directories.

The *Missiones Catholicae*, published yearly by the Propaganda, give him the latest statistics of the missionary world.

As for the older dioceses, he tells us, he has made use of every trustworthy authority he could command.

At the end of the description of every province, he gives a map or plan, showing the evolution of the various dioceses from the parent root, with the date of the erection of each.

The result is a veritable encyclopædia, which, with the two atlases already published by him, should find a place in every library. The

general index gives the modern name and the Latin equivalent of every see and vicariate—an invaluable addition for every scholar. The publishing house of Herder—Freiburg and St. Louis, have brought out the work in a manner worthy of its high character.

THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD. A LIFE OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST. By the *Abbé Constant Fournier*. Translated from the fifth edition, with the author's sanction, by *George F. X. Griffith*. With an Introduction by *Cardinal Manning*. In two volumes. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Received, as were the two volumes which make up this work, too late for writing a careful notice, and such a one as they merit, we now simply make mention of them, reserving what we shall have to say of them for the next number of the REVIEW. We only add, that when the work first appeared, it received the warm commendation of the late Cardinal de Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen. In 1881, Pope Leo XIII. sent his benediction to the author, and many cardinals and a large number of the bishops of France gave it their express approval.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

IPSE, IPSA; IPSE, IPSA, IPSUM: Which? (The Latin various readings, Genesis iii., 15.) Controversial Letters in answer to the above question and in vindication of the Position assigned by the Catholic Church to the Ever-Blessed Mother of the World's Redeemer in the Divine Economy of Man's Salvation. In reply to the Right Rev. Dr. Kingdom, Coadjutor (Anglican) Bishop of Fredricktown, New Brunswick, and to others. By *Richard F. Quigley*, L.L.B., etc. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati.

EDWARD VI. AND THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. An Examination into its Origin and Early History. With an Appendix of Unpublished Documents. By *Francis Aidan Gasquet*, O.S.B., author of "Henry VIII. and English Monasteries," and by *Edmund Bishop*. John Hodges, Aagar Street, London. 1890.

THE CHRISTIAN VIRGIN IN HER FAMILY AND IN THE WORLD; Her Virtues and Her Mission at the Present Time. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. For sale by H. L. Kilner & Co., 103 S. Eleventh Street, Philadelphia.

MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ PÆDAGOGICA. Unter Mitwirkung einer Anzahl von Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von *Karl Kahrbach*. Band II., V., IX. Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticæ Societatis Jesu, I., II., III. Berlin: A. Hofmann & Comp. 1887-90.

THE HEART OF ST. JANE FRANCES DE CHANTAL. Thoughts and Prayers compiled from the French by the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. With Preface by Right Rev. Thomas S. Preston, D.D., V.G., etc. Benziger Brothers.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF JOHN LONGWORTHY. By *Maurice Francis Egan*. Notre Dame, Indiana; Office of the Ave Maria. 1890. For sale by H. L. Kilner & Co., Catholic Publishers, Philadelphia.

HOLY WISDOM, OR DIRECTIONS FOR THE PRAYERS OF CONTEMPLATION, etc. Written by the Ven. Father *F. Augustine Baker*, O.S.B., and arranged by R. F. Serenus Cressy, O.S.B. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates.

A NOVENA IN HONOR OF ST. CATHERINE DE RICCI, a Religious of the Third Order of St. Dominic. With a Preface by *Rev. J. O'Neill*, O.P. Benziger Brothers.

PSYCHOLOGY. By *Michael Mahr*, S. J. (Stonyhurst series of Catholic Manuals of Philosophy.) New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Brothers.

INDEX LECTIONUM QUÆ IN UNIVERSITATE FRIBURGensi, per menses hiemales anni, 1890-91, habebuntur: Friburgi Helvetiorum, typis Consociationis S. Pauli. 1890.

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JOHN HENRY NEWMAN AS A PREACHER.

SINCE the death of Cardinal Newman, his character, the phases of his life, his genius, have been reverently and lovingly discussed by men of every shade of thought. Yet, up to the present, no criticism of any length on his place as a speaker has appeared, a fact which must serve as an excuse for this paper. It is well to remark that the term speaker is not used in the technical sense it has taken on in the schools of elocution. In them it stands for elocutionary effect—posing, curved lines of gesture, and orotund tones. That all this was wanting to Newman, need hardly be told to those who have marked the angular outlines of his gaunt figure and heard of his thin, sweet voice.

Even when we accept the word in the higher sense of oratory, we may not apply it unrestrictedly to Newman. Who would speak of him in the same breath with Lacordaire, Webster, O'Connell, or Bossuet? Without doubt, more than one gift considered as necessary to the orator, was not his. First: He could lay no claim to the orator's primal requirement, that indescribable power which takes hold of and carries away the vast multitude, learned and unlearned; which Webster compares to "the outbreking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires with spontaneous, original, native force." In his Oxford days, those whom Newman influenced were the select spirits, and in the recent biography of him by Mr. Richard H. Hutton (the editor of the *Spectator*), it is noted that, "he never forgot that his special experience at Oxford indicated that he was more likely to affect deeply the cultivated than the ignorant, and everything he published from

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the time of his conversion to the present day has been almost exclusively addressed to minds of the same calibre and culture as those he was familiar with at Oxford." The "something essentially reserved and reticent in him" forbade the orator's surrender "to the glory of action and passion, to embodiment in life, to glow, and emphasis and self-expansion."

Again, Newman invariably, at least in his Oxford days, read from his manuscript. This precluded anything like action—action even of the high kind, Demosthenes defined as eloquence itself; and which Webster emphasized as "noble, sublime, god-like." Mr. Gladstone, when an undergraduate, listened to Newman, and thus sums up his ways in the pulpit: "Dr. Newman's manner in the pulpit was one about which, if you considered it in its separate parts, you would arrive at very unsatisfactory conclusions. There was not very much change in the inflexion of voice; action, there was none. His sermons were read, and his eyes were always bent on his book; and all that, you will say, is against efficiency in preaching. Yes, but you must take the man as a whole; there was a solemn sweetness and music in the tone; there was a completeness of the figure, taken together with the tone and with the matter, which made even his delivery, such as I have described it, and though exclusively from written sermons, singularly attractive."

A third gift must not be overlooked. When at his best, the great orator will be a man of the moment's inspiration. The Rev. Austin Phelps, of Andover, in his "Theory of Preaching," says: "It must be conceded to the advocates of exclusively extemporaneous preaching, that the extemporaneous ideal is the true one of public speech. A perfect orator would never write; he would always speak. The mutual magnetism between speaker and hearer would bear him on, without the aid of manuscript or memory." This gift was the source of Lacordaire's effectiveness; it was incompatible with the disposition of Newman.

For the lack of these gifts, which are of the essence of oratory, sacred or profane, he may not be reckoned among the great orators. But there is a class of speakers in which he stands a chief. Orator and preacher radically differ. Savonarola or St. Augustine may not be classed with the Curé of Ars or St. John the Evangelist. Gifts and accomplishments work out the purpose of the orator; character that of the preacher, "The man preaches, not the sermon, and the sermon is as the man," says Cardinal Manning. "The Apostles," he declares, "were preachers, messengers and evangelists. They were not pulpit orators." May it not be advanced without irreverence that the Blessed Saviour had little or nothing of the sacred orator about Him, although pre-eminently the Preacher!

This radical difference between orator and preacher is illustrated by the different results the work of the one produces in contrast with that of the other. The orator may communicate his feelings to an audience, move his hearers to the high tension of passion which constrains his own soul at the moment of inspiration; and this state may be as ephemeral in his hearers as in himself. Nay, though his own aim be lofty, it is possible that the quicker pulsation of the blood, the thrill of the nerves, the play upon the feelings, the smothered mutterings of the deeply-moved crowd, that all this while drawing men to listen, may not, however, induce them to lead better lives. The preacher, on the contrary, can be listened to but for this one purpose, personal edification. "An orator of high intellectual powers," writes the Abbe Mullois, in his brochure on "The Clergy and the People," "occupies a pulpit and leaves scarcely any results behind him. He is succeeded by one of ordinary attainments, who draws wondering crowds and converts many souls. The local skeptics are amazed. 'This man's style and logic,' say they, 'are weak; how comes it he is so attractive?'" And let this genuine preacher be a man of rare endowments, then hearts are touched as they were by Peter's words on Pentecost. Even if preacher and orator be possessed of singleness of purpose and purity of intention in equal measure, yet will the results differ; because in the preacher this purpose and this intention appeal to men as they do not in the orator. The orator's holiness is cloaked by his art, which is human, and by his method; for in his phrensy he must master men, lift them by main strength out of their prejudices and narrowness, and for the time mould them as the potter does soft clay. Power to overcome, to make his will the will of others, if he has not this he feels himself frustrated and leaves the pulpit ineffectual. "I mounted the pulpit firmly, but not without emotion," wrote Lacordaire, describing his first Conference in Notre Dame, "and began my discourse with my eye fixed on the archbishop. . . . He listened, his head a little bent down. . . . I soon felt at home with my subject and with my audience, and as my breast *swelled under the necessity of grasping that vast assembly of men*, and the calm of the first opening sentences began to give place to *the inspiration of the orator*, one of these exclamations escaped from me which, when deep and heartfelt, never fail to move. The archbishop visibly trembled. I watched his countenance change as he raised his head and cast on me a glance of astonishment. I saw that the battle was gained in his mind, and it was so already in that of the audience." If Lacordaire had failed to master, to grasp his audience, or if the inspiration of that immortal moment had been wanting, who will answer for what might have been?

The preacher has not this compelling power, or if it be within him, he realizes on it unconsciously. Nevertheless, his word pierces through to the marrow of the bone. Its penetrating qualities are not born of the throes of delivery, "noble, sublime, godlike," as it may be, but have their source in the subtler influences of a saintly life. Preachers and sanctity are inseparably connected; sacred orators there have been and can be, who were not, will not be saints. In the orator, therefore, holiness fills a minor rôle; in the preacher, it is the breath of his work, the principle of its life. The orator may be absorbed in a holy mission and turn all his genius to its furtherance; but in the preacher, let him have five talents or one, the holy mission it is which stands out. Genius and all else are lost sight of in the unswerving consecration of life to, and concentration of energy in, the missionary work. The great preacher's essence, then—that which makes him what he is—consists in this: He believes that he has been sent with a gospel, the promulgation of which absorbs life, talents and labor, and the first effect of which is his own sanctification. This is the character which, like the ineffaceable stamp of Holy Orders, gives his words their peculiar value.

However, if different in concept, yet it is possible that orator and preacher merge, or rather flux in the one personality; and this, too, in such proportions that a man might be something of a preacher and very much of an orator or *vice versa*. Amalgams of this kind are found here and there in history. St. Ambrose, "in cujus, infantis, ore examen opum consedisce dicitur, quæ res divinam viri eloquentiam præmonstrabat," was of this class, one would fain believe; and in greater perfection, since they had everything of the preacher and what of the orator is worth having, St. Paul and St. John Chrysostom.

If it can be shown that the character of the great preacher, which has been insisted upon was the character of Cardinal Newman, and that like the great preacher he was entirely wrapped up in an apostolic mission, then may it be fairly claimed that he is entitled to a place in their ranks.

First, Newman *believed* himself a man with a mission. Call to mind the scene in the sick man's room at Castra Giovanni: "Towards the end of May I set off for Palermo, taking three days for the journey. Before starting from my inn on the morning of May the 26th or 27th, I sat down on my bed and began to sob bitterly. My servant, who had acted as my nurse, asked what ailed me. I could only answer: I have a work to do in England." Bound up with this belief is his confident answer, when, seemingly sick unto death, he was asked for last instructions: "I shall not die, I shall not die, for I have not sinned against the light, I have not sinned

against the light!"¹ After getting back into England from this Mediterranean trip, his entire surrender of himself to the God-appointed work was such that it begat a very fierceness in his gentlest nature, so that he would have naught to do with anybody or anything which he discerned as not in accord with the undertaking he was set to. "I would have no dealings with my brother, and I put my conduct upon a syllogism. I said, 'St. Paul bids us avoid those who cause divisions; you cause divisions, therefore I must avoid you.' I dissuaded a lady from attending the marriage of a sister who had seceded from the Anglican Church." "What is perfectly clear," writes Mr. Hutton, "to any one who can appreciate Cardinal Newman at all, is that from the beginning to the end of his career he was penetrated with . . . a steadfast resolve to devote the whole force of a singularly powerful and even intense character to the endeavor to promote the conversion of his fellow-countrymen from their tepid and unreal profession of Christianity to a new and profound faith in it." Again he writes: "I think there is hardly any other instance in our literature of so definite and remarkable a literary genius being entirely devoted, and devoted with the full ardor of a brooding imagination, to the service of revealed religion."² Newman had call on the proudest place in literature, but devotion to religion so consumed his life that it is a problem whether for years he knew of his literary powers.

Secondly, this consecration of life and concentration of energy begat in him, as in every genuine preacher, personal sanctity.

Examples of men who were wrapt up in religious movements and yet could not show the credentials of self-abnegation, of holiness, are to be met with frequently enough in history. It is a theological theory that "a man may teach others to be perfect, who is not perfect himself." Newman was not an example of it. There were ascetics at Oxford in his day, but his asceticism was incomparable, and almost magical in its influence. The case of Ward may be adduced in proof. Unworldliness in an apostle was for him a first and necessary mark of the divineness of the religion he preached. "The great note which attracted him towards a religious teacher," writes Wilfred Ward of his father, "was personal sanctity. 'No mathematical axiom,' he wrote, 'is more certain than this moral one, that where the fruits of holiness show themselves there is the Holy Ghost, and there is really true doctrine.' " Again, "Holy men are the great fountains from which moral and religious truth flow to the world; if a revelation be given, they are the authorized interpreters." In Newman, Ward found this "great note": "all and more than all of that exalted ethical char-

¹ *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, p. 83.

² Hutton's *Life of Newman*, pp. 2-15.

acter which had won him to Dr. Arnold;" and of what he preached, "the idea of holiness as the one aim was the pervading spirit."¹ So powerfully did this element in Newman effect Ward, that the first sermon the latter heard in St. Mary's changed his whole animus towards Tractarianism. "Henceforth the movement attracted instead of," as previously, "repelling his moral nature." Professor Bonamy Price's notes, anent the incident, are pertinent to our present purpose in more ways than one. "Ward of Balliol," he wrote, "is a man of great power. He came up to Oxford a Benthamite, a believer in virtue being the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In fact, he was a Rationalist. He was a very energetic talker of great power of reasoning. . . . His chosen field was the region between religion and skepticism. He felt little scruple in winning over converts to Rationalism by very elaborate assaults in sophistry. After awhile John Henry Newman commenced the Tractarian movement. He was vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, the Church of the University, also. He preached regularly on Sunday afternoons, at five o'clock, from St. Mary's pulpit. His sermons, as is well known, excited an interest as widely spread as it was keen among his audience, eager to hear more, sharply stirred up by the genius, the delicacy and subtlety of thought, the intense religious feeling, and, above all, by the flashes of unspeakable mystery which pervaded his utterances. The excitement they created scattered waves of feeling far beyond the precincts of the University. Ward was often pressed to go and hear them, but he impetuously refused. 'Why should I go and listen to such myths?' What he heard of the nature and effect of these sermons revolted him. At last one of his friends laid a plot against him. He invited him to take a walk, and brought him to the door of St. Mary's Church precisely as the clock was striking five. 'Now, Ward,' said he, 'Newman is at this moment going up into his pulpit. Why should you not enter and hear him once? It can do you no harm. If you don't like the preaching, you need not go a second time, but do hear and judge what the thing is like.' By the will of God, Ward was persuaded, and he entered the church. That sermon changed his whole life." From that time until he became a Catholic, Ward's motive of faith was, "John Newman says it is so." Surely, then, Newman's holiness may be described as "almost magical in its influence."

Over and above the essentials which constitute the *genus* of great preachers, each one has traits which individualize, and to

¹ *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 90-73, 1880.

² *Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 80-97.

these must we look for the explanation of a preacher's *particular* influence, *i.e.*, how it comes that he holds sway over one class of minds, or two classes, and not over a third. Nobody who hears him but will be the better for it. But as in the preacher it is "the man who preaches, not the sermon;" and as this man in the concrete is of philosophic, or metaphysical, or practical, or scientific, or apologetic, or interpretative, or historical, or poetic, or mystical turn of mind—so it comes that for those of his hearers who have mental or spiritual leanings or endowments such as his own, he has peculiar attractions, is the lodestone which keeps them pointed aright. And in this phenomenon lies the explanation of the fact that from the days of John the Baptist, and of Peter, Apollo, and Paul—each great preacher has had his own devoted adherents, his school of disciples.

The higher the intellects, the more diversified their tendencies, and the greater the number influenced, these things attest the wider range and greater power of a particular preacher's traits. It may be said without exaggeration that all choice minds have been influenced by Newman. The traits which gave him this sway as well in his writings as in his preaching, though in a special way they ministered to his pulpit success, are well worthy of consideration.

Among the first of these come his insight and fearless intellectual honesty. "I know no writings which combine as Cardinal Newman's do," says Mr. Hutton in the *Contemporary Review* for May, "so penetrating an insight into the realities of the human world around us in all its detail, with so unswerving an inwardness of standard in the estimating and judging of that world." Only such insight as his could produce that wonderful passage in the "Apologia" in which "he contrasts the moral scenery of the actual world with that which he would have expected from his knowledge of the Creator, whose holiness is to him the deepest of all certainties"¹—a passage wherein the key mystery of all mysteries is tersely and luminously set forth in a way betokening a grasp of intellect almost angelic. And for the thoughtful, religious mind in centuries, maybe, uninspired man has not delivered a more pregnant, wider-reaching word than this:² "Ten thousand difficulties do not make one doubt, as I understand the subject; difficulty and doubt are incommensurate Of all points of faith, the being of a God is, to my own apprehension, encompassed with most difficulty, and borne in upon our minds with most power."

The mental honesty of Newman, which compelled him to say

¹ Hutton's *Life of Newman*, p. 5.

² *Apologia*, p. 265.

things just as he saw them, never exaggerating a proof or minimizing an "objection" was also a source of strength. Everybody acknowledged this virtue of his, in favor of which strange testimony can be quoted. Skeptics headstrong in the blind faith that they monopolize truth, that no man can see as clearly as they do, and not be of them (children, too, imagine that the horizon of their own field of vision shuts in the wide, wide world), have asked whether at heart this man was not with them, and whether he was not "only saved from infidelity by the deliberate exercise of a sturdy will to believe!" Certainly this conjecture of theirs is an open acknowledgment that Cardinal Newman understood their premises, and stated them accurately and fairly. Of course his profounder intelligence fathomed the weakness of those premises, pronounced their deductions unsound, and gave reasons for the faith within himself in words which will ever be "a light for after times."

This insight and this mental honesty were fraught with weighty results :

First. A listener could not avoid his conclusions, bulwarking himself behind objections whispered to his heart, dreaming "He does not make due allowance for this fact, or fairly apply that principle; therefore, I can remain rightfully unconvinced." No! Newman realized one's position better, measured its strength more precisely than one's self, and showed up its weakness in that cogent form, which wrung from the bound-to-be-skeptical mind the contradictory apothegm "Newman's logic is the science of assumption!"

Secondly. To these qualities we can trace the specific elements of his methods of thought, which enabled him clearly to discern when he was within the lines of Logical Necessity, when he had crossed thence and entered within the boundaries of Logical Possibility. Metaphysics could not play jack-o'-lantern with him, decoy into treacherous places where the ground gives beneath a firm tread just at the moment sure-footing is badly needed. Therefore, would he accompany his logic with matter of fact, or of revelation, or of Catholic doctrine; and when logic got beyond their command he would call a halt as to the absoluteness of its deductions; a "might-be" in such a case was well and good; but never a "Therefore, this is." Though a thorough dialectician, he did not press metaphysics beyond the sphere of their certainty, or maintain, as some have, that all spheres are theirs. The hold this position gave Newman on thoughtful minds cannot easily be estimated. Many had revolted against Dogmatism and gone off into Rationalism, or Liberalism, or Utilitarianism, or Agnosticism, because they had re-discovered the strength of the old difficulties,

and the inadequacy of the old answers, and certain dogmatists by their assumption that an unanswerable difficulty meant a well-grounded doubt—"an objection" as they termed it—had got men to fancy that faith somehow or other was at stake, so that a man could not rationally believe without accepting as sufficient explanations he knew to be weak. Newman, to whom dogma was dear as the very eye of faith, would deny the assumption and preach no such necessity. Here came into play his great distinction; difficulties and doubts were not commensurate terms. Harmonies could be attempted, were praiseworthy efforts; but their values were not absolute, for

"Thus God has willed
That man, when fully skilled,
Still gropes in twilight dim."

Men listening to his limpid words found in them nothing of speciousness: difficulties they knew as actual—for example, the idea of a watchful Providence, taken in connection with the overwhelming world-wide presence of sin and the narrow confines of Christianity—were not removed by being metaphysized into the non-existent. He demonstrated that the position of the strong mind, which, in more than one case, had he not thus demonstrated, would ever have been nonplussed by doubt or hardened by unbelief, was this: Such and such a truth has evidence all-sufficient to merit assent; this and that difficulty exists which I cannot meet; any explanation which I can see is not altogether satisfactory. But because of this I must not question the truth itself. So to do would be to question the ability of my reason to discern evidence. Consequently I am held to assent, admitting that for me while on earth there can only be faith. God who is in heaven knows the secret; in the eternal days when other days are run it may be that His wisdom will illumine my gloom.

Another unique source of effectiveness in, as well as out of, the pulpit was that element of Newman's thought which elevated the imagination and the feelings into an avenue of truth. Other thinkers had analyzed the union of the heart with the intellect as a merely mechanical mixture, each ingredient preserving its peculiar properties. He would have it that the union was truly chemical; its result as truly a new product as is the product of oxygen and hydrogen, when in proper proportion they are subjected to heat. Hence for him, as a preacher, feelings and imagination took on a dignity and importance he could not trifle with. In the theory of orators the imagination and feelings were merely instruments, chords to be played upon in order that the music evoked might charm the will into acceptance of what the intellect proposes.

The "appeal to the feelings" is a bit of rhetoric. Preachers have taken much the same view. Newman differed from all. Imagination and feelings had for him an addition to make to our reception of truth; in a sense they actualized the concept of it. The assent of reason, which is "rational," became through their alchemy "real." His system was not based only on what schoolmen difference as the "rational faculty." "After all," he writes in the "Grammar of Assent," on page 94, "man is not a reasoning animal; he is a seeing, feeling, contemplating, acting animal." "No one," he says again, "will die for his own calculations; he dies for realities," and reason alone too often stops at calculations or conclusions; it takes the whole man to get a reality, a conviction. With such views it is evident he would look upon the imagination and feelings of his hearers as all-important factors in the assimilation of the truth which he would have them receive; and consequently the unsparing efforts (and these produce or make up his wonderful "realism") on his part to get possession of them. Moreover, this latter he could not do by escalade or storming as can the orator; for to him they would be worthless if carried by these means; as adders to, or in themselves receivers of, truth they should be dealt with as fairly, as calmly, as methodically as reason is dealt with in a demonstration. A "real assent," as he considered a conviction which was the outcome of all these faculties, was for him of untold importance,—without such assents "we have no intellectual moorings, and are at the mercy of impulses, fancies and wandering lights, whether as regards personal conduct, social and political action, or religious." Consequently the necessity that these assents be solidly founded. Meditation will enable us to apprehend that this conception of his was certainly a "sui generis source of efficiency in his pulpit work."

When dealing with the theory of oratory, this paper noted that it was possible for the concepts of orator and preacher to merge or flux in one person. That there was a period in Newman's life when his delivery took on an oratorical aspect is a surmise not without foundation. The period was likely a brief one, confined

¹ A rather strong estimate of the philosophic system of Newman, in which limiting metaphysics, differencing between "doctrinal and real assents," and between "doubts" and "difficulties" are salient points, was that of the elder Ward, expressed in a conversation with Professor Jowett, of Oxford: "When I last saw him (Ward)," the latter writes to his son ("Ward and the Oxford Movement," Appendix D, p. 439), . . . "I asked him whether he thought there was any hope of a great Catholic revival, and in what way it might be effected. The answer was curious. He said, 'Yes!' and he thought that the change would be brought about (1) by a great outpouring of miraculous power in many parts of the world; (2) by the rise of a new Catholic philosophy, for which portions of Cardinal Newman's 'Grammar of Assent' would form a fitting basis."

to the days of his neophytism in the Church Visible. And why could it not be that, like "the literary gift which remained in him quite latent for so long a period,"¹ so also, "the innate reserve," gave way, in some degree, to "glow and life and self-expansion" in the warmth of his spiritual new birth? His first utterances, after conversion, the "Sermons Addressed to Mixed Congregations," "have a definite tone and genius of their own . . . they . . . contain the most eloquent and elaborate specimens of his eloquence as a preacher. . . . They represent more adequately Dr. Newman as he was when he first felt himself 'unmuzzled' (to use the phrase used by Mr. Gladstone after the University of Oxford had rejected him, and after he was no longer bound by the special etiquettes of a university representative) than any other of his writings."²

In these, and his subsequent "Lectures on Anglican Difficulties," occur passages so graphic, that it is hard to imagine how a highly strung nature could deliver them without real eloquence. In such passages, Newman dramatizes—enacts the tragedy before you, and this by means of the playwright's own tools, dialogue and personification. Take, as an instance of this, a well-known passage from the sermon on "Neglect of Divine Calls and Warnings,"³ in which "he delineates the agony of a soul which finds itself lost, and what the world is meanwhile saying of the person 'now no more.' . . . 'Impossible!' he supposes the lost one to exclaim, on hearing the judge's sentence; 'I, a lost soul! I, separated from hope and from peace forever! It is not I, of whom the judge so spake! There is a mistake somewhere; Christ, Saviour, hold Thy hand one minute to explain it! My name is Demas; I am but Demas, not Judas, or Nicholas, or Alexander, or Philetus, or Diotrephes. What! Eternal pain for me! Impossible! It shall not be!' And so he goes on till the reader drops the book in horror and sickness of heart.

"Now take the suggestion of what the world may be saying of him who is thus helplessly wrestling against unendurable anguish, and refusing to believe its reality. The man's name, perhaps, is solemnly chanted forth, and his memory decently cherished among his friends on earth. His readiness in speech, his fertility in thought, his sagacity or his wisdom, are not forgotten. Men talk of him, from time to time; they appeal to his authority; they quote his words; perhaps, they even raise a monument to his name,

¹ "It was not until after he became a Roman Catholic that Dr. Newman's literary genius showed itself adequately in his prose writings, and not until twenty years after he became a Roman Catholic, that his unique poem was written."—Hutton's *Life of Newman*, p. 11.

² Hutton's *Life*, p. 197.

³ Hutton's *Life*, p. 198.

or write his history. 'So comprehensive a mind! such a power of throwing light on a perplexed subject, and bringing ideas or facts into harmony!' 'Such a speech it was he made on such and such an occasion; I happened to be present, and never shall forget it;' or, 'It was the saying of a very sensible man;' or, 'A great personage, whom some of us knew;' or, 'It was a rule with a very worthy and excellent friend of mine, now no more;' or, 'Never was his equal in society, so just in his remarks, so versatile, so unobtrusive;' or, 'I was fortunate to see him once when I was a boy;' or, 'So great a benefactor to his country and to his kind;' or, 'His discoveries so great;' or, 'His philosophy so profound.' O vanity, vanity of vanities, all is vanity! What profiteth it, what profiteth it! his soul is in hell."¹

Yet, even in dramatic passages, in the passion of Newman there could have been "no torrent, tempest or whirlwind," or else he has been read mistakenly from the outset. So deep and intense a nature in expressing itself on the problem of life, a problem which it had solved only after years of painfulest experience, would take on a treble earnestness; but in its manner there would be a calmness—a strong control, in itself aweing as well as fascinating, and at times almost startling, while the voice in answer to the soul's call for interpretation would exhaust its gamut of sounds and modulations, but never rant nor tear the throat. All this is borne out by comparing the delivery of Newman just after his conversion with his delivery while in Oxford. Mr. Gladstone, as we have seen, wrote of him at Oxford: "There was not very much change in his voice; action, there was none." Mr. Hutton, who heard him in the "Lectures on Anglican Difficulties," in the oratory in King William Street, Strand, where Toole's theatre now stands, says: "I shall never forget the impression which his voice and manner, which opened upon me for the first time in these lectures, made upon me. Never did a voice seem better adapted to persuade without irritating. Singularly sweet, perfectly free from any dictatorial note, and yet rich in all the cadences proper to the expression of pathos, of wonder, and of ridicule, there was still nothing in it that any one could properly describe as insinuating, for its simplicity and frankness, and freedom from the half-smothered notes which express indirect purpose, was as remarkable as its sweetness, its freshness and its gentle distinctness."

The time of limited unreserve in Newman, as far as one who has not had the privilege of personal observation can judge from writings, was limited to the early days in Catholicism. This "short interval of something like passionate ardor" over Newman's pulpit

¹ Hutton's *Life, etc.*, p. 198.

work as his course of thought "reverted to its older temper,¹ the temper which discouraged anything like impulsive action, and which placed large faith in time and the gradual effect produced by the implicit action of honest and anxious reflection on an observant and vigilant mind." And in this, his normal temper, was his preaching done until the last.

A paragraph going the rounds of the papers about Newman's later preaching demands a qualifying and a dissenting word. The paragraph is as follows:

"Like many other great preachers Cardinal Newman was only strong when he used the pen. Says a careful critic in *The Expositor*: 'All his printed sermons were read from manuscript, and when the pen was out of his hand his felicity of diction quite failed him. He told me himself that he never saw the congregation he was addressing, a fact which I suppose, by itself, shows that he had no oratorical gift. But when he read with slow and musical enunciation the exquisite sentences he had penned in the privacy of his room there was something almost magical in its effect. His two volumes of Catholic sermons are in various ways better than his Protestant volumes, and these were all written and carefully corrected for publication. But the spoken sermons he used not infrequently to deliver in the church were by comparison deplorable. They were apparently unprepared, and were without plan or point. Occasionally, when he uttered some familiar phrase, he would do it with force and feeling; but throughout he was rambling and dreary, and while listening one had to stimulate one's imagination and memory to feel assured that this was the great Dr. Newman, the unrivalled classic preacher of St. Mary's, Oxford. I often used to lament that he did not write out and read something that would be half the length and yet a thousand times more effective; and while I think his attempts at spoken sermons were partly due to an idea that preaching ought not to be reading, I am bound to add that I believe indolence, and a sort of contempt for the congregation he had to address, were partly responsible for them. I can recollect his rushing up to the library a few minutes before he had to be in the pulpit, in fact while the 'Gloria in Excelsis' was being sung, to find something to talk about.'"

The qualifying word is, that admitting the distinction drawn between orator and preacher, it may be loosely said that "Newman had no oratorical gift." Apart from this, however, is it absolutely true that a speaker who sees not his audience is *de facto* shown to

¹ Hence we are not surprised to read in the *Tablet* of July 5, 1851, that in the first of the series of lectures on "The State of Catholics in England," delivered in Birmingham, Dr. Newman read his lecture and remained seated.

have no oratorical gift? He certainly would be thus deprived if he did not *feel* them.

The word of dissent is: because Dr. Newman did not prepare his sermons in manuscript for his Birmingham congregation, it by no means follows that he held them in "a sort of contempt." A writer in the *Catholic World*, for November, 1878, recounting the incidents of a visit to Dr. Newman, says: "I well remember the day when, *inter alia*, I asked Dr. Newman if he thought he was casting his pearls before swine. . . . 'Well,' said he, 'of course there are pearls, but I don't know about the swine. I will find you to-day as pure and noble a soul dwelling in the breast of a blacksmith as there is in the bosom of any duke.'" Contempt for anybody because of deficiency of culture would certainly have been John Henry Newman's least likely failing; and to put anything but his best, and this in the form and words he judged most useful for their nutrition, before the poor and ignorant of "the brethren in Christ," would have been for him to fail where sensitive honor (and who more sensitive of honor than he?) would not brook slightest neglect. Is not the hospital patient as sure of thorough treatment in the hands of the honorable physician as his wealth-burdened client? But could it not be feared in the case of Newman, that his *labor limæ* in manuscript-preparation, would have prepared a dish fit, indeed, for the taste of the writer in *The Expositor*, but unpalatable to his children, the factory hands and workmen? It is noticeable that at charity dinners given to poor children, they turn from the cook's *chefs d'œuvre* with disrelish and eat with zest the roast beef and plum pudding. Moreover, Cardinal Newman's "attempts at sermons" could not "be partly due to an idea that preaching ought not to be reading," since during years and years he read, but could be due to the fact that Catholic congregations, as a general rule, are not used to and do not enjoy sermons which are read. Indolence, it may be granted, could, in another man, account for lack of preparation, but not in one constituted as Newman was. Not lack of preparation, but the very limitations of his greatness, perfectly at home in Oxford, but ill at ease in Birmingham, would account for the ill-success of his spoken sermons, if unsuccessful they were.

Occasions, when up to the hour of the "Gloria in Excelsis" of the Sunday's Mass, time has not been found in the busy days of a busy life for sermon preparation, occur oftener than once in the lives of saints. Do we thence conclude that they were indolent, or held in half-contempt the souls to whose weal they consecrated laborious years?¹

¹ Notice has been taken of the paragraph in the *Expositor*, because men at large,

One property of Newman's preaching worthy of largest comment, has been once mentioned, but not dealt with at length in this essay, namely, his realism. Others have done the subject justice; and after all, its root is the intuition and sanctity which have been expatiated on, for it is the fulness of light and fervor that "give a spiritual condition of mind which we call reality." This, his striking characteristic, therefore, brings us back to the primary one of the preacher—consecration or sacrifice of self to a holy mission, of whose truth the best credential is a holy life. His consecration was nigh perfect, his abnegation saintly; fittingly, then, may this paper conclude with a line on these, the preacher's proudest notes. The line is Newman's; his last tribute to a dearly loved friend—his own meet elegy:

" 'Then the word came to him as it did to Abraham of old, to go forth from that pleasant home, and from his friends and all he held dear, and to become'—here he fairly broke down again; but at last lifting up his head, finished his sentence—'a fool for Christ's sake!' "

not acquainted with its head and source, are apt to look upon it as a fair testimony. It is not this; it comes from one who considers himself to have a grievance against the Oratory, and especially against its late illustrious head. No one believes the faithless disciple who takes advantage of old association to throw slurs upon his master—*when the latter is dead.*

EDEN AND THE CŒNACULUM.

IT was shown in a former article¹ that the mysteries of the supernatural order can only be made known to intelligent creatures who are in the inchoate, initial state of preparation for the intuitive vision of God, through a divine revelation to be received by faith in the veracity of God. This revelation was made to the angels in a way accommodated to their sublime, intellectual nature. Their probation consisted in the exercise of faith in this revelation and a corresponding obedience to the revealed will of God. Those who made the act of submission which God required of them, were immediately elevated to the state of beatitude. It is not with them that we have to deal in the present discussion, but with man.

The supernatural order in which man has been constituted has its own remarkable peculiarities, and presents certain problems which have been found by many to be very perplexing and difficult of solution.

The Christian faith teaches that the first parents of the human race were, at their creation, constituted in a state of original integrity and righteousness. They were subjected to a trial of their faith and obedience as a condition of the permanence of this state, and of translation, without dying, to the eternal state of beatitude, after their term of natural life on the earth was finished. All their posterity were included in this gracious covenant, so that the human race would be entitled to the privileges of this original constitution, if its head and father fulfilled its conditions; but would forfeit them, in common with their first parents, if he failed to do so. He did fail and fall from grace, and consequently his posterity are conceived and born in a state of lapsed or fallen nature. The human race was not, however, left without hope of redemption and restoration. The supernatural order was not abolished. It was changed. The Son of God took on Himself the expiation of the original sin and of all the actual sins of mankind, by the suffering and death which, in due time, He underwent in His human nature. He merited the restoration to grace and the reopening of the gate of heaven, the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting for the children of Adam, and became the Redeemer and Saviour of the world.

Now, the problem which this Christian creed presents to every

¹ "The Christian Agnostic and the Christian Gnostic," January number.

thinking mind is this: How could there be this solidarity of all men under one head and representative?

This is one of those questions, which we said in our first article, can only be solved by Catholic theology and by means of a correct idea of the supernatural; but remains insoluble in every other system of professedly Christian doctrine.

Let us take the one and only system of Protestant theology which is coherent and logical, the Calvinistic.

On this theory, the state of original integrity and righteousness was merely the ideal, normal perfection of pure human nature. When Adam sinned, he lost all spiritual goodness and capacity for good works, became totally depraved, liable to the inexorable anger of God and to everlasting torments. We all sinned in him and fell with him. Either we were actually existing in Adam, and actually sinned, or we were regarded as one with him, and his sin was imputed to us as if we had really committed it. So we are conceived and born totally depraved, under a doom of everlasting sin and torment. We are incapable of doing anything except sinning, and yet bound to keep the whole law of God perfectly. Christ has become a substitute for a certain number of men, the elect, has suffered the penalty of sin and obeyed the law in their stead. All these are justified by the imputation to them of the righteousness of Christ, and immediately after death are translated to heaven. The rest of mankind are passed over and left to endure their doom without any power of escaping from it.

It is needless to waste time in proving that this doctrine is absurd and incredible. Probably, no one who reads these pages has the slightest inclination to believe it. The majority of those whose formal creed is Calvinistic have been and are trying to modify and soften its harshness. It is impossible, however, to avoid its logical conclusiveness, which is as inexorable as the embrace of the *Eiserne Jungfrau*, at Nürnberg, so long as the premises from which these conclusions are inferred remain unaltered. While the normal state and destiny of the human race is regarded as in the purely natural order, there is no alternative except to deny outright that there ever was an Eden and that man was ever banished from it. With Eden, Bethlehem and Calvary, in short, all Christianity, vanish into the region of myths.

The correct idea of the supernatural changes the whole aspect of things. As when, in the early morning, an entire landscape of mist, with mountains, valleys, lakes, streams and castles, made up of real objects exaggerated and distorted, and of vaporous clouds, all mixed together in a fantastic picture, is dissipated by the rays of the rising sun; so in this case. As the true landscape, with its real features, is disclosed in the sunlight, so the genuine Christian

creed is presented to our view in the light of this luminous idea of the supernatural.

We have already shown that the whole state of man, and his ultimate destination in a purely natural order is devoid of any exigency, capacity or aspiration for the direct, immediate, intuitive vision of God as He is in His divine essence. This natural order is one which God might have established for the whole universe in perfect consistency with His wisdom and benevolence, and might have left as the ultimate limit of His creative work, the completion of the movement of return to Himself as final cause. The elevation of intelligent beings to a higher plane, and the introduction of a higher order into the universe, ordained for the highest possible culmination of the creative act in the Incarnation and the assimilation of many adopted sons in glory to the Son of God, is a purely gratuitous act of goodness, a grace in the strict and proper sense.

The attainment of this nobility, this truly royal dignity, could justly and reasonably be made dependent on any conditions which would not violate any natural rights. The Son of God Himself underwent a humiliation, a passion, a death unparalleled by anything else in the annals of the universe, on the way to His coronation with glory. The angels had their trial and probation on the way to receive their crowns.

The human race, as being one species, having a common origin, having a common relationship of consanguinity, a solidarity of social and political development, have a constitution proportioned and accommodated to their nature. The race was instituted in one pair of first parents, from whom all individuals were to inherit their nature, with its rights, endowments, and all things springing out of human life, whether appertaining to the body or the soul. The gift of grace and the right to celestial beatitude were also made an inheritance, transmissible along with the human nature. The inheritance was not given absolutely, but conditionally. The offspring of Adam were not entitled to it simply because they received existence by natural generation from him. By virtue of this natural generation they received only human nature. The natural inheritance became a vested personal right in each individual, simply by the fact of his conception and birth. But the gifts of grace to Adam were superadded to his nature, as a gratuitous ennoblement and enrichment, which he could transmit to his descendants only in virtue of a special covenant. This covenant contained the condition that, if he transgressed a certain precept, all his supernatural gifts would be forfeited. He did transgress, and, consequently, the remote and initial right of the human race to the inheritance of the estate of nobility lapsed and was

made void. It has always been recognized as just human law that hereditary dignities and possessions, when forfeited by the crime of the actual possessor, may be forfeited for his heirs, although not accessories to his crime, or not even born. In like manner, as the special honors and endowments conferred on Adam for himself personally, and for all his race, were purely gratuitous, and not due to human nature, it was just that they should be withdrawn when the original crime was committed. There was no actual participation in the transgression of Adam by his posterity, not one of whom could sin, because not one existed. There was no imputation of his sin to this unborn multitude of future human beings, which would be not only unjust, but impossible, because purely fictitious. There was no wrong done to any individual of the human race. Adam and Eve sinned knowingly and wilfully, and were, therefore, liable to suffer in their own persons the just punishment awarded by their Creator. Their posterity were deprived of the privilege of receiving sanctifying grace with their conception, and the right to supernatural beatitude on condition of keeping the law during the time of probation. The nature of Adam was not changed by his sin; it was despoiled and denuded. The nature of Louis XVI., of Charles X., of Louis Phillippe, of the First and Third Napoleon, was not changed by their dethronement, and their offspring and relatives did not receive by natural heredity an inferior character and personal qualities. So human nature in Adam and Eve was not depraved, either totally or partially, and their descendants do not inherit a depraved nature. The pure nature of man is the nature of a rational animal. He is a spirit having intellect and will as its constituent elements, together with an exigency and a capacity for animating an organic body. Man is substantially and essentially completed by the union of an organic body with the soul, which is its form and vital principle. He has not lost anything pertaining to his essence, either in soul or body, by the fall. He retains his reason, his free-will, and his bodily organs. Everything in his nature is good, and he is capable of knowing the truth, choosing the good, and acquiring and practicing moral virtues.

Moreover, the supernatural order was not abolished, the destination to celestial beatitude was not changed, when our first parents were expelled from the Eden of their primitive state. The state of repaired nature succeeded immediately to the lapse from the state of original integrity and righteousness. In this state the destination to supernatural beatitude is the same. Sanctifying grace has the same entity. The way to the final end is by faith, hope, the love of God, acts and works which have a merit of condignity. The difference is in the method and the environment.

Each one is conceived and born in the state of privation of supernatural grace. He must be regenerated and sanctified by an act subsequent to his natural generation. The natural endowments and privileges which accompanied the state of grace in Eden and made the earthly abode and life of men Paradisiacal, have not been restored. The discipline of penance, conflict, suffering, has been substituted for the discipline of innocence. The law of death has regained its power over the human body, and until the ascension of Christ even the souls of the saints were excluded from the kingdom of heaven and detained in Hades.

Another grievous misapprehension of Christian doctrine must be corrected, and this can easily be done by applying the principles already explained to this particular instance.

It is affirmed, namely, that God requires of men, as a condition of his favor, to perform what is to them impossible. Faith is the first and indispensable condition of justification. From faith proceed hope and charity, and those good works of faith and love which alone are helpful to salvation. But man is naturally incapable of exercising these virtues and producing these acts. They can proceed only from a supernatural principle. The grace of God is absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, God requires of men, even when they are destitute of grace, to fulfil these impossible conditions, under penalty of His displeasure and of severe punishment.

Now, we must make a distinction which our previous explanation of the difference between the natural and the supernatural order enables us to make.

There is a moral law which is one of the laws of nature. To keep this law is a natural obligation. It is a rule of conduct prescribed to reason and free will. Its precepts relate to duties which arise out of the natural position of man in the world toward his Creator and his fellow-men and toward the purpose and end of his own life. This law must be known to him and recognized by his conscience before he can be held accountable for keeping it. Particular precepts must be known to him before they can bind his conscience. He is bound to keep the law just so far, and no further than he knows it, or can and ought to know it. The law cannot affect an infant, an idiot or a person who is asleep or otherwise impeded from making use of his reason. So, also, a man must be able to keep these precepts. He is bound to preserve his own life. But if he fall into the sea and have no means of escaping from drowning, he is not bound to save his life. Whenever a man is bound to keep a certain precept, he is able to do so, whether the precept requires him to do a certain good action, or to refrain from doing a bad action. It is false that man, in his lapsed state and without grace, is unable to do anything morally good, and

must necessarily sin in his every thought, word and action. If he does sin, he sins freely, with power to the contrary. If he does what is according to his reason, what his conscience dictates as right, he does a good moral act. He can love virtue and hate vice. He can abstain from murder, theft, calumny and lying. He can resolve to order his life according to reason. He can labor in the field or the workshop, pay his debts, give alms to the poor, succor the afflicted, love his neighbor, obey the laws of his country, go to battle in her defence, suffer death sooner than desert his post of duty. He can improve his mind, seek after truth, be honest, faithful and honorable. He can love God and offer to Him worship and prayer. All that God requires of him is to do what he can in keeping the commandments, and avoiding deliberate, wilful transgressions of known law.

Suppose, now, that he does not know that God has made a revelation! He is not bound to believe in it. Suppose that he knows only the Old Testament! He is not bound to believe in the New. Suppose that he does not know the true church! He is not bound to submit to it.

When the truths of faith are sufficiently proposed to him, he is bound by the natural law to receive them. When the precept to be baptized, and to fulfil the other duties of a Christian is proposed to him, he is bound to obey. Yet, to believe, to hope, and to love in the right manner, is above the faculty of human nature. Faith, hope and charity are supernatural acts. Grace is necessary to their performance. And how can one be bound to do that which does not lie in his power? It is true that it is not in the power of man to elicit these acts without grace. But he is not commanded to do this. Grace is a common gift, granted to all. It is like air and water, diffused everywhere. Every one can make the beginning of his conversion to God by the right use of reason and free-will, aided by divine grace, and if he does this, he will receive more grace which will enable him to make the acts of faith, hope and love, and ever after to keep all the commandments, and by good works merit eternal life.

Those who do not know the Christian revelation, are not deprived of sufficient grace to live up to what light they have. If they do what is in their power, God will give them, in an extraordinary way, the sanctifying grace which will make them His children and heirs of eternal life, before their souls depart out of this earthly state of existence.

This is a rapid and succinct sketch of the state of mankind after the fall. Human nature was reduced to a state substantially like that which the state of pure nature would have been. Despoiled of supernatural gifts, but not depraved, it was good, but incapable

of supernatural virtue and good works, and needing divine grace to restore it to the plane of its original destiny. This divine grace was provided for all through the redemption promised to our first parents, and given to all who were able and willing to receive it. Moreover, there was a merciful provision for all who sinned, to obtain forgiveness and recover lost grace, so long as their moral probation continued.

Now, arises to view another difficulty, from the actual history of mankind. This is, the general prevalence of moral and physical evil in the world. There is much natural and supernatural good manifest in the history of mankind from the beginning until now. Nevertheless, the ignorance and degradation, the crimes and miseries presented to view by the annals of mankind give apparent reason to those who take a dark view of human nature, and who question the universality of divine grace. According to these gloomy theologians the history of mankind proves what they assert to be the teaching of the Bible; that by the sin of Adam, human nature was plunged into wickedness and misery, that men are naturally bad and irresistibly inclined to sin and vice, which bring after them the necessary consequences of misery and punishment in the present and in the future life. The great mass of mankind, according to them, are doomed to sin and misery in this world and in the world to come. A small number only, are excepted from this general doom, and by the special mercy and grace of God are partially delivered from their evil natures, so that they become somewhat better than the rest, are in a greater or less degree made virtuous and holy, and after death are translated to a state of complete and unending holiness and happiness.

Others, again, casting away all Christian belief, or even all religious and moral ideas, make out of human history only some kind of evolution and development of nature by necessary laws, tending either to an optimistic result by a slow progress or to the final absorption in the original nothingness of the pessimists.

The question about the origin and nature of physical and moral evil now confronts the mind, the problem of all problems in all ages.

What is evil? It is not substance or being and has no essence. This is a most important and fundamental truth, and without a clear conception of it, no progress can be made in a solution of the problem of evil.

Being, truth and goodness are all one and the same thing, under different aspects. They have no positive entities opposed to them as contraries, but only negations. The Being who is the "I am Who am," who is Being existing by His essence in the

infinite plenitude of being, in One, having no other who is like Him, and no other who is unlike. He is absolute Truth. That is, He is what he is, without contradiction or inconsistency in any of His attributes. And He is the intelligible, perfectly comprehended by His infinite intelligence. He is the absolute good. That is, He is infinitely lovable, the object of His own supreme complacency. He is the archetype and source of all finite, contingent being. Everything which He has created has received from Him its actual existing essence, which is a diminished copy of Himself, and therefore, in so far as it has being, has truth and goodness in a limited measure. These finite essences lack, each one, some finite being and good which is in other essences. The inorganic bodies lack organic life, the plants lack sensation, the purely sensitive animals lack reason, pure spirits lack the qualities of bodies, and all, singly and collectively, lack the self-existence and infinite perfection which is in God. This has been called the metaphysical evil which is inherent in all creatures, and is a recession from absolute being toward nothing. It is not, properly speaking, evil, but only a possibility and liability to evil properly so called. Evil is, properly speaking, only the lack of some mode of being and some good quality in a creature which it ought to have, that it may perfectly conform to its type, and fulfil its reason of being. It is a disorder arising from some defect or excess of the constituents which make up the due and complete perfection of anything, according to its proper place and purpose in the world. A picture-frame, though made of costly stuff, is evil by excess if it is too large for the picture and the wall, evil by defect, if it is too small. One day, a witty gentleman, looking at a small dog which barked incessantly and had no tail, remarked: "That dog is an illustration of St. Thomas' definition of evil; he is evil both by excess and defect."

The consideration of merely physical evil in the world need not detain us. A plan which proceeds by way of evolution and development may be better than one of the instantaneous creation of the universe in its ultimate perfection. Such a plan, by proceeding from a state of chaos through stages of gradual reduction to order and unity, involves an incidental, partial and temporary toleration of disorder and physical evil.

The problem is the question of moral evil in rational beings. What is it, and how does it arise?

Intelligent creatures, whether they be purely intellectual or specifically rational, are essentially beings having intellect and will, the latter being dependent on the former and directed by it. The object of intellect is truth, the object of will is the good. There is no faculty which by its nature terminates in falsehood, none which has

evil for its object. Error in the intellect is an accident, a failure and deficiency in apprehending and judging according to the objective reality of things intelligible. Fault in the will is a misdirected love of the good issuing in a choice of some inferior good, not suitable to a rational nature, and thus, lacking that kind or degree of good which makes it a fit object of rational choice. This lack is what makes it to be evil and the choice is morally evil. Yet, it is an apparent good, apprehended as the true and eligible good by an error of judgment. It is judged by the intellect to be the good which is most desirable to make the person happy, and is chosen under this aspect of good and not under the aspect of evil. A being whose intellect is so perfect that it is liable to no error, cannot be deluded into this wrong choice. He is impeccable by reason of his unerring apprehension of the true object of his love and choice.

But in the inchoate, imperfect state of rational existence, there are a multitude of particular, inferior goods which attract the natural desires in various directions, and sometimes in opposite ways. The supreme good, and the relation of inferior goods to this supreme felicity, are not so clearly manifest to reason as to compel its assent and determine its judgment. It is capable of erring in its practical judgment, and the person to whom this rational faculty belongs, having free will, can determine himself to a perverse judgment and a perverse choice, which is an act morally evil, a sin. This is the source of that freedom of the will which is the liberty of choice between contraries, that is, between moral good and moral evil. The will is left undetermined and in equilibrium, because of the obscurity of the object which is the true and supreme good toward which it ought to direct its desires and efforts. The good in general, it must seek by its nature. But all the particular goods which attract it do not show their connection with the supreme good so clearly as to determine its choice. It can turn whichever way it determines itself. It is variable and flexible. And this is the condition which puts the rational creature in a state where it can become subject to a moral probation.

We are inclined to wish that God might have spared all rational beings this trial, by giving them a brighter light, so that they could not err in choosing the way to felicity. But this is a vain wish. We know, both by reason and faith, that since God has chosen to put His intelligent creatures in a way of probation, this must be consonant to His goodness, justice, and benevolence. Still more, it must be the best way, in view of the highest good of the universe, and His own greatest glory. We would gladly understand how and why this is so. Can we find the reason and the motive for choosing this way of probation, in spite of its risks, and not-

withstanding the results which have followed, viz., the inroad of moral evil, and the loss of the final and supreme good by a multitude of those who have been put into the combat in which it is won or lost? In part, we can. It is more glorious for those who win to win by victory and merit; to be enthroned, as under God, the authors of their own perfection and final felicity. This sublime and supernatural destiny was not due to their nature; it was a free, gratuitous grace. It could, therefore, be offered on any reasonable conditions, and be made a prize to be contended for on the arena of probation.

The probation of the angels was over, and their eternal state irrevocably fixed before the probation of man began. The principal arena of the conflict between good and evil is on this earth. The period of human probation has already lasted for thousands of years, and is not yet finished. The contest is chiefly between the Son of God and Lucifer, the originator and head of the rebellion; and the object contended for is the dominion of the earth and the human race. There are two standards; the standard of Christ, and the standard of Lucifer. The trial, on which salvation depends, lies in the choice between those two leaders. Lucifer, the old serpent, came into the garden of Eden; deceived, and seduced to his allegiance, Eve, and through her, Adam. Thus, paradise was lost for all mankind; and paradise can be regained only by labor, sorrow, penance, and combat. The heaviest burden in this toilsome, painful, long-continued march and warfare of mankind for the reconquest of its lost inheritance, has been laid on the shoulders of the Redeemer and King of men, Jesus Christ. But all share in it; in its dangers, labors, and sufferings; their future and final destiny depends on their loyalty, valor, and perseverance in this struggle for eternal life. The history of the world is a record of the vicissitudes of this war, whose field is co-extensive with the earth, and whose duration is coeval with time.

The wide extent, the multitudinous numbers, the long series of ages, the complex relations embraced in the history of human probation, make the subject a difficult one, and, in many respects, a perplexed and perplexing problem. The chief difficulties are summed up in the one general and comprehensive question, how to show that all men without exception are under conditions of probation which are just and benevolent.

II.

We have already seen that the kingdom of heaven has to be won by passing successfully and victoriously through a period of probation.

Also, that the first trial of humanity in the person of Adam

resulted in his defeat and fall. That by the fall the gratuitous and supernatural gifts conditionally granted to mankind in Eden were forfeited. That to the first covenant of grace immediately succeeded another with very different conditions. It was explained that the offspring of Adam, inheriting from him nothing but human nature despoiled of grace, are conceived and born in a state which, in its entity, is the same with that which would have been the state of pure nature in a purely natural order. Moreover, that through the universal grace of the Redeemer, all human individuals are capable of receiving from Him singly the supernatural endowments by which they are restored to a state in which they are able to merit eternal life.

In this state of nature lapsed and repaired, human probation is in the exercise of free-will, keeping the natural law by living virtuously, and also by the aid of divine grace, keeping the supernatural law disclosed by divine revelation, so far as that is known and sufficiently proposed to belief.

We have now to complete and finish the treatment of our general topic, the relation of the natural and supernatural orders. That is, we have to present the idea of that revelation and order of grace of which Jesus Christ is the Author and Finisher, and to define more clearly the relation between the natural order and the human kind in its native-born condition, to this order of grace and redemption.

The difficult part of the subject lies in the problem of the conditions of human probation under this new order, in view of the actual state of mankind as shown by history and experience. Those who are thrown into perplexity or even into doubt and unbelief by this difficulty, cannot see that the majority of men have any just and fair probation in this life according to Christian doctrine. It seems to them that men have not a sufficient natural ability to keep the law of nature, that they are naturally and unavoidably more or less depraved and vicious. Their imagination presents a dreadful picture of the wickedness and misery prevailing in the world in all times and places. Then, again, the religion of positive revelation with all the means of grace belonging to it, has not been universal in time and place. Therefore, it does not appear to furnish an adequate provision for the moral and spiritual needs of mankind.

A certain old school of theologians, which has still a few survivors left, thought it quite enough to explain all the moral and physical evil in the world by total depravity, and total depravity by the sin of Adam. They say that we are all made holy and happy in our first parents who were created in the Garden of Eden. We sinned and lost all, and now mankind are under a curse, and

being swept down by the tide which flows into the abyss of everlasting perdition. The elect receive infallibly the grace of faith through the divine mercy and are saved, and it is for them alone that a way of salvation through Christ has been opened. Those who revolt against this dire and dismal doctrine desire to invent some other theory, either by giving a new interpretation to Christianity, or contriving some scheme of philosophy, or lapsing into pure materialism and agnosticism.

We cannot do any of these things, or accept any kind of desperate measures for cutting the gordian knot. There is some solution of this problem, whether we are able to discover it or not. We cannot shut our eyes to moral and physical evils in the world. But it is perfectly certain that God is just and good, and that He cannot condemn any rational creature for anything except his own deliberate and wilful sins, or require of him anything which is impossible.

Men have taken extravagant views of human nature in opposite directions. Some have made out men to be gods, others demons, and others beasts. At present this last opinion is fashionable, whereas, formerly, the human intellect was almost worshipped, and was supposed to be a measure of all truth, and the human will was exalted to the position of an autocrat with its categorical imperative. Now, certain men who claim to be the leaders in the most advanced science, reduce man to the common level of animals. They assign him a bestial origin, and although they kindly allow the more perfect men a superiority over their kindred, they depress the lowest class of men below the more perfect beasts.

Now, it is an unquestionable fact that man is an animal, according to his genus. He is also rational, and his specific definition is rational animal, which places the human species at an immeasurable distance above all other species of animals. Yet, although by his rationality he is akin to purely intellectual spirits, he is the lowest of all intelligent beings. He could not be any lower than he is by nature in the scale of being, and still remain intelligent. For his mode of cognition by the instrumentality of sensitive perception of sensible objects, is the lowest that is conceivable. Moreover, he is not actually intelligent and possessed of the use of reason at the beginning of his life. His ignorance in infancy is absolute, he is but feebly rational in the early stage of his mental development. Long and arduous labor is necessary for him, that he may be educated and instructed. His mind is very dependent upon the body, and his whole nature is dependent on the physical environment which surrounds him, and subject to its laws.

By the fall of the first progenitors of the human race, and the

universal lapse from the primitive state of Eden, man has been reduced to a merely natural condition. In this condition, he is subject to those vicissitudes and disasters to which all organized beings on the earth are liable. This is in the physical order.

In the moral order, he is subject to passions by which he is inclined to the sensible good pertaining to the animal life. By his reason and the higher tendencies of his nature he is inclined to the good which is proportioned to his spirit, and pertaining to his spiritual life. He has free-will for the moderator over these opposing impulses, and his ethical task consists in their close regulation according to reason and the dictates of conscience. The task is more difficult in the actual order of things, than it is by the very nature of the case. For this actual order and environment have not been arranged in view of a state and destiny within the plane of pure nature. They have been made so as to fit in with a dispensation of grace. Left to itself, and unaided, human nature is in the condition of a weak person obliged to do too much and too heavy work. Therefore, in keeping the natural law, especially in cases of difficulty and strong temptation to the contrary, the aid of grace is morally necessary; much more, is this the case, when the regenerate man must begin and carry on to the end the life of faith, hope and charity.

Now in a state of probation of this kind, where the end to be pursued is sublime and supernatural, where the virtue required is above human capacity, what wonder that the upward road should be the more difficult and the downward path easier? Each one being left to choose for himself, the moral and physical miseries which have come upon such a great number of men who have taken the broad highway leading to death, must be ascribed to their wrong and fatal choice. The largest and worst part of the actual evils with which mankind has been afflicted, is not to be laid at the door of Adam, of original sin, or of human nature, but to the wilful, actual sins which men have committed.

It may seem to a superficial consideration, that it was rather hard on the children of Adam to make them suffer the loss of Eden without any fault on their part. When the sin of our first parents had been forgiven, when they were restored to grace, when the Redeemer was promised, and the way of salvation opened to all mankind, why should not the original covenant have been renewed, and all the privileges of the pristine state of Eden have been restored?

St. Francis of Sales, has said that the state of redemption is worth a hundred times more than the state of original righteousness. It is not always and necessarily best in the end for rational creatures on probation to be placed in the most exalted and privi-

leged position. Probably Lucifer was the most highly endowed and favored of all the angels, yet he and a multitude of other similar spirits fell from their sublime elevation. Adam and Eve sinned in Eden. Many of the most wicked men have been the most highly gifted by nature, the most favored in respect to advantages of education, and the most enriched with means of grace and opportunities of acquiring virtue and holiness.

On the other hand, many who have been placed in the most unfavorable circumstances, surrounded by the greatest temptations, have preserved their innocence and practiced heroic virtue; or, after a period of sin and vice, have repented and become models of holiness.

Falling from a low elevation is not so dangerous and hurtful as a fall from a great height. Sins against faint light are not so grievous as sins against clearer light. The weakness of human nature, the difficulties which beset the path of virtue, the struggles which men have to undergo, the many miseries with which human life is surrounded, open the way to a wonderful display of divine mercy in pardoning transgressions and reclaiming wanderers from the way of salvation. Probation is prolonged to the end of rational life. And at the close of life, when the departing soul is unconscious of everything which comes to it through the senses, it is open to the direct influence of God, and his angels, and can by the aid of extraordinary grace repair the negligence and faults of a whole life, securing in a moment by one act, its eternal well-being. Although after death there is no probation, yet there is an intermediate state of expiation, of purification, of preparation for that state of perfection and blessedness for which the soul is unfit at the moment of departing from the body.

Such a vast and complicated drama as that which is presented by the history of mankind in general, and of the thousands of millions of its single individuals, cannot be comprehended by our limited intelligence and imperfect knowledge. This world is the Waterloo of the universe. It is the great battle-field between the Prince of Light and the Prince of Darkness, with all the powers of good and evil arrayed in two contending hosts. It is the arena on which free-will is left to its fullest scope, working out the problem of human probation, in order that the heroism which human nature, especially when elevated and inspired by the grace of God, is capable of, may achieve the noblest works, gain the most splendid victories, and merit the most glorious crowns. It would be absurd to suppose that the human mind can fully understand and explain the reasons for permitting the rebellion and warfare of intelligent creatures against their Creator, which has brought on this conflict between good and evil. Vain would be the attempt to

show how each one of the human race who attains to the full use of reason has a sufficient and fair probation, in which he can form his own character and secure his own destiny. We must fall back on certain fixed principles and indubitable truths, from which we unerringly draw the conclusion that every rational creature must be treated with justice and benevolence by the Creator. Those who are placed in the conditions of moral probation have all the means and all the self-determining power necessary to pass through it successfully. If they fail through their own fault, it is just that they should be deprived of that supreme good which is not due to nature, but a boon of grace promised to those only who win it by merit.

Those who do not attain to the full use of reason are not in the way of probation at all. They are not accountable, and the pure goodness of God will provide for their final perfection and felicity without any effort on their part. No rational creature will ever forfeit any of his natural rights or suffer any penalty except in accordance with a strict rule of justice tempered with mercy, and in consequence of his deliberate wilful transgression of the law of his Sovereign Lord dictated to him by his own conscience.

In order to solve completely this great problem of the permission of moral and physical evil in the world we should be able to see the consummation of the great drama of human history; to see the final and perfect triumph of good and subjugation of evil, and the good brought out of evil by the wisdom and power of God. This we cannot do, for the end has not yet come. But we have the prediction of the Sacred Scriptures to assure us of the final result:

"He must reign until He has put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy which shall be destroyed is death; for He has subjected all things under his feet." (1 Cor., xv. 25, 26.) "God hath exalted him and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee may bend, of those who are in the celestial and the terrestrial and the infernal regions, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father." (Phil. ii., 9-11.)

"I consider that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared to the future glory which shall be revealed in us. For the expectation of the creation awaits the revelation of the sons of God. For the creation has been subjected to vanity, not willingly but on account of him who hath subjected it in hope; for the creation itself shall be liberated from the servitude of corruption into the liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groans in the labor of parturition even until now."—Rom. viii., 18-22.

and on the Sunday following, He appeared alive among His disciples. And there, on the following Pentecost, the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles, who went forth and preached to the people, thousands of whom were converted and baptized. Here, then, is the focus to which all the rays of grace, from the first promise of the Redeemer to the parents of the human race in Eden converge, and from which they diverge through all future time to the end of the world. The centre of light is the Person of Jesus Christ, for Whom all previous history was a preparation, and Whose action upon mankind is the theme of all subsequent history to its final consummation. In all our histories, the birth of Jesus Christ, the year of Our Lord, is the central date, and all the ages of the world are divided into those which were before and those which are after Christ. The culminating point of the natural and supernatural orders is in Him. He is the flower of human nature, the Man by excellence, free from all distinguishing peculiarities in the character of different races, and from all limitations of idiosyncrasy, the ideal type and form of humanity, in infancy and manhood, in suffering and glorification. The human character of Jesus Christ is one in which the ideal makes the reality of the object of mental apprehension and admiration self-evident, aside from all extrinsic evidence. It is absolutely without its like, in history or in the creations of imagination, above the capacity of the highest human genius to conceive ideally, much more of any of the early Christian writers and preachers who have preserved and handed down memorials of their Master. If there should be discovered somewhere a masterpiece of art, the mere sight of it would show its excellence and prove that it was the work of a master. If it were far superior to the works of the greatest masters, it would be evident that an artist superior to them all had produced it. The ideal of the character of Jesus Christ, the portrait of His person, which has been handed down to us, shows that he was the living original, whose beauty was the work of the Creator. The same may be said, in due degree, of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Creator, who made Adam and Eve in their pristine excellence, made the second Adam and Eve in their surpassing perfection. The greatest painters have found no subject equal to the Madonna and Child. And although Raphael and Murillo cannot adequately express the divine beauty of the real Jesus and Mary, yet their pictures charm the most cultivated and the rudest alike, in a way that no other representations can approach.

The living Jesus was the original of that ideal which was impressed upon the minds of His disciples.

The clearest and most vivid impression which He has made upon the minds of that first, and of all subsequent generations, is

that of His absolute sinlessness, of the moral perfection and sublimity of His character, which is unique and unapproachable. He gave the example of that high and pure morality which He taught. And it is this moral perfection of conduct and teaching, this actual exhibition of an ideal excellence and virtue in human nature, which is the evidence of His superhuman dignity, of the supernatural origin and character of his sanctity. Canon Liddon and Dr. Fisher have drawn out the argument for the divine character and mission of Jesus Christ, from his human perfection, in a way which has not been equalled by any other writers in the English language.

The disciples, and the early Christians of the primitive Church, believed in Jesus Christ as not merely a prophet of God, and a teacher of religious and moral truth, but as the Son of God, equal to the Father, Who had become incarnate by assuming a human nature, and being born of a Virgin. They preached this doctrine as the one which they had learned from their Master. Their written memoirs and records, as well as their oral tradition, related His own discourses and instructions, in which He distinctly declared Himself to be the Son of God, the Sovereign Lord and Judge of the world, Who laid down His own life by His own free will, to atone for the sins of the world, would take it again by His resurrection, ascend into heaven, and there reign over the Church and the whole earth until the consummation of His kingdom.

This profession of His own divinity would have been inconsistent with His moral purity and perfection if it had not been true. The hypothesis of those who would represent Jesus Christ as merely a perfect man, either a prophet of God or simply a moral teacher like Confucius and Socrates, will not bear a moment's investigation.

In the Cœnaculum, on the evening of Holy Thursday, we behold a divine Prophet, Priest, and King, forestalling, instituting, the sacrifice and priesthood of His New Law, legislating for the kingdom He was founding in His own name, and immediately before His own death and burial.

He was condemned to death for declaring Himself to be the Christ, the Son of the Living God. He was crucified and laid in a sepulchre, sealed and guarded by soldiers, in order to put an end to his Messianic claims, and to disperse His followers. He had openly committed Himself to rise from the dead on the third day, and had ceded the whole world to His Apostles as the heirs of His dominion.

From His crucifixion began His triumph, the victorious march of His religion to the conquest of the world. Faith in His resurrection was the animating principle which inspired the multitudinous host which rallied around His standard. The evidence

was the testimony of His Virgin Mother, the Apostles, and hundreds of other witnesses, whose loyalty, love, and courage were founded on their personal sight of His adored countenance and figure, their hearing of His words, during forty days; their view of His ascension, and their consciousness of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon them, according to His promise, on the day of Pentecost.

No possible cause can be assigned for the belief in the resurrection, and the effects which followed its public proclamation, except the fact itself. The Apostolic Church is a monument attesting all the facts of the birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, just as the Washington Monument is an attestation of the character and deeds of the Father of our country. It is a monument witnessing to the fact that from heaven He sent the Spirit of God upon the Apostles, giving them power to accomplish a superhuman work, the propagation of the Gospel of the crucified Redeemer in the world. These few men, destitute of all natural means, were utterly inadequate for such a work, in the face of the Jewish hierarchy, the Roman pagan empire and Greek philosophy. Yet, Christianity seized upon that treasure of divine revelation which Judaism had preserved, upon the wonderful political organization of Rome and upon Greek civilization, made them its subservient instruments, twisted these three strands into a golden chain which it bound around the world and brought it captive to the feet of Jesus Christ. Within seventy years, the Apostolic Church was spread through and beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, and within a century and a half its particular dioceses with millions of the faithful under their numerous bishops were established among all nations from the Tigris to the British Islands. Before its third century closed, Christianity was so widely spread and so powerful that the Roman emperors, trembling for their idolatrous religion, which they regarded as indissolubly bound up with their political state, set all the might of their physical and moral power in motion to crush and exterminate it, only to give it the occasion of a complete and final triumph in the fourth century. This was no human but a divine work. It was the Divine Providence which had directed the destinies of the nations since their beginnings that sent Jesus Christ into the world at the critical moment to inaugurate a new epoch and a new, world-wide movement. If we consider only what He could receive from nature, from His human birth and the environment in which He lived, His character and work cannot be reasonably explained and accounted for. A simple Jewish youth of humble origin, without any other than the restricted education of the synagogue, however pure, religious and patriotic, however fer-

vent, philanthropic and self-sacrificing, however gifted with the endowments of genius and fascinating in person and speech, could never have soared into such a high atmosphere of the ideal, above all the real world known to Him, as to preach a moral doctrine and found a religion which should be world-wide, and raise humanity above all its former levels. What is true of the Founder of Christianity, is still more evident of the men who were His disciples and the apostles of His religion. They were naturally incompetent for the enterprise which they undertook, and incompetent in the most supreme degree. It was, therefore, a superhuman and supernatural power which wrought in Jesus Christ and His Apostles. The work which they accomplished was the work of God. The Messiah, the Christ, was the chief apostle or accredited messenger and ambassador of God; and His Apostles, sent by Him as His vice-gerents, were the subordinate ambassadors of God. Their teaching and precepts had a divine sanction. The perfect and unparalleled sanctity of Jesus Christ, His resurrection from the dead and ascension into heaven, the heroic sanctity of the Apostles and their associates in the missionary work and the wonderful success of their labors, were the evidences of their divine mission. The proclamation which Jesus Christ personally and through His Apostles made of His true and proper divinity, is, therefore, in the highest degree credible, and rests on the veracity of God. The motives of credibility by which the revelation of God through Jesus Christ principally, and through the prophets who preceded and the Apostles who succeeded Him, are numerous and irrefragable. But the fact of the resurrection, the foundation of the apostolic church as the pillar of testimony to this fact, and the conquest of the world through faith in the resurrection and the divinity of Jesus Christ, amply suffice. God is revealed in the Person and through the teaching of Jesus Christ, giving evidence of Himself through His resurrection, and the manifestation of His supreme power from heaven through His earthly kingdom, the Church. He is God, descending from heaven and personally teaching and redeeming mankind through His human nature.

Here is the culmination of the supernatural order, of supernatural grace and supernatural revelation. Here, also, is shown the relation of the entire natural order to the supernatural and its subordination to it. The whole course of human history in its foregoing periods is a preparation for the coming of Christ, and its subsequent course is a progress toward the consummation in His second coming. The prophecy of His first coming has been verified in His actual birth, life, death and resurrection. The prophecy which He made to His Apostles, and especially to their Prince, that they should rule the world, has been, to a great extent,

fulfilled. It is credible, therefore, that it will be completely fulfilled when the great drama of human history attains its consummation.

The obstinate incredulity of the Jews, the stubborn, hitherto insurmountable obstinacy of the Mohammedans, the vast extent of paganism, are undoubtedly an apparent objection to the universality of the redemption and the religion of Jesus Christ.

But, on the one hand, we are not obliged to regard these multitudes of non-Christians as altogether destitute of grace and left to unavoidable perdition. And, on the other hand, we cannot foresee what is to be the future extension of Christianity and how great will be its moral conquests over incredulity and heathenism.

That part of the scroll of human destiny which is yet unrolled is not legible to us, and we can only make some probable forecasts and conjectures of the closing events of the history of the world.

We have, however, the most certain ground for expecting the final triumph of Jesus Christ over all the powers of evil, and that day of the restitution of all things in which the dominion of good order shall absolutely and universally prevail.

Here let us pause upon the summit which we have gained, and contemplate the admirable harmony and unity in which the natural and supernatural are combined in one order, and the universe brought to its most perfect consummation in the Incarnation.

We began by affirming that the Incarnation is the climax and apex of the whole order of nature and grace, the meeting point of God and His creation. In the Person of Our Lord Jesus Christ, human nature in its ideal perfection, the microcosm containing all grades of being in the universal cosmos, is united with the divine nature.

He, who is the Man, *par excellence*, the representative of the human race, is, by the divinity of His person, the Sovereign and the Judge of mankind, the Arbiter of its destinies and the Supreme Lord and Disposer of the universe. The wisdom, the goodness and the power of Deity are in Him, transmitted through the medium of a perfect humanity, intellectually, morally and physically of the same essence with our own, but raised to the most sublime supernatural plane of intelligence and sanctity.

He is the Author of our spiritual and immortal being, the Light of our natural intelligence, our Law-giver, the revealed and revealing Word of God upon whose Truth our faith rests; and He is the source of all those laws which regulate the whole order of irrational and inanimate nature which is the object of the physical sciences.

Such a theme as this cannot be treated in an adequate manner in a few pages. As we are about to close, there is time only for

a brief peroration, in which to sum up and bring to a point, the principal scope I have had in view. What is this? It is to aid the *Fides quærens intellectum*, the searching of minds in which is the habit and virtue of faith, to understand the reason of belief, and to aid the inquiry of those who are seeking after a faith which is rational. It is also to aid those who are seeking for evidence of the universal love of God toward His creatures, behind the cloud of moral and physical evil which envelops the world.

The first demand is answered by the meeting of the highest human wisdom and science with the infinite divine truth, in the mind of the Incarnate Son of God. It is Truth from its primal source which we receive from Him, and which is credible with a certitude surpassing physical, moral or metaphysical certitude, when it comes to us from His mouth. The vast boundless realm of that which is itself intelligible, is intelligible to us, only in a very limited degree, in our present state of ignorance and feeble intelligence. The greatest part of human history is unknown to us and undiscoverable. The history of the earth, of the solar system, of the physical universe, the laws of nature, the principles and facts which are investigated by the natural sciences, are unknown to a much greater extent than they are known. In the higher region of metaphysics, the human mind can take but a short flight without becoming asphyxiated by the rarity of the atmosphere. The greatest part of what we do know in all these branches, with certainty or probability, we assent to on faith in human testimony and the authority of a few men of science. Everywhere we are met by problems which cannot be solved, and surrounded by an ocean of mystery whose coast-line has never been reached. Nevertheless, rational thinkers do not abandon themselves to skepticism or withhold their assent to facts and truths which are within the scope of our faculties.

It is far more reasonable to believe in all the truth revealed by a Teacher Who knows all things and Who cannot deceive. Perfect human intelligence and science in immediate contact with the Divine Omniscience is a just measure and rule of imperfect reason and knowledge. It is to that infallible authority we submit our minds in the obedience of Christian faith. This submission is no derogation to the dignity and honor of our rational nature. On the contrary, it is an act of supreme homage to human reason raised to its highest power. The human intellect of Jesus Christ is a prism through which the pure truth of the divine essence is transmitted in refracted rays to our minds. It is an evidence that the intellectual light in our mind is a participation in the eternal divine light; and that if the power and range of our vision were adequately increased, all invisible and obscure objects in the heaven

of truth would become clearly manifest to us as they are to beatified spirits. On a cloudy day we know that above the clouds the sun is shining in full splendor. So, likewise, the cloud of unknowing which hangs over our earth is only an exhalation from the surface of ignorance within the narrow bounds of our horizon. There are no contradictions in the sun of truth, or obscurations in its light. Difficulties and objections are phantasms of our imagination. We have motives of certitude for all rational and revealed truths. If their harmony is not in all points apparent, and the solution of their problems sometimes baffles our reason, common sense, as well as conscience, dictates that we should confide with tranquillity in the primal and eternal truth in God, and in the divinised mind of Christ, and await the clearing off of the mists of ignorance.

The only alternative is to wander away and be lost in the sloppy, muddy marsh of Agnosticism.

The first demand of our intellect for a sure basis of faith in revealed truths which transcend our understanding is, therefore, satisfied by the Incarnation of the Son of God in human nature.

The second demand of the heart, as well as the mind, is for assurance of the universal love of God, and the merciful as well as just treatment of every human being.

This demand is satisfied by the wonderful manifestation of love and mercy, which the Son of God made to men by appearing and living in humility and meekness, and by dying on the Cross. The destinies of all mankind are in His hands, who drank to the dregs that chalice of bitterness of which all men taste. These destinies we can safely entrust to such hands as these. Out of death He brought life, and the ignominious Cross was transformed by Him into a standard of glory. He overcame evil by good, and brought the highest good out of that decide which was the climax of all evil. We may, therefore, calm all our trouble in respect to the existence and extent of evil in the universe by submission to His sovereign will, which is not only power, but also essential wisdom and essential love.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

IS faith intellectual? Unquestionably faith is the highest exercise of the intellect, if we regard it, in a Catholic sense, as supernatural; for, if faith be supernatural, then God is its giver, and so faith is a divine guidance of the intellect. It has been objected by Rationalists that faith is only temperament, or that, at the best, it is only determined by our surroundings. Even granted, say the Rationalists, that faith is intellectual, still, it is nothing but a natural yielding of a biased will to what appears to be a balance of probabilities. This is the assuming, by the Rationalists, that faith is *not* supernatural, or, that there can be no faith which, in addition to being natural, is also blessed by the enriching grace of the Holy Spirit. Such a position on the part of the Rationalists, is, at least, intelligible; there is nothing in it which is contradictory or paradoxical. But, when we come to speak of another position which is neither the Rationalist nor the Roman Catholic, but that of all the professedly Protestant sects, without exception, we have to face a strange paradox, half Christian half Rationalist, and easily shown, as Euclid would say, to be "absurd." The Protestant idea of faith is, that it is necessarily intellectual, because it involves the exercise of private judgment, while, at the same time, it is *more* than intellectual, because it is assisted by an illumination of the Holy Spirit. With this conclusion we can have no fault to find. But, Protestants proceed to affirm that though faith must be supernatural, because no one can believe truly without God's help; yet, at the same time, the infinite variety of private beliefs in Christian doctrines forms no barrier to the Christian completeness of each man's faith. Here, then, we have a confusion, intellectually, which the Rationalists, not unnaturally, laugh to scorn. A Protestant's faith is assumed to be intellectual, and also, in real sense, supernatural, notwithstanding that it "gives the lie" to the doctrinal beliefs of *other* Protestants, who also, theoretically, have true faiths. Thus the human intellect is put in antagonism to the divine intellect, which can approve, as it can teach, but One Truth, God being made to teach innumerable differences of doctrine, which are all equally supernatural and intellectual. The Rationalist seems to have more sense, if less piety. He can say, and he does say: "If your intellect is to be guided by God's intellect, you must all necessarily believe one and the same truth; even a hair's-breadth of heresy in any doctrine would be an impossible affront to the

divine intellect; so, that you must either accept the Catholic position, which allies all doctrine with infallibility, or you must give up the supernatural altogether." And this is precisely what the Catholic, Roman Church affirms. "Intellectual" is an adjective which can only be applied to divine faith on the condition of the divine perfection of the truths believed. A truth which is only half a truth, or half lie and half truth, cannot possibly be intellectual in a divine sense, because, if so, the divine intellect would be contradictory. Hence, faith is intellectual, and is only intellectual when it is the belief in what God wills that we should believe; it is not only not intellectual, it is irrational, when it is the belief in our own ideas of divine truths.

These three positions—the Catholic, the Protestant, the Rationalist—comprehend all the attitudes of the human intellect towards the whole, or any part, of revealed truth. To state the three positions once more: The Rationalist says that faith is only natural, being the inclination of the natural mind towards religion. The Protestant says that faith is supernatural, yet, that we may believe anything we like about particular doctrines: which is affirming that different beliefs about the same doctrines are equally acceptable to the divine intellect as are true beliefs. The Catholic says, that the divine intellect, being One, unchangeable in divine will as in divine knowledge, all Christians must either accept the whole teaching of the divine intellect or must reject every part of it as not divine.

We need not here touch the question of *how* we know what is divine; that question lies outside the present argument. Our point is, that all faith, to be "intellectual," must be, necessarily, in perfect unison with the divine intellect, in regard, that is, to the human *will* to accept as true whatever the divine intellect may have revealed.

We could hardly approach the consideration of "the intellectual," as distinct from "the spiritual" life of the Catholic Church, without trying to show how the intellectual and the spiritual are harmoniously intertwined or correlative. We affirm that there is no attitude of the human mind which is so sublimely intellectual as that of faith; and that, conversely, a man who has no faith, uses his intellect without the pursuit of its First Object. Let us travel through the centuries of Catholic history, or rather, wing our way in rapid retrospect, and see if it be not true that, alike in thought and vigorous action, the Catholic Church has lived an "intellectual life?"

First, take the attitude of the Church towards heresy, from the days of Cerinthus to those of Döllinger. The whole "point" of that attitude, as we say in argument, has been that the intellect of

the Most High having revealed one thing, and all these heretics having insisted on another thing, there has been the imputation of false teaching—not on the Holy Catholic Church, but on God himself, who has guided His Church to teach wrongly. This is the special crime of heresy—that, while it professes to only condemn the Catholic Church, it really condemns the Almighty, who has misled His Church—an impossible, an inconceivable impiety. Now a true faith being a true incline of the human intellect, because it is the direct teaching of the Holy Spirit, must be, necessarily, the highest use, as it is also the highest possession, of that intellect which is “made in God’s image.” Therefore, heresy at once degrades the human intellect from that dignity which the Incarnation conferred upon it, and insults the intellect of God, whom it accuses of believing wrongly, or else of inspiring the Church’s mind with false doctrine. Either way, the human intellect is wronged; it is misled on truths necessary to salvation; it is reduced to the same position in which it was *before* Redemption—that of *not* knowing the teaching of the Redeemer. And if the shallow answer be hazarded, “We still agree as to what is essential, what is important; we only differ as to this doctrine or that doctrine;” the answer is, that all heresies, all schisms have been grounded upon “this doctrine or that doctrine,” and that the primary object of a teaching Church is to decide what *is* essential, what *is* important—the very “questions” on which private judgment must always differ. Thus the Catholic Church has been occupied for eighteen centuries in defending the intellect of the Most High from being misrepresented; from being declared to teach one thing, when He has “infallibly” taught another—“infallibly,” in the sense of knowing and of imparting.

II.

But if we step outside the narrow limits of revealed truth, and wander over the wide world of human thought, we soon get into the complex questions of the “relations” of the Catholic Church to, say, philosophy, politics, science, and even commerce, as well as to the Christian family and social ethics. What furious abuse has been hurled at “Roman Catholicism,” especially during the last three centuries of revolution, for its interference, its dictation, its ambition, its craftiness, its aggrandizement, its greed! All these hard words have meant simply this: That the Catholic Church, being the guardian of divine truth, is therefore, necessarily, the guardian of every one of those human interests which directly or indirectly affect that truth. We shall not put it too strongly if we say that, in the centuried struggle in which the Catholic Church has been engaged since the day of Pentecost,

her mission has been to direct the intellects of all the peoples of Christendom to a worshipful reverence for the intellect of God. "Do not," the Church has said to the world, "trust your own shifting, fleeting impressions of right or wrong. Your ideas of politics are leading you away from the Christian postulate, that the State must not interfere with the Christian conscience. In your passion for modern science, you ignore the teachings of experience, that the boastings of to-day may become the ridicule of to-morrow, and that no discovery, no new hypothesis, is likely to touch so much as the outworks of the evidence for the divine creation of the human family. In your advanced stage of domestic liberty—a glorious liberty, and essentially Christian—you are apt to forget that the Family, the State, and the Church, are all ruled by One and the same Divine Head; so that the same principles of divine allegiance should govern every member of a family that govern statesmen, and the whole hierarchy of the Catholic Church. And, finally, in your approved canons of social ethics, whether in affairs commercial or conventional, you are carried away by fashion, by popular habit, by example, so that you break the laws of God through the indolence of your conventionalism, and need to be corrected from time to time by the Holy See."

What are all such kindly counsels but the intellect of the Church in action; the perpetual appeal of the divinely-guided mistress of the truth to the higher intellect of all classes of society? The "intellectual life of the Church" is her sympathetic, affectionate reasoning with every member of every community that is Christian; and this "reasoning" is partly known by her established institutions, and partly by her varied counsels from time to time. We may take three of her institutions in chief as perpetually manifesting the intellectual side of her life, and these shall be Priesthood, Monasticism, and Education. A few words on each of them will suffice to establish the position that in the whole of the *spiritual* career of the Catholic Church the *intellectual* career is correlative.

Rome is, and has been for eighteen centuries, at once the centre and the fortress of the Catholic Church, because the Roman Pontiff is the head of the Christian priesthood, and therefore the head of all the Christians in the world. In this *fact*, lies an intellectual teaching, which is not obscured—it is made more manifest—by all Protestantism. All Protestants, from Simon Magus to Père Hyacinthe, have proved the intellectual stability of the Institution which is commonly known as the Roman Catholic Church, presided over by the Pope, who is God's vicar. Here we have the earthly enthroning of the intellect of God, so far as it has pleased the Divine Majesty to reveal It to us. "Rome, the home of the Vicar of Christ, the seat of that long line of Pontiffs who" (in the

fervid language of Louis Veuillot) "bind our erring planet to Emanuel's footstool," is at once the Capital of Christendom, the centre of civilization, the fortress of refined and cultured society, the Mount Zion of both divine and human love, the seed-sower of all (true) philosophy and science. As the author of a French pamphlet, "Rome's Place in the World," has expressed it: "Rome civilizes as Christ civilized, by sowing the seeds of civilization." In other words, the centre of Christendom has been, necessarily, the centre of society, because society, having derived its infallible *principles* from Rome has been rendered secure as to the basis of its *knowledge*. It is because of this two-fold character of Rome, Rome spiritual, Rome intellectual, that society must regard it as the mother-city of wisdom, where the divine principles of eternal truth are first formulated. And from Rome—flowing equally all over the body of the Church, as the blood flows from the heart to the utmost extremity—the divine wisdom pulsates through the priesthood and the laity, teaching every one what is essential to salvation. In the Fact, therefore, the visible Fact, of the Holy See, the Catholic Church teaches the world the Divine Fact of God's Unity, and the human duty of adoring that Unity. This is the corner-stone of Intellectualism; this is the first answer to the vagaries of Rationalism, which would divorce the human intellect from the divine intellect.

Our next point is Monasticism. What the Prayer in the Garden was to the public life of Christ, the religious life is to the priest's office in the world. At least, the similitude may suffice to express the two kinds of Devoted Life; the one, the intellectual worship of God's truth; the other, the intellectual imparting of it to others. Briefly—for we have a great deal of ground to travel over—what has the Church done for society by her religious orders, in the highest sense of the word intellectual? Well, three things which society, without the religious orders, could never have done for itself. From a literary point of view, the religious orders preserved literature, pagan and Christian, so that to them we owe the best half of our present libraries. Theologically, the religious orders have been the high schools of Christianity, without which we should have missed our best scholastic teaching. While even chivalrously, in the martial, heroic sense, the religious orders have set the example of Catholic heroism in many a time of danger to Christian nations. Let us see how these three offices work together. Thus, the Benedictines, the Chartreux, the Bernardines, defended intellectualism with the pen. The Trinitarians, the Brothers of Mary, and some of the chivalrous orders, aided the champions of intellectual liberty in these two ways—by devoting themselves to the redemption of Christian captives, and to the

emancipation of those Christians who had been made slaves. And thirdly, the Templars, the Knights of St. John, the Teutonic Orders, defended civil and religious liberty with the sword. When the tide of Moslem barbarism seemed not unlikely to inundate the West, secular chivalry offered its aid to the spiritual chivalry; the Roman Church, in her marvellous fecundity, creating those Catholic military orders in which the zeal of the monk was blended with the passion of the soldier; both reaching a pitch of heroism whose feats are scarcely paralleled in story, and leaving traces in Syria, Rhodes, Spain, and Palestine, by which we may note their work and their faith. But, to return to the monastic orders. Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, in their preaching, both to pagans and to Christians, were putting before them the intellectual ideal of natural duties, in grounding them upon the Catholic Roman faith. Nor can even Protestants withhold their tribute of admiration from those religious orders of the thirteenth century, who contended against the Waldenses and the Manicheans; nor from the Capuchins, of the sixteenth century, who revived the primitive rule of St. Francis; nor from the Carmelite Order, whose foundress was St. Theresa; nor from the Maurist Benedictines, whose services to patristic literature are not likely to be forgotten for all time; nor from the Lazarists, who, in directing seminaries and missions, have been the pride and ornament of the Church in France; nor, later in the Church's life, from the Redemptorists, whose apostolic labors have met with such success in Italy, Germany, Belgium, and America; nor from the Ursulines, devoted to the education of women; nor, finally (to omit the mention of many others), from the Jesuits, whose services to half the world have been as intellectual as they have been spiritual, as scholastic as they have been auxiliary to civilization. "Paraguay" was a triumph of the highest science of civilization, of the combined force of spiritual energy and human culture, such as no achievement of Protestant missions has ever distantly approached, nor even so much as emulated in endeavor.

Our third point is Education. We have, already, glanced indirectly at the subject; for monasticism was at the root of education. But besides the vast bodies of religious orders to which we have made allusion, and besides the vast bodies of secular priests who spent their lives in disseminating thoughtful piety, the Catholic Church has constantly sought for new vehicles of instruction by which to promote science and art. Even Voltaire had to admit: "The sovereign Pontiffs have always been remarkable among princes for their attachment to letters." And Macaulay wrote: "In the Middle Ages the Popes were the patrons of whatever was best in education, both in the secular and the ecclesiastical groove."

When we recall such names as Clement VI.; Gregory IX., Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., Pius II., we naturally think of the magnificent universities which these Popes aided in founding or endowing. Oxford, Cambridge, Padua, Naples, Vienna, Upsal, Lisbon, Salamanca, Alcalá, Toulouse, Montpellier, Orleans, Nantes, Poitiers, had, most of them, their seats of learning before Protestantism was heard of, and the Popes communicated regularly with all of them. But our point is, not only that the Popes of the Middle Ages covered Europe with splendid seminaries of the higher education; what we would insist on in this argument is, the imperishable nature of the education which was cherished by Pontiffs and by priests. Even the better class of infidel thinkers have admitted that the splendid treasury of theological science—and of philosophical science in connection with it—which was evolved out of the labors of a dozen centuries, has lain at the root of most of the great discoveries which modern thought would pretend to claim as being its own. Joseph de Maistre has summed up the truth in these words: "The sceptre of science belongs to Europe only because she has been Catholic. She has reached this high degree of civilization and knowledge because she began with theology; because the universities were, from the first, schools of theology; and, because all the sciences grafted upon this divine subject have shown forth their divine sap by increased vegetation." Protestants forget, when they speak of the learning, the educatedness of some few of their notabilities in the sixteenth century, that just as the services which Bacon rendered to philosophy, or the services which Newton rendered to science, were indirectly due to that root of Catholic theology which lay at the bottom of the Church's mind for a thousand years; so the lofty philosophy of Shakespeare—himself a product of the ages of faith—was the *natural* issue of that rarified intellectualism which was the atmosphere of all taught Catholics for many centuries. And, just one word as to Protestantism itself, in its intellectual possessions or characteristics: Be it remembered, that heresy has been always blended with truth, in every sect and schism from the beginning; the truth being always Rome's, while the heresy was that person's who corrupted it. Whatever is good and true in Protestantism is of Rome; and just as Protestantism would have had no Bible but for the Catholic Council which settled its canon (and but for the Catholic monks who translated it), so, no Protestant "Churches" would ever have been formed if the great old Church had not over-spread Europe. The boast of glorious possessions by the Protestant sects—and, intellectually, they have always had great possessions—is like the boast of the appropriator who has broken up stolen goods so as to prevent their identification or reclaim.

III.

We have to include in "The Intellectual" a vast sphere of requirements, which, *prima facie*, lies outside "education." Let us speak of two subjects, now much in the mouths of men, so much so as to be almost what is called "popular." Science and philosophy are the boasts of our own age; and many persons imagine that they are almost new to this age, so wonderful has been their progress, their development. We may say, both of the one and the other, that whatever is sound in them is old. As to science—of which the enduring foundations were laid before Protestantism was heard of—we may make this remark, that whereas modern society produces its scientists independently of religion (and therefore scientists, who are perpetually giving scandal, besides propounding most untenable conceits), Catholic society has scarcely produced even one great scientist who was not more attached to the Faith than to his inventions. Just as André Ampère—the illustrious *savant* in spectro-magnetism—could say with his last breath: "I know the 'Imitation of Christ' by heart;" so the Catholic testimony of, say, Cassini, the astronomer; Hilaire, the zoölogist; Cæsar Cantu, the historian; Santarem, the geographer; Blainville, the naturalist (with a host of others); "as to the necessity of the true foundation of all science," was as ardent as the industry of the pursuit which rendered them such masters of their craft. One distinguishing characteristic of the Catholic scientists has been, that they regarded their researches as tentative; whereas, non-Catholic scientists usually regard their "discoveries" as being final for all men, and for all time. Cuvier, the naturalist, related an amusing incident which occurred in his own science-loving experience. He said, that in his youth some pious Christians were much troubled because it had been "discovered" that there could not have been water enough in the heavens to produce what was historically known as "the Flood." In a few years, another scientist proved clearly that the water in the clouds, under certain abnormal conditions, could suffice to submerge the earth up to its highest tops; so that the first scientist had to withdraw his demonstration and to bow to the second scientist as his superior. This one example is as good as a thousand. "What are your *laws*, as you confidently call them," asks a rigid reasoner, of some modern scientists, "but the deductions of your own natural reason; and, what are your *truths* but apparent truths?" This question suggests an attitude of the Catholic scientist which would be singularly offensive to some non-Catholics. Monsieur Renan would probably consider it "unscientific." That gentleman, who still occupies a chair in the highly-mixed University of Paris, is a type of that self-sufficiency, and assumed contempt for Catholic authority,

which are so often characteristic of modern scientists. In higher criticism, in philosophy, and, above all, in science, deductions are drawn, discoveries are proclaimed, which are assumed to demolish, at one stroke, a whole range of revealed truth, and to reduce poor Christianity to a myth. At one moment, we are startled by a confident denial of the exceptional privilege, as well as the exceptional priesthood of the Jewish race; at another moment, we are bid to ridicule our long-cherished belief in the descent of the human family from one pair; or, when discussing immortality, we are assured that a future state is only a morbid, if natural, craving of the human heart. "Science," more than "philosophy," does all this. Some one has dug up a fossil out of the bowels of the earth, or gathered a clue from the simian tribe in African forests, and henceforth all theology is reduced at once to a day-dream, and the Mosaic record has to blush for having deceived us. We are not allowed even to raise an objection, or to protest. Science is infallible; science rests on facts; theology is only a speculative mysticism.

Yet, even as to "discoveries," we might gaily accept the challenge which the New Philosophy is fond of throwing down to Catholics; nor, in any department of intellectual achievement, need we be afraid of "coming in second" in the great race for initiation or for development. It suffices to mention the names of the Catholic princes in science, to intimate the tone and spirit of their philosophy; and, for the sake of convenience, let us include in the compass of science all those accomplishments, as well as discoveries, of the Catholic intellect, which might, in popular sense, be termed "scientific," as well as in popular sense "artistic." Now, what we contend for is, that the Catholic science and the Catholic philosophy—using both words in popular sense—have been singularly harmonious throughout history; so much so, that some of the greatest scientists could hardly have achieved their great works had they not been inspired by Catholic philosophy; or, conversely, that some of the greatest Catholic philosophers have owed their greatness to their profound science of theology. Thus, we might put it in this way: that just as St. Thomas Aquinas could write his "Summa," because his philosophy was the logical outcome of his theology, so we might say of Raphael that his great picture which is now at Dresden, was the inspiration of his Catholic faith and piety; or, of Michel Angelo, that his "Pieta," or even his "St. Peter's," was the consistent expression of his intensely Catholic disposition; or of Dante, that he could not have written his "Divine Comedy" unless he had known that the Catholic religion was supernatural: or of Cardinal Newman, that he could not have thought out his "Gerontius," unless he had first submitted his intellect to

the Holy See. And if, putting aside the great masters of Catholic expression, we speak only of a few of the scientists who were also Catholics, it will suffice to note that, in mathematics, in astronomy, in geography, and also in mechanics, and in navigation, the Catholic pioneers, not only preceded all other people, but showed to all other people the precise road which they must follow. A philosophical dictionary of much more than ordinary dimensions would be wanted to tell of those scientists who were *first* Catholic, and only afterwards were devoted to great attainment. In astronomy, Pope Sylvester II.—and later in the centuries, Friar Bacon—preceded the illustrious Jesuits, De Vico, Secchi, and Perry, whose names are now historic, and must ever be so. It is well known that the religious orders have been fond of erecting observatories, just as it is historic that in many countries they have been called upon by civil governments to originate or to conduct “observations.” If we speak of arithmetic, we are reminded that it owed its origin—that is, its origin as a science—to Gerbert, who was educated by Religious; while we also remember that the first published work on algebra was from the pen of an Italian Franciscan friar. Descartes is known to have invented the new geometry, or the application of algebra to geometry; and when we recall the history of such branches of science as mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydro-dynamics, the names of Leonardi da Vinci, Galileo, Borsu, Castelli, Gassendi, and Viviani, with many others, come up before us, as claiming the honors of inventions, or of such systematizing as made invention to become useful. Scientists tell us, that Father Secchi constructed the automatic meterograph; and that Shyrle de Rheita invented the now familiar opera-glass, after first using a convex lens for the telescope. A hundred and fifty years before Watt, Father Lourochon composed a learned work on steam; while the first persons to attempt aerial navigation were two priests, who were named Lala and Galien. If it be asked, who first thought of the polarization of light, or who first determined its velocity; or who discovered dynamical electricity, or invented the galvanometer, the thermo-electric multiplier, or even the battery—the answer will be that the discoverers were Catholics. It is worth noting, as Mr. Fay has recently told us, that all the apparatus now in use for illustrating electro-magnetism were devised by André Ampère, a French Catholic. To cut the inquiry short, it is scarcely possible to name a science which does not owe its origin, or at the very least, its utility, either directly or indirectly, to some Catholic. And, as to our every-day implements, or “useful things,” a writer has well remarked that, if you took away all Catholics out of history you would have to take away, with them, your clocks, watches, spectacles, firearms, gunpowder, thermome-

ters, magic lanterns, mercurial barometers, camera-obscuræ, canal-locks, water-mills, water-engines, dynamo-electric machines, electric lamps, steamboats, organs, bells, banks, glass windows, mariners' compasses, the domestic enjoyment of tea and coffee—but no, we must not prolong the list, for a whole chapter would not suffice to enumerate the “necessaries” of which the suppression of Catholic intellect would leave us devoid. Finally, as to the boldness of exploration—the dauntless pluck of Catholic travellers and adventurers: our first homage is due to those Catholic missionaries who visited the unknown regions of the earth, and afterwards wrote their descriptions of what they saw. Here again, in this department of exploration, we find that the first map of China was designed by a Jesuit, just as, in the same year, the first catechism in Chinese was drawn up by a Jesuit hand. It may be mentioned, that it was in the year 1246 that Pope Innocent IV. sent Father Carpino, accompanied by a small band of Franciscan monks on a mission to the savage emperor of Tartary. And, a little later, in 1253, another monk, also a Franciscan, by command of King Louis IX. of France, was sent on an exploring mission to Asia, and succeeded in exploring more of that quarter of the world than any European before him had thought traversable. But why speak of the exploits of the travelling heroes of those dangerous times; of Marco Polo, who in the thirteenth century spent twenty-four years in Eastern wanderings; of Columbus, of Vasco di Gama, of Magellan, of Balboa, of Cortez, of Pizarro, or of De Soto, whose names are as household words to the students of ancient geography, though it is not often remembered that they were all Catholics. Nor was it a slight tribute to the reputation of the religious orders that in days when to travel was to brave death, civil governments selected *them* to do the world's hardest work, because they knew that they “feared nothing but sin.”

If space permitted, we should like to trace the intellectual life in Catholic statesmanship, and in the higher walks of diplomacy, as well as in certain sections of the fine arts. It has always seemed to us—and our readers, who have travelled much in Europe, will probably bear us out in the impression—that the most wonderful of the *visible*, intellectual creations for which society is indebted to the Catholic Church, is the multitude of cathedrals, which, in countries once Catholic, speak the mind, proclaim the faith, of our forefathers. If there were no other monuments to Catholic intellect existing in the nations of the world, even pagans might exclaim: “What a profound belief these Catholics must have had to inspire their souls with these conceptions!” Such force, or finish, or refinement; such strength of conception with realization; are not seen in any monument of pagan times, nor in any modern

imitation of Catholic outlines. They were only shadowed in the wondrous temple of Jerusalem, which truthfully indicated the intellectual life of the Jewish Church, as our cathedrals do the mind and grasp of the Catholic faith. "Exquisite in their beauty, overpowering in their majesty," remarked M. de Montalembert, about a quarter of a century ago, to the present writer, "are your English cathedrals—almost all of them. Your architects were gods in the olden times!" And the same truth might be affirmed of most of the cathedrals of Europe; they suggest an inspiration by divine faith:

The ear doth slowly to the mind supply
The truths that flash like lightning through the eye;

and the eye that rests on Westminster or on Salisbury, on Wells, or York, or Canterbury—to speak only of the old cathedrals of England—takes in the soul of the intellectual life which is bequeathed to our apprehension by such monuments.

IV.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." We have still to notice, though in few words, the fatal results of that New Philosophy, which, begotten in the sixteenth century of the revolt from Catholic intellect, has brought a good part of the world back to mental chaos. It was by its *opposition* to the Catholic intellect that the New Philosophy proved the wisdom of its opponents; and thus we may claim it as the most practical of the demonstrators of the pure reason of the Catholic philosophy. Starting with doubt as its basis, and taking experimental investigation as its method, the New Philosophy put Individualism into the place of divine authority, and, indeed, clothed it with transcendental infallibility. In the sixteenth century a sort of Deism, plus a sentiment of Christianity, was the fashion among the educated classes in England; and, a little later, Rationalism and Pantheism pervaded much of the literature of Germany. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was much scoffing and sneering; but in the nineteenth century, the "philosophers" adopt the tone of a sort of superior ignoring of divine authority, rather treating Revelation as an interesting fable, than as a "theory" that has to be dealt with Rationistically. The reach or compass of such "philosophy" naturally differs in different countries. Let us glance at a few of the prominent characteristics. In France there is a positive hatred of the Catholic Church, because the French *know* that the Catholic religion is divine. (There is no such hatred of Christianity in England, because no Protestant ever supposed, in the wildest flights of his imagination, that there could be anything divine in the

Anglican establishment.) Hence, in France there are two schools, and two alone—the Catholic, which is intense and intellectual; the infidel, which is superficial and rationalistic. Cousin, by his Pantheistic speculations; Comte, by his “*Philosophie Positive*,” with the host of unbelieving doctrinaires, such as St. Hilaire, Arago, Renan, Lamarck (who first broached the comic theory that man was the descendant of an ape), have been compelled to “cry down” the Catholic believers, whom they could not reason with in patience and sobriety. It is nothing to these self-complacent rationalists, that men who were their superiors in everything, profoundly revered the very truths which they despise. That such men as De Cauchy, the greatest mathematician who has succeeded to Laplace, or Vinet the mechanician, or Quatremain de Quincey, the archæologist, or the Orientalists, Abel Remusat and Sylvestre de Sacy, or the Armenian scholar, St. Martin, or hosts of other great men, should have been Christians in faith and in action, no more affects the serenity of the Rationalists than the knowledge that Chateaubriand intellectually stripped the disguise off French skepticism, or that de Maistre, and de Bonald, and Montalembert, and Lacordaire—not to mention the admirable non-Catholic Guizot—were all champions of the very truths which they assailed. Guizot was, indeed, a great thinker, notwithstanding the accident of his born Protestantism. In his “*The Christian Church and Society*,” he told Frenchmen that they were under a delusion when they insisted on the prominence of the natural law, and denied the supernatural and the miraculous. *His* philosophy was Christian. Indeed, he was so nearly a Catholic that he protested against the usurpation of the temporal power of the Pope, maintaining that it was “only a trick of the infidel party to overthrow the dominion of the supernatural.” Guizot was a grave and sober reasoner; whereas, the “philosophy” of infidel Frenchmen is simply a dressed-up natural pretext for getting rid of the responsibilities of the human soul.

Let us glance at Germany, Italy, Spain, and England. Fifty years ago, the German mind, half exhausted by metaphysical speculations, took up with politics and the physical sciences; yet continued in the same false mood of experiment founded on a skepticism which was universal. Its public press was in the hands of Jews and infidels; and in most of its universities—hardly a quarter of a century ago—the skeptic, the rationalist, and the Catholic professor taught day by day in the same halls, handling the biggest problems of the human mind from their various standpoints of belief or unbelief. It was in 1860, that Professor Clemens, who occupied the chair of Philosophy in Münster, took as his thesis for a public lecture, “*Philosophy is the Handmaid of Theology*.”

Professor Kuhn, also a divine in the same faculty, denied this ; and a warm dispute was carried on by the professors. Now, no two disputants could have chosen a better subject for the bringing out of the exact teaching of the Catholic Church. That "philosophy is the handmaid of theology" (not theology the handmaid of philosophy), is a truism which no Catholic should deny ; and happily, in our own time, the German Catholic mind is too vigorous to be misled by any sophistry of the rationalists. Indeed, the Catholic intellect of Germany in these days is more robust than that of any other country.—For, Italy is fatally enfeebled by the revolution. Under the first Napoleon she was indoctrinated with the ideas of '89 ; and under the second Napoleon she yielded Rome to the revolutionists ; nor is there that backbone of intellectual faith in the Italians which should oppose resistance to the chronic scandal of the usurpation.—Portugal was once called the Refuge of the Revolution, for it drank deep of the cup of its enchantments ; yet it has long since tried to shake off the hallucination, and is now no disgrace to its Catholic neighbors.—For, Spain has been quite awakened from its moral torpor, and is a striking evidence of the vitality of Catholic principles.—As to England, the characteristics are exceptional. The English mind is either practical or sentimental ; it is not, in strict sense, philosophical. The Catholic intellect in England has not to contend against speculations which are assumed to be a pure exercise of the reason, so much as against traditional prejudice, in regard to the Christian action of the Catholic Church. The prevailing form of English rationalism must be rudely called mental sloth ; it is not the result of intellectual activities, but the apology for a not honorable indifference.

One other country, Belgium, might be referred to, because the question of wholly secularizing the State was fought out in Belgium to the bitter end. That question has now righted itself ; but in France and Italy there is still much infidel talk about the desirableness of divorcing government from religion. We all know why the Catholic Church cannot approve of this divorce ; either in regard to principle, because it is opposed to revolution, or in regard to polity, because it means "the State First, and Religion in complete subjection to the State." Lamennais, before his fall, with other writers in the *Avenir*, advocated this unnatural divorce, wholly forgetting that all society, from its cradle to the grave, is indissolubly bound up with the Christian religion, so that the State *minus* the Church is really national apostacy, not only in theory but in fact. As we are thinking now of the intellectual life of the Catholic Church, it may be well to mention that there are two chief mistakes in the New Philosophy in regard to the Church's relations to civil government ; the one, that all religion should

be divorced from civil government, the other, that the religious and civil authority should meet in the same power, namely, the State. We need only say thus much at the present moment: That the divorce of the State from all religion means the interference of the State *with* religion, and very soon its complete tyranny *over* religion—as is practically the case now in France, and conspicuously the case now in Italy—while the other theory, the uniting of the two powers, as exemplified in the institution called the Church of England, means that Christianity cannot possibly be supernatural, because the Parliament controls its *imperium* on every point, and that the liberty of the Christian subject is to be circumscribed by the State, as when Queen Elizabeth punished all Catholics who would not attend her Protestant service; or as—to take an instance from modern Russia—when the Czar flogs or banishes his Catholic subjects who refuse to adore his majesty's private orthodoxy. Space forbids us to dwell further on this subject; yet it was necessary to touch upon it, because it is manifest that it is mainly *through* the State's good will and co-operation that the Church can work her way in all society; in other words, that the intellectual life of the Church can permeate both all communities and their civil laws.

V.

It would need such a mind as that of the late Cardinal Newman to even present in fragmentary form the great truths we have ventured to glance at; nor is it sought here to do more than ask of non-Catholics: Are you wise in forsaking the guidance of the Church's intellect, which does not derive from private reason its first principles of what is right, but from the divine guidance of the indwelling Holy Spirit, Who, in imparting the "philosophy" which is eternal, necessarily implies the best philosophy in things temporal. There is no possibility in this world of preserving continuous harmony between the rule of God's truth and man's will, because human feebleness must be always tumbling into rebellion; yet the broad outlines of right and wrong are so clearly traced on the world's map that we are, really, without excuse in not recognizing them. The brief survey which we have just taken amounts to this—if we may recall two or three of its leading points—Faith is intellectual, *because* divine; and therefore, the "attitude" of the Catholic Church towards the world is that of paternal, because eternal, legislation. Priesthood, Monasticism, and Education have been said to be three expressions of that Catholic intellect which rests on the Divine Wisdom for its first principles. In the material order, such first principles have been "a success," as witnessed by the splendid achievements of good Catholics before the revolution

of the sixteenth century disturbed the world. As to "philosophy," so-called, all those countries which have bent the knee to the set-up image of private judgment or individualism, have suffered correspondingly "intellectually," while those countries which have kept their first love, and have insisted on the divine authority of the Holy See, have escaped the tyranny which personal caprice always engenders, and the servitude which self-worship always entails. If we turn our eyes now to Rome—to Rome usurped, and deeply secularized—we see the focusing of all the energies of rebellion against the divine institution of the Papacy. We see at a glance, intellectually, the travesty of the human intellect which, not only refuses to honor divine authority, but seeks its glory in falling down to the golden image. Rome is (for the present) "a trim-built municipal city," as Cardinal Newman said it would be when secularized; it is dishonored by the unseemly contests of mundane interests, and has lost the honor and the peace which should belong to it. And this fact is in close connection with our subject, because the fact is so profoundly *unintellectual*. The home of the Pontiffs being the home of Christian unity—and therefore, necessarily, of the intellectual harmonies—the home where education, art, and science, and the nurseries of the Catholic missions, are supposed to be cherished tranquilly and securely, the spectacle of a stolen Rome, a rebellious Rome, a Rationalist Rome, is repugnant to the first instincts of the Christian intellect. The idea of intellectual "life" is, like the idea of all healthy life, the idea of a sound and restful life-centre, from which the harmonies of the whole body may be vitalized. The New Philosophy has done well—that is, consistently—in attacking the Church's head and the Church's home; for, if you smite the source of the intellectual life, you are pretty sure to injure the limbs and the extremities. Happily, there is a divine power behind the intellectual power, which prevents the conflict from doing worse than causing scandal. Destruction, final overthrow, are impossible. "The gates of hell shall never prevail against it." Yet it is lamentable, it is humiliating, that the human family, in this nineteenth century, cannot yield its first homage to the *idea* of the intellectual life, and to the duty of intellectual justice and harmony. We said just now, that by its opposition to the Catholic intellect, the New Philosophy proved the wisdom of its opponent; and every one can see the meanness, the imbecility, the vulgarity, of the appropriation of the Pontiff's sovereignty—which is *our* freedom. Twelve centuries of that sovereignty have lain at the root of civilization, not only because the independence of the Pontiff guaranteed his free exercise of paternal rule, but because the idea and the fact of the intellectual life of the Catholic Church are primarily grounded on justice and

equity. The Father of Christendom—and therefore the Father of intellectual life—is too venerable to be subjected to worldly accidents ; so that the New Philosophy (which is the most unintellectual thing in the world) is quite consistent in heaping insults upon God's Vicar. Most non-Catholics are willing to concede all this intellectually, though they stop short at a theoretical concession. It would be too troublesome to pass on to the *spiritual* duties which must follow upon the *intellectual* recognition of evident truths. Lord Macaulay was an example of the strange union of the recognition with a quiet practical disregard of the obligation. No writer ever recognized more than he did the intellectual consistencies of the Catholic philosophy. It was in his "History" that he wrote this one fragment, which was in harmony with numerous other fragments of his other writings : " The spiritual supremacy assumed by the Roman Pontiff has effected more good than harm ; and the Roman Church, by uniting all men in a bond of brotherhood, and teaching all men their responsibility before God, deserves to be spoken of with respect by philosophers and philanthropists."

TRANSFORMISM.

LAMARCK—DARWIN.

FEW scientific theories, within the present century, have so stirred up men's minds, or given rise to such heated controversies, as the hypothesis known under the name of "Transformism," of which Darwinism is the best known and most popular form. It may be interesting, now that the original enthusiasm has in a certain degree subsided, to consider calmly and impartially the outcome of so many years of keen discussion and eager research, and to show at the same time how far the Christian faith is interested therein. This we purpose to do in the present paper.

I.

"Darwinism," it will be remembered, is substantially an attempt to account for the existence of the innumerable forms of life, extinct or still extant, on the face of the globe. We can conceive of them in the abstract as originated in one of two ways: either by being fashioned by the hand of the Creator directly and immediately as they are found in all their specific variety; or simply by the creation at the beginning of only a few typical forms of life, from which all other forms, from the lowest to the highest, would be slowly evolved by a power and a law similar to that which carries the individual from the simplest germ to the highly organized body of the full grown animal.

To a special conception of the latter hypothesis Darwin has attached his name. But the theory of evolution in its general features existed long before him.

We find it clearly suggested by Linnæus: "Here is a conjecture that I have long entertained," says this great naturalist. "I never dared to publish it as indubitable truth, but I will propose it simply as an hypothesis, viz.: that all the species of the same genus may have formed at the beginning only one species and may have been multiplied by hybrid generations. . . . Whether these species came immediately from the creative power of God, or came in the course of time from nature itself as working out a divine law, it is not so easy to say."¹

¹ "Suspicio est quam diu fovi neque jam pro veritate indubiā venditare audeo, sed per modum hypotheseos propono: quod scilicet omnes species ejusdem generis ab initio unam constituerint speciem sed, postea per generationes hybridas propagatæ sint. . . . Num vero hæ species per manum Omnipotentis Creatoris immediate sint exortæ in primordio, an vero per naturam, Creatoris executricem, propagatæ in tempore, non adeo facile demonstrabitur."—*Amanitates Acad.*, vol. vi, p. 296 (Ed. 1763).

Geoffroy St. Hilaire and Goethe himself had also questioned the stability of species. But the greatest originator of that line of thought which culminated in Darwin was the naturalist Lamarck.¹ This remarkable man was led to his views regarding the transmutability of species by his study of varieties, "the ever-recurring stumbling-block of systematic zoologists."²

The general idea which is in the minds of naturalists when they speak of "species" is expressed by the definition that a species of animals consists of *an assemblage of individuals, all resembling each other and producing their kind by generation*. Thus, for instance, all wolves resemble each other and produce young, which in turn are fertile; hence wolves constitute a single species—the *canis lupus* of Linnæus. Similarly, all the individual animals grouped under the name of lion, tiger, brown bear (and so on), resemble each other and produce fertile young, thus constituting so many species of animals.

There is, however, the obvious difficulty that the resemblance between the individuals of any species *is not complete*. They are similar in general appearance, but not in minor details. All wolves are alike, but they are not exactly alike. Besides, in many cases the differences between different groups of individuals comprised within any species may be very considerable, and, as far as observation goes, may be permanent differences. This is most conspicuously the case with our domestic animals. Thus, take the case of dogs, the mastiff, the greyhound, the bull-dog and the terrier represent such groups, known, in common parlance, as "breeds" or "races" of dogs. Some breeds are known to have existed, without notable change, from the very earliest historical times. Most species of animals include one or more of such varieties, and the same is noticed in the vegetable kingdom.

¹ J. B. Pierre Antoine de Monet, usually known as the Chevalier de Lamarck, was born on the 1st of August, 1744, at Bezantin, a small village of Picardy, France. After having served some time in the army, he gave himself to the study of natural science, and in 1778 he published his first book, *La Flore Française*. Having been appointed to a chair in the "Jardin des Plantes," he prepared there his great work, which Prof. Alleyn Nicholson calls "a gigantic and classical exposition of the special department which he had in charge." This work was the *Histoire Naturelle des Animaux sans Vertébrés* (1815-1832, 7 vols., 8mo.) Lamarck was very much more than an observer, describer and classifier of animals. He possessed a singularly original mind, prone to generalization and bold to rashness in his conceptions. The most famous of his philosophical and theoretical treatises is his *Philosophie Zoologique*, published in 1809, in 2 vols., 8vo, and the fame of this rests in great measure on the fact that it was there that he first laid down what may be regarded as the earliest definite theory of evolution as applied to living beings.

² Prof. Alleyn Nicholson, *Biography of Naturalists*. We wish to state here once for all that in this article we have used freely the works of Darwin, Romanes, A. Russell Wallace and Prof. Alleyn Nicholson.

Now, the question arises, do these varieties ever go so far as to form fresh species, or do they always stop before reaching this limit? In the latter case where is the limit? How can we distinguish between a species and a simple variety? As is suggested by the very definition of species given above, naturalists have been accustomed to determine this by what is called the "physiological test." When the individuals of a given assemblage of animals or plants are *fertile* among themselves, and capable of giving rise to a fertile offspring, they are usually regarded as constituting a single species, however greatly they may differ among themselves. Varieties, therefore, are supposed to be always capable of interbreeding with the type-form of species. On the other hand, if two groups of animals or plants, otherwise nearly resembling each other, are found to be incapable of producing fertile offspring by intercrossing, they are regarded as constituting two distinct species.

But *in practice* this distinction encounters many difficulties, and Lamarck, deeply impressed with these, rejected the idea of the constancy of species. He maintained that those characteristics of a species which we call specific were liable to variation, and that the degree of this variation was indefinite. Accordingly, he held that the constancy of species was not *absolute* but only *relative to the circumstances* in which the individuals of a species were placed.

That species seem to us permanent, he explained upon the ground that our observations only extended over a few thousand years, and that this period had not been long enough to allow the transformation of one species into any other, especially as terrestrial changes have been quite slight and unimportant during the whole period covered by human experience.

A multitude of facts, says Lamarck, teach us that in proportion as the individuals of our species change their locality, their climate, their manner of living, or their habits, in the same proportion they become subject to influences which little by little change the consistence and proportions of their parts, their form, their faculties, even their organization in such a manner that, given sufficient time, everything in them participates in the mutation to which they are exposed.¹

Hence Lamarck abandoned the view that the animals and plants now in existence had been produced *de novo*, just as we now find them.

But by what *agencies* were new species produced? According to Lamarck all variation in a species is due to *change in the condi-*

¹ *Phil. Zool.*, vol. i., ch. 7, pp. 218-233, ed. 1830.

tions of life and environment. These new conditions create new needs, which in turn demand a greater and more frequent exercise of some organs and the disuse of others. The first grow larger, while the others soon become dwarfed; and this variation being transmitted through successive generations and becoming more and more pronounced, the final result is an altogether new species.

He gives as an example the giraffe. He supposed this animal to have originally had a neck no longer than that of the ordinary ruminants to which it is allied. As the climate of Africa became drier and droughts became more frequent, the ordinary ground herbage was liable to be destroyed for many months together, and the existence of the species was rendered difficult and precarious. The giraffe was compelled, under these circumstances, to stretch its neck continually to reach the higher foliage, and the result was the progressive elongation of the cervical vertebræ.

There is certainly no doctrine in physiological science better established than this, that the habitual use of an organ leads to a corresponding growth, while its disuse leads to a partial or total atrophy. "It is by just such a process," says Lamarck, "that existing species have been evolved out of other more ancient forms of life." As to plants, it is the change in the conditions of their nutrition that affects them and modifies them.¹

About thirty years after the promulgation of this theory, there was published anonymously, in England, a book bearing partly on the same subject, entitled "*Vestiges of Creation.*" The first edition appeared in 1844, and the tenth in 1853, a sufficient proof of the popularity which it enjoyed. The author, now known to be Robert Chambers, maintained unhesitatingly that we cannot consistently accept natural causes as sufficiently explaining the phenomena of the inorganic world (*v.g.*, the evolution of the planets, especially of the earth), and at the same time invoke supernatural causes to explain the phenomena presented by living beings.

As regards the origin of species, he accepted Lamarck's views in so far as to maintain that species are not invariable or constant, but he altogether rejected his theory as to the *manner* in which they were originated. He attributed to every living being two "impulses" implanted by God himself, the first advancing the various forms of life, in definite times, by reproduction, through the different grades of organization, culminating in the highest dicotyledons and vertebrata; and the second tending, in the course of generations, to modify organic structures in accordance with external circumstances, something analogous to the embryonic development of an individual animal.

¹ *Phil. Zool.*, Ibid.

"But such tendencies or impulses," as Alleyn Nicholson remarks, "are mere metaphysical conceptions and form a scientifically inadmissible agency."

However, "this work," says Charles Darwin himself, "has done excellent service in calling attention to the subject, in removing prejudices and in thus preparing the ground for the reception of analogous views."¹ Its author was severely attacked by the clergymen of his country, but his intentions were evidently good.²

A little before that time, Charles Lyell had published his "Principles of Geology," in which he advocated with great force and talent the notion of the sufficiency of nature's laws to account for the present state of the earth, time only being required for it.

We may add that the very disposition of mind of many philosophers and scientists prepared them to welcome readily any system which would minimize the direct intervention of the Divinity in the world or even would permit it to be entirely ignored.

Thus, the scientific world was ready to listen to Darwin.

As we have seen, the theory that the present state of the natural world was the result of evolution from a former state, did not originate with him. Like most of the conceptions of the human intellect, this theory had undergone a slow elaboration in the minds of others before it was taken up by its most celebrated representative. Darwin's share consists in having proposed a *new mode* of evolution, by which new species may have been produced from others previously existing. He is the author of the theory of Evolution *by means of natural selection*.³

¹ *Origin of Species*, 5th Amer. ed., p. 13.

² See *Vestiges of Creation*, 12th ed. W. & R. Chambers, 1884, p. 416.

³ Charles Darwin was born at Shrewsbury on February 12, 1809. His father, Robert Waring Darwin, was a physician, and desiring his son to enter the same profession, sent him to Edinburgh to study medicine. But the young man showed no taste for medical studies, so that after two years he left Edinburgh and betook himself to Cambridge, with the view of studying for the ministry. It was not long before he found himself no more attracted to theology than to medicine, and becoming well acquainted with Henslow, one of the professors, spent most of his time in collecting insects for him. In 1831, Darwin graduated as a Bachelor of Arts. Just at the time an application had been made for a naturalist to accompany H. M. Ship the "Beagle" (Capt. FitzRoy) in a voyage around the world, and as young Darwin was without any profession and in independent circumstances, Henslow proposed him, and he was accepted. During that trip, which lasted five years, Darwin not only collected a vast amount of scientific material of all kind, but accumulated an endless store of observations which served ultimately as the groundwork of his *Origin of Species*. After his return to England, he settled at Down in Kent, and never left that place until his death on April 18, 1882. Among the many books which he published there, the most celebrated is undoubtedly his *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, in which he first gave forth to the world the theory called after his name "Darwinism."

II.

Darwinism is, as we have just said, a *system* of transformism ; it presupposes that all living beings have evolved from primitive germs, and proposes an explanation of the *process*. This, it is claimed, may be found in two fundamental facts: 1. The *struggle for life* which is constantly and universally going on among living beings, and 2. *Natural Selection*, which is the consequence of it.

I. *The Struggle for Life*. Malthus has already observed that all living beings tend to increase in a geometrical ratio, much more rapidly therefore than their means of subsistence.¹ For instance a single flesh-fly (*Musca carnaria*) produces 20,000 larvæ and these grow so quickly that they reach their full size in five days. Supposing they went on increasing at this rate, after a few weeks, there would result one hundred million of millions for each fly, a number greater probably than exists at any one time in the whole world. What would it be at the end of summer? And this is only one species, while there are thousands of other species equally prolific; so that if they were unchecked the whole atmosphere would be dense with flies, and all animal food, as well as much animal life, would be destroyed by them. To prevent this tremendous increase, there must be incessant war against these insects in the larval as well as the perfect state by insectivorous birds and reptiles, as well as by other insects, by the action of the elements, in the form of rain, hail or drought, and by other unknown causes. Let us now consider a less extreme and more familiar case. We possess a considerable number of birds, as the sparrow, wren, crow, buzzard, etc. They lay, on an average, six eggs, but as several of them have two or more broods a year, ten will be below the average of the year's increase. Such birds as these often live from fifteen to twenty years in confinement, and we cannot suppose that their lives are shorter in a state of nature. Now if we start with a single pair, and these are allowed to live and breed unmolested till they die, at the end of ten years their number would amount to more than twenty millions. But we know that our bird population is no greater, on the average, than it was ten years ago. What then becomes of the enormous surplus population annually produced? It is evident that they must all die or be killed, in some way; and as the increase is, on the average, five to one, it follows that if the average number of birds in one country is taken at ten millions, and this is probably far under the mark, then about fifty million of birds, including eggs as possible birds must annually be destroyed. Yet we see very little of this tremendous slaughter.

¹ See *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, by T. R. Malthus, vol. i., book i., ch. 1: Ratios of the increase of population and food.

The same thing goes on with every species of wild animal and plant from the lowest to the highest. All breed at such a rate that in a few years the progeny of one single species would, if allowed to increase unchecked, entirely monopolize the land; but all alike are kept within bounds by various destructive agencies, so that, although the numbers of each may fluctuate, they can never permanently increase, except at the expense of some other species, which must proportionately decrease.¹

Hence there takes place among all living beings a "struggle for existence." Each organism fills a certain place in the world of nature,—occupies a particular area, feeds on a particular kind of food, requires a particular set of conditions. As, however, every kind of animal and plant is constantly bringing into existence more young than can be accommodated, or for which suitable food can be provided, it follows that there arises among the young of each species a competition, both for proper place and for proper food.

II. *Natural Selection.*—It is observed that all living beings are subject to variation. The individuals composing a species of animals and plants are not precisely alike. They invariably differ from one another more or less in numerous points, some of the differences being extremely minute, while others may be very conspicuous.

Some of the variations are favorable to the species, and others unfavorable. That is to say, some variations will help the individual either to obtain more food, or to keep himself warm, or to avoid or to repel his natural enemies, or will otherwise help him in the struggle for existence, while, on the other hand, some variations will arise which will keep their possessors back in the race of life, and will increase the difficulty which they have in maintaining their existence.

It follows from this, that in any given species of animals or plants, those individuals which are born into the world in possession of any favorable variations are, *cæteris paribus*, "likely to be preserved, while those having unfavorable variations are likely to go to the wall and to be stamped out." This law is what Mr. Herbert Spencer has called the law of "the survival of the fittest," and Mr. Darwin, "natural selection." Nature itself, in fact, by the action of its forces, insures the selection out of the young of any species of all those individuals which are "fittest" for their surroundings; as, in the case of the giraffe, already cited, all would perish during a drought except those whose neck was naturally slightly longer than the average.

¹ Taken from Alf. Russell Wallace—*Darwinism*, p. 25.

But the young of all animals and plants *tend to inherit* the peculiarities of their parents. Hence, favorable variations, which preserve alive certain individuals of each species, will tend to be handed down to their offspring. The general action of the law of natural selection or survival of the fittest is thus to preserve all favorable variations which may occur and to destroy all unfavorable ones. Moreover, the favorable variation will tend to become intensified in each succeeding generation so long as the conditions which render it favorable remain in existence. We know that varieties of animals are thus produced, and species and varieties pass into each other by such imperceptible gradations, that it is impossible to lay down any fixed rule for the determination of the point where a variety ends and a species begins.

If, therefore, natural selection produces varieties, it can as well produce such groups of individuals as those which naturalists call species. If this be conceded, it is an inevitable conclusion that all species may have been produced by natural selection. At any rate, the admission that any species may have originated from that cause, throws upon those who deny the universal operation of the law the burden of proof, that any particular species has not been produced by the action of the same law.

In the case of domestic animals, it is no more natural selection that governs them, but an artificial one, exercised by man himself for the purpose of producing in them such qualities as he desires. The result is, that among such animals there is a more pronounced tendency to variation than wild animals have, and that the peculiarities, which are distinctive of our domestic animals as compared with their wild congeners, are not of such a nature as to fit them better to exist in their natural environment, but are adaptations to the taste or fancy or requirements of man. These facts of artificial selection are undeniable, and are acknowledged by all. All our domesticated animals owe their numerous varieties to man. But if artificial selection in so comparatively short a time has made domesticated animals so different from the wild species from which they came, is it not reasonable to suppose that natural selection could have made new species when we consider that it has operated during an indefinitely long period?

Such is, in brief, the theory of transformism or organic evolution as proposed by its two ablest representatives, Lamarck and Darwin. We will now proceed to give, as fairly as possible in a short article, the arguments proposed in its favor. They may be arranged, according to Mr. Romanes, under five heads. They may be taken, 1st, from morphology; 2d, from comparative anatomy; 3d, from geology; 4th, from geographical distribution of species; 5th, from embryology.¹

¹ See Romanes's *Scientific Evidence of Organic Evolution*.

I. As a fact, all the species of plants and animals present among themselves structural affinities, which permit their classification and division into genera, orders, families, classes, sub-kingdoms and kingdoms, according as their affinities are more or less pronounced. Still, it has been found impossible to place all in one linear series, according to their perfection in organization, for there are many species of which it is impossible to say that one is more perfect than the other. Natural classification may better be likened to a tree. The main trunk would represent the lowest organisms. This soon separates into two main branches, the *vegetable* and the *animal* kingdoms. Each of these gives off large branches, which are *classes*, and these give off smaller, which ramify again into *orders*, *genera*, and finally into species, which may be considered the leaves of the tree. Now, in such a tree of life the height of any branch may be taken to indicate the grade of organization. There is, therefore, a general advance from below upwards, but species at the same level, though very different from each other, cannot be said to be more highly organized, one than another.

Now, this tree of life is just what would have arisen had all species come into existence by evolution. Of course, God could, in His infinite wisdom, have formed such a plan and carried it out by means of direct creation. But we should never have recourse to a preternatural explanation of the phenomena of nature when we can find a sufficient explanation of them in nature itself. For example, in the case of languages, as in that of species of animals and plants, we find strongly marked generic affinities, so that it is possible, to some extent, to construct a language-tree, the branches of which will represent the progressive divergence of a large group of languages from a common stock. Thus, Latin may be regarded as a fossil language, which has given rise to a group of living languages—Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and, to a certain extent, English. Now, says Mr. Romanes, what should we think of a philologist who should maintain that French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian were all specially created languages, or languages separately constructed and communicated to these several nations by as many separate acts of inspiration, and that their resemblance to the fossil form Latin is to be attributed to special design? The evidence of the natural transmutation of species is as great, or even greater, the instances being vastly more numerous.

II. In a great many cases the same type of structure can be recognized as extending through very different classes of animals. For example, among the vertebrata, if we confine our attention to the arm, we find that in the whale it is modified for swimming, the bones of the shoulder, fore-arm, wrist and fingers all existing, but inclosed in a fin-shaped sack; in the bat it is modified for flying

by an enormous elongation of the fingers overspread with a fine membrane; in birds again it is modified for flight, but in a totally different manner, the fingers in this case being very short and coalescing, so that the chief expanse of the wing is formed by the shoulder and forearm. In frogs and lizards we find hands more like our own, but in an extinct species of flying reptile their modification was extreme, and in serpents both hand and arm have disappeared altogether. How shall we explain the presence of the same limb with such great modifications and performing so different functions? Easily, if we call to our aid the principles of natural selection and of variation under the influence of changed conditions of life. Otherwise, we can only say that God has ordered it so. But we do not see any reason why it should be so. It would apparently have been more simple to have created a different limb for a different function, rather than to torture the same limb in every conceivable way. The same observation holds good in regard to the other organs.

Furthermore, there are in many animals limbs that are only rudimentary and incapable of performing any function; *e.g.*, the hind legs in seals have been shortened and directed backwards, so as to be of no use for walking; and in whales the modification has gone even further than this, so that the hind legs have ceased to be apparent externally, and are only represented internally by very rudimentary remnants. The baleen whale has also rudimentary teeth, which are never destined to cut the gums. Man himself has a rudimentary tail, which is certainly of no practical use. It may be said that the design was to keep the same plan all through; but then it is incomprehensible why there are so many exceptions to it,—why in the same natural group an organ is sometimes present and sometimes absent. Thus, for instance, in nearly every one of the numerous species of snakes there are no vestiges of limbs; but the python possesses tiny rudiments of hind limbs beneath the skin.

Let us take the very interesting case of the horse. One toe appears to have become developed at the expense of the others, for the so-called knee of the horse is really the wrist or ankle, and the so-called shank the middle toe or finger very much enlarged. But on each side of this enlarged toe there are beneath the skin rudimentary bones of two other toes, the so-called splint-bones. How is the existence of these two rudimentary toes to be explained? If we seek, with the aid of palæontology, to go back to the probable ancestor of the present horse, we find, low down in the geological strata, horse-like animals with five toes on the fore feet (one rudimentary), which afterwards in later forms, of which the remains have been found, were reduced to four, then to three,

after which the two lateral toes began to become rudimentary, as we now see them in oxen, and later on still more so; so that in comparatively recent times we find fossils of a horse with simply the splint-bones, as at present.

So we have several genera standing in a linear series and leading to the horse of our own day. All this can be explained by the effects of use and disuse, change in the conditions of life, and "natural selection." If we do not recognize this it becomes an insoluble mystery.

III. The solid crust of the earth is composed of a superposition of strata, each of which contains the fossil remains of such animals and plants as lived at the time it was formed. The relative age of these strata has been pretty well established, and it is evident that there has been on the whole a progression in the degree of organization of the living forms from the first appearance of life to the present day. The fauna and flora of any particular stratum are always more perfect than those of the one immediately below it. Some types have lasted for a limited time only, as the trilobite and the ammonite; while others have existed unchanged through all periods, as *Lingula*, *Terebratulina caput serpentis* and *Foraminifera*.

Innumerable species in every age have appeared for a time, only to disappear and be replaced by new forms. If the disappearance had been general all over the world, and had extended to all living beings, it could be ascribed to a cataclysm. But some species, as has just been said, are always found passing from one period to another, and the change never affected at once all the countries of the earth. Often a species, after its disappearance from one part of the globe, is found in others in strata corresponding to a later period. All these facts point towards the same conclusion as that deduced from the consideration of the structural and morphological affinities between contemporary species.

When we come to consider the distribution of species, we find a new confirmation of the hypothesis. If specific differences are a product of natural causes, an effect of the conditions of life aided by natural selection, we would expect to find different species in countries or localities separated by a long distance from each other, or possessing marked differences in climate, soil and other natural conditions of life. This is exactly what we see to be the case. There is a great difference between the inhabitants of Australia, Africa and South America, for these regions are as isolated from one another as possible. So, too, on opposite sides of lofty and continuous mountain ranges, of great deserts, and even of large rivers, we find a divergent flora and fauna. In marine life, too, we find totally different species on

opposite sides of a continent, in different seas, and in different depths of the seas. The fossils of each country, while differing greatly according to their age, have certain characteristics in common among themselves and with the present flora and fauna.

In the case of oceanic islands situated at some distance from the continent we find plants and animals which, though often of *very different specific type* from all others in the world, nevertheless resemble in generic type those of the nearest continent. This seems to imply that the island was originally stocked with species from the continent, and that, after importation, such variations have taken place as in some cases to produce new species.

There is no island at a great distance from a continent where frogs, toads or newts can be found, because these animals and their spawn are killed by sea-water. All oceanic islands situated more than three hundred miles from the main land are destitute of any representatives of the whole class of *Mammalia*, with the exception only of those which can fly, bats, and these sometimes differ from all other bats in the world.

If then we deny the theory of evolution we must suppose that God created separately every species in accordance with the climate of its habitat, the food obtainable, and the kind of enemies with which it would have to contend; at the same time giving to the forms inhabiting each country the same general characteristics, so as to make the flora and fauna of different countries clearly distinguishable. But this is not all. These special creations must have been continued at intervals throughout all the geological periods, and there must have been as many centres of creation as there are continents and islands; in fact, as many as there are regions with marked differences in elevation and other natural conditions, separated by mountain peaks or great rivers. Lastly, special creations must have been such as to cause a divergence between different species *in a direct ratio to the distance* by which their habitats are separated.

But to give such an explanation to these remarkable facts, say the evolutionists, would be to preclude all scientific investigation. It is the same as to say, when asked for the reason of any natural phenomenon: "It is so because God made it so."

IV. The last argument in favor of the doctrine of evolution is furnished by the science of embryology. The embryos of animals belonging to nearly related groups, we are told, are very much alike. It is only when they are adult, or nearly so, that they distinctly differ, and the higher animals almost invariably pass through the same embryonic stages as the lower, up to the time when the higher animal begins to assume its peculiar characters. Thus the embryo of a mammal is first like a jelly fish, and after it begins to

show the characters of a vertebrate, it does not appear whether it is to be a fish, a snake, a bird or a beast. After a time it becomes evident that it is to be a mammal, but not till later could it be said to which order of mammals it belongs. Thus the phases of embryonic development recall the order of apparition of the different animal types upon the earth.

This otherwise inexplicable fact can be readily understood on the theory of descent from lower animals, since, in that case, it would only be natural that, by the law of inheritance, the first stages of the evolution should reappear in the embryonic development.

Such is the theory, with the arguments set forth in support of it.

III.

Before proceeding to discuss it, we may be asked, whether such a task is not superfluous for a Christian, inasmuch as the evolutionist theory would seem to be directly opposed to the teaching of the Bible, and even to lead to a denial of the presence and action of God in the work of creation. That such an impression is not unfrequently to be met with we cannot deny, but we believe it to be groundless.

To begin with the latter difficulty ; a little reflection will show that the evolutionist theory of creation is not less glorious to God than the idea generally held among believers.

For, which is more glorious to God—to conceive Him as creating everything immediately, so that all that we see, whether in the inorganic realm, as the sun, the moon, the stars, and the earth itself, or, in the organic, as plants and animals, should have come directly from Him ;—to conceive Him as interfering, by a special act, *every time* a substantial change had to be made in the constitution of the world, every time one of the thousands and thousands of species came to life through the long succession of the geological ages ;—or, to conceive Him as creating matter in a chaotic state, foreseeing and willing that, in the course of time, all the various forms of material existence should issue from that primitive mass through the laws which he had first established and would maintain ;—then, at the proper time, as life cannot come spontaneously from matter creating the primeval germs of the earliest living types, putting them likewise under certain fixed laws of development, and decreeing that all living beings, plants and animals, should, little by little, become differentiated through progressive evolutions ; and, lastly, breathing into a body, taken from pre-existing matter, a soul made in His own image and likeness ?

Surely, "There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few

forms, or into one, and that, while this planet has gone cycling on, according to the fixed laws of gravity, from so simple a beginning, endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been and are being evolved."¹

But the question is not whether it is a beautiful conception ; the question is, whether it is true—for, the beautiful is not a sure guide when we have to deal with a question of facts. Have we, then, any means of ascertaining whether God has really created everything in detail by His direct act, or has He created only matter, force and life, leaving to nature's own laws to finish the work under the supervision of His Providence.

To find an answer to this question, we may consult the narrative of creation, such as it is given in the Bible, or, we may interrogate Nature herself. If the Bible says anything clear and decisive on the matter, it is evidence for all Christians that further research is useless, and that every other way of answering the question must be given up as mistaken.

What, then, does the Bible say ? Does it affirm that not only the world at large, but every species of plant and animal has been called into existence by a special act of creation, that, for instance, if there are thirty species of crows or a hundred species of violets, God specially created a pair of each species of crows and a first type of each species of violets, and so on for the 600,000 species that inhabit the world ? Does the Sacred Book say that the species as primitively created are fixed and can never change in course of time so as to become new species ?

At first sight it may seem so, but there is nothing so precise as that in the sacred text. The aim of the first chapter of Genesis is evidently to affirm that God created the world with all it contains, all the living as well as the inanimate beings. Then follows an enumeration of them, put in the most natural way. We cannot find there any trace of scientific description, and we have no right to expect it.

True, it is said, that at the command of God, the earth brought forth the herbs and the trees לְמִינֵהֶם (L'minèhem). But the word מִן (Min), which is translated by "kind" (Fr. *espece*, Germ, *Art*, etc.), cannot have the precise and scientific meaning which we now attribute to the words *species* and *genus*, and which has been settled only in this century after the works of Linnæus, Jussieu, de Candolle,

¹ These words are from Darwin himself. See *Origin of Species*, the last page. Lamarck had said before : " Sans doute rien n'existe que par la volonté du sublime Auteur de toutes choses, mais pouvons-nous lui assigner des règles dans l'exécution de sa volonté et fixer la mode qu'il a suivi à cet égard ? Assurément, quelle qu'ait été sa volonté, l'immensité de sa puissance est toujours la même et de quelque manière que se soit exécutée cette volonté suprême, rien n'en peut déminuer la grandeur."—*Phil. Zool.*, t. i., p. 56.

Cuvier, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Agassiz and others. It cannot be more than a popular expression meaning that God had created every plant, of every size and form, and given to all the power of reproduction for the maintenance of their kind, so that even the plants that now exist, and which have come from the first one created, came also from God as truly as did their original types. The same remark can be made concerning animals. Even when it is said of the body of man: "And the Lord formed man of the slime of the earth," it is clear that the expression is anthropomorphic, for we cannot imagine God taking a piece of red clay and giving to it the shape of a human body. It means simply that the body of the first man was formed of material elements, which, in the absence of the soul, were no more than clay and dust, "of the earth earthy," as St. Paul says.

"Darwinian Transformism," says Fr. Corluy, S. J., "is indeed contrary to the *obvious* sense of Scripture, but it cannot be said to be evidently opposed to the sacred text itself; for, Scripture is silent on the *mode* according to which the earth produced this diversity of species, whether it was suddenly or in the course of time; whether with an absolute or only with a relative fixity of species. Moreover the sense of the word מִן (Min), as used by Scripture is open to discussion."¹

"Darwinism," says Fr. Vigouroux, S. S., is not necessarily in contradiction with the Bible. . . . It can, therefore, be held, with the necessary restrictions, by believing scientists, as it is in fact by Mr. St. George Mivart and others."²

As therefore the Bible does not say anything which prevents us absolutely from accepting the theory of a *mediate* creation, such as described above, let us examine whether the theory proposed by the transformists can satisfy us that the world has come to its present state through a process of evolutionary development.

The limits of this article do not allow us to discuss each of the arguments which we have presented above. There are in them many assertions that very competent naturalists pronounce too general and therefore inexact; for instance, the last so-called proof taken from embryology, is pronounced by E. von Baer, one of

¹ "Transformismus Darwinianus," says Fr. Corluy, S. J., "dicendus est sensui Scripturæ *obvio* contradicere non tamen *aperte* textui sacro adversari; tacet enim Scriptura *modum* quo terra varietatem illam specierum produxerit, an statim an decursu temporum, an cum specierum firmitate omnimoda an cum relativa duntaxat. Sed et de sensu disputari posset quem Scriptura hic assignet nomini מִן (Min)" Jos. Corluy, S. J., *Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum*, t. i., p. 198.

² "Le Darwinisme," says Vigouroux, "n'est pas nécessairement en contradiction avec la Bible. . . . Il peut par conséquent être soutenu, avec les restrictions nécessaires, par des savants croyants, comme il l'est en effet par Mr. St. George Mivart et d'autres encore." F. Vigouroux, S. S., *Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste*, t. ii., p. 589 et seq.; ed. 1886, in 8 v.

the greatest authorities in the matter, a fanciful story "*ein volles märchen*."¹

We will confine ourselves to a few remarks, which we take from Prof. Nicholson.

1. It is universally admitted that in natural sciences, only such conclusions are admissible as are deduced from well-ascertained facts.

But the evolutionists who contend that species are transmutable, cannot actually furnish any indubitable case of transmutation. They answer that varieties are species in process of transformation, and that only time is required for the completion of the change. But since the earliest historic records we have no case of a variety having certainly evolved into a species; the cats, *e.g.*, that are found represented on the Egyptian monuments, are exactly like those of the present day. In six thousand years the varieties do not seem to have taken one step towards becoming new species. In a very few cases, some intermediate forms are claimed to be verifiable in historic time, but there is much uncertainty in every case.

2. As for the theory of natural selection in particular, its very essence is that the law of the struggle for existence is powerless to preserve or develop any structure except such as are useful to the individual or the species. But, according to the theory, the useful structures were not suddenly produced in a complete and perfect state; they were first rudimentary and therefore *functionally useless*. They may have been harmless, and that is about all that can be said. How then is their first preservation and development, while yet in their incipient stage, to be accounted for?

3. Unless many individuals should be similarly and instantaneously modified, there would be little chance of any useful variation being ultimately preserved and transmitted, for it would otherwise be lost by intercrossing with ordinary individuals. But it is hardly possible that the same variation would simultaneously appear in many individuals of a species, and there is no evidence to show that this ever occurs.

4. The theory of the origin of species by means of natural selection implies that a new species can only be produced by gradual modification, and therefore through the intervention of a long series of intermediate or transitional forms; and as these transitional forms must have greatly exceeded in number the individuals which are clearly recognizable as distinct species, we ought to find more abundant evidence of their existence than of the existence of the latter. Yet, as a matter of fact, very few of those forms that can be considered as intermediate have been found. Palæontology lends support to the *theory of evolution*

¹ E. von Baer, *Studien aus dem Gebiete der Naturwissenschaft*, p. 428.

understood in a very broad sense, but the theory of *natural selection* requires more than this. It requires that there should be a series of intermediate types, graduating into one another, by slight and hardly perceptible differences. Mr. Darwin meets this difficulty by pointing to the great imperfection of the palæontological record, the fossil forms known to us forming doubtless but an insignificant fraction of those which once existed. But this does not sufficiently account for the general absence of graduated intermediate forms.

5. The theory of natural selection supposes that variation is indefinite. But the evidence which has been collected since the beginning of the human period would rather support the opposite view, namely, that variation takes place only within certain comparatively narrow limits.

These objections have never been satisfactorily answered.

CONCLUSION.

It will be observed that in the course of the present article we have not taken into consideration those partisans of evolution who go so far as to pretend that they are or some day will be able to explain the evolution of life from inorganic matter, or of the soul from merely animal vitality ; or to explain the origin or development of any form of existence without the intervention of a supreme Creative Power. Such extreme ideas are not a necessary part of the theory. The question of the existence of a Creator who produced from nothing matter and force, life and reason, is a question entirely foreign to the system itself and indeed entirely outside the domain of natural science. If a great many of the followers of Darwin are agnostics the fault is not necessarily to be ascribed to Darwinism, but to their own mental infirmity or to their imperfect philosophical training. To every unprejudiced mind it should be evident that matter must have had a beginning and therefore a cause outside itself.

The results of the most accurate experiments made by such men as Pasteur and Tyndall have also led to the conclusion that life cannot be generated spontaneously from matter. (See Tyndall : *Matter Floating in the Air*).

Again the intelligent faculty or reason in man belongs to an order entirely different from the instincts of brutes and therefore cannot be considered as a mere evolution of them.

Thus, there is no reason why transformism in general or Darwinism in particular, as long as it is kept within the limits of scientific research and seeks not to undermine truths of another order with which it has no concern, should not be made the subject of free discussion. It should be treated as a working hypothesis in natural history, as, for instance, the wave theory of heat and

light in physics. It may be that something like evolution has been taking place. As far as the *Earth* is concerned it is certain that it has become what it is only through continued changes during an extremely long period of time: this is one of the things which geology demonstrates beyond the possibility of a doubt. Perhaps the origin of species is, to a certain extent, attributable to a similar law. But what is the real process followed by nature? What is the real mode of evolution willed by the Creator, and taking place under His guidance? This question is far from being solved, even after all that has been written by the evolutionists. Climatic influences, use and disuse of organs, changes of environment, continuity of the germ-plasm¹ may contribute to it, as well as natural selection; but all these causes put together are far from furnishing a satisfactory explanation of all the various manifestations of life in the vegetable and animal kingdoms.

If scientists cannot finally solve the problem the discussion will have served as a stimulus to investigation, to the more accurate observation of the facts of nature, and will have thus been, at least indirectly an element in scientific progress.

"So-called Darwinism, or Darwin's hypothesis," says E. von Baer, "is nothing else but an attempt to furnish us with a precise explanation for the Transformation of Species. This explanation Darwin thought he could give, and it will have to be acknowledged in all future times that he has exhibited remarkable sagacity. It is undeniable that even now his work has a powerful influence on the progress of Zoology, especially in Germany. German naturalists had too much neglected the varieties, and lost sight altogether of the importance of Variability."²

What is said here of Germany applies in a certain degree to every country where natural sciences are cultivated.

On the other hand, as the theory is far from being demonstrated, and has not succeeded so far in winning anything beyond a very qualified assent from many of the highest representatives of science (it seems even to have lost ground in the last years), we may safely conclude that it is, at most, an open question in which each one may take sides according to his own judgment without being exposed to the reproach of remaining behind his time.

¹ Allusion to a new theory of heredity proposed by Prof. August Weismann, of Freiburg.

² "Der sogenannte Darwinismus oder Darwin's hypothese," says E. von Baer, "nichts anderes ist als ein Versuch für die Transformation eine bestimmte Erklärung zu geben. Diese Erklärung nun glaubt Darwin geben zu können und den aufgebotenen Scharfsinn wird man auch in späterer Zeit anerkennen müssen, sowie es auch unleugbar ist dass schon jetzt sein Werk mächtig auf die Förderung der Zoologie gewirkt hat und am meisten in Deutschland. Die deutschen Naturforscher hatten die Varietäten, welche noch jetzt die verschiedensten Arten zeigen, zu sehr vernachlässigt und das wichtige Verhältniss der Variabilität ganz aus dem Auge verloren."—*Studien*, etc. p. 423.

THE TRANSIT OF MERCURY, MAY 9, 1891.

SO much prominence has been given to the transits of Venus of 1874 and 1882, that the transits of Mercury have been comparatively neglected. It is true, that on account of Mercury's proximity to the sun, its transits can never compete with those of Venus in determining that great base line of the heavens, the sun's distance; still, we have very high astronomical authority for asserting that too much reliance has been placed upon the transits of Venus, and that they have not yielded all the results that were claimed for them. Be this as it may, as the next transit of Venus does not take place until June 8, 2004, we have sufficient time for reflection and for devoting some of our leisure to the transits of Mercury. The last favorable transit of Mercury visible in this century will occur on May 9th of this year, and may be the key to the solution of many interesting questions. It is with this transit that the present article has to deal.

By transit we mean, in general, the passage of one celestial body before another. The use of the word is technically restricted to the case when the nearer body is the smaller. This applies in the present instance. Mercury and Venus are the only planets that circulate about the sun in orbits entirely enclosed by that of the earth, and consequently they alone can ever come between the earth and the sun in such a manner as to appear to pass directly across the face of that luminary. Our moon also has this privilege, but as she appears to be of about the same size as the sun, her transits are called eclipses, because the amount of solar light intercepted is considerable. Lastly, when the nearer body is very much larger than the farther one, we say there is an occultation; thus the moon, our nearest celestial neighbor, is continually occulting the stars in her path.

Viewed through a small telescope by the unpracticed eye, the transit of Mercury is no more than the passage of a small black spot across the sun, but to an astronomer this little object will reveal a volume of wonderful and useful information. Everything about this spot will be most carefully noted. First of all, the time of its appearance will tell the astronomer whether his tables of the planet are correct. To construct these tables many and most precise observations are necessary, but Mercury's general nearness to the sun renders such precision very difficult and often impossible, because in the sun's glare the planet, and even the brightest stars, are lost to view. When, however, the planet is in transit,

the sun's rays instead of dazzling our eyes whilst observing Mercury's tiny crescent, on the contrary throw his black disk into bolder relief.

Besides giving us this accurate determination of Mercury's own motion, the transit may solve a problem of far higher import. Every one is familiar with that greatest triumph of mathematical astronomy, which from the motions of one planet and the minute discrepancy between its observed and predicted places, proved by the sheer power of mathematics the existence of another and larger planet, a thousand million miles away, far beyond the uttermost limits of the then known solar system. Once the problem was solved for Neptune, the outermost planet, it was applied to the innermost, Mercury, by Leverrier, the same genius that had immortalized himself in the former instance. He found that Mercury's orbit also was interfered with by an unknown body revolving between it and the sun, and that the mass of the new planet must be about half that of Mercury itself. Later observations and discussions have indeed disproved the existence of Vulcan, as this newly adopted member of the solar family was called, but have replaced the one planet by a ring of smaller ones, whose existence is proved with the greatest degree of probability. The question of intra-Mercurial planets is thus a live one, and every transit well observed may bring us nearer the solution.

There are other points to be cleared up concerning the individual character of the planet itself. The celebrated Italian astronomer, Schiapparelli, the discoverer of the gemination of the canals of Mars, has lately aroused new interest in the planet whose transit is now before us. He says that just as our moon always turns the same face to the earth, so Mercury always turns the same face to the sun, and consequently, that one-half the inhabitants (if any exist,) must have perpetual day, and the other half perpetual night, whilst those that live on the borderland of light and darkness, because of the planet's libration or the apparent swinging motion of the sun, must have but one day and one night during the Mercurian year.

The existence of an atmosphere on Mercury has not yet been firmly established. When Venus enters upon the sun, a ring of light surrounding the black disk is very noticeable, but a similar ring about the disk of Mercury cannot be affirmed with certainty. The spectroscope has already given evidence of water-vapor on the planet, and thus indirectly of an atmosphere. A satellite has not yet been discovered.

The figures or diagrams accompanying this article will enable us to understand better the circumstances of the coming transit. Fig. 1 gives us the particulars of the transit as seen from the earth.

The circle represents the disk of the sun, and N, E, S, W, are its cardinal points. At noon the north point is uppermost, and a vertical plane drawn through the sun's centre, would cut the disk along the line N S. As the sun moves away from the meridian, the disk with its cardinal points begins to turn, the point N moves to the right and the point S to the left of the vertical plane passing through the sun's centre. The uppermost point of the disk is now to be found somewhere on the circumference between the points N and E. The angle through which the disk turns varies with the time and the latitude of the place of observation, and we may say that for the United States generally, some point between A and B will be the uppermost point of the disk at the beginning of the transit. If, therefore, we hold the diagram in such a way that a point midway between A and B shall be uppermost, we shall know pretty accurately at what part of the sun to expect the planet to appear. While the uppermost point of the sun is variable, the cardinal points, on the contrary, are fixed points of the disk, and are the same for all observers in the world. We can find them at any time if we draw a plane through our eye, the pole star and the centre of the sun's disk. This plane will always cut the sun along the line N S.

The double line marked "Apparent Path of Mercury," represents the track of the planet across the disk of the sun. The figures 6, 7, 8, etc., give the position of the planet at 6, 7, 8, etc., o'clock P.M., central time, and the intermediate marks subdivide its course into 10 minute spaces. We see, therefore, that the transit will begin at about 6 o'clock and end at about 10 minutes of 11. The small black dots between the lines are the relative size of Mercury compared with the sun. For the United States, the centre of the planet runs along the southern (or lower) line, and for Australia along the northern line, whilst it would appear to run midway between the two lines for an observer at the centre of the earth.

Where the line marked INGRESS cuts the circumference, the planet must be looked for when it enters upon the sun. This line makes an angle of 116 degrees with the line N C. There are two contacts of Mercury and the sun at ingress; the first is called the exterior contact and takes place at the moment when the planet's small black disk begins to enter upon the bright disk of the sun, and apparently to cut a notch into the brilliant circle. This occurs at 5 hours, 55 minutes, 29.3 seconds P.M., central time, to an observer stationed at the earth's centre. We shall see later that this time is somewhat accelerated or retarded for places on the surface of the earth. The second or interior contact takes place

when the planet has fully entered upon the sun. This happens at 6 hours, 0 minutes, 25.0 seconds, central time.

Similar contacts occur at the egress, but in inverse order, the interior contact at 10 hours, 47 minutes, 2.3 seconds, and the exterior contact, when all is over, at 10 hours, 52 minutes, 45.7 seconds, central time. We may remark here, once for all, that throughout this article, whenever time is given, central standard time is always meant, unless the exception to this rule be distinctly stated.

The middle of the transit occurs at 8 hours, 23 minutes, 54.5 seconds. At this moment the planet is at D, where the perpendicular C D cuts its path. It is then at its least distance from the sun's centre. As this time is 23 minutes past 6 o'clock, Pacific time, and as the sun sets only at 7 o'clock, California and the neighboring States will enjoy a view of more than half the transit.

This is the general appearance of the coming transit. In order to understand the causes and other interesting details, let us turn to Fig. 2. Here we have the sun in the middle, and about it are drawn three circles of different sizes. The outer or largest circle represents the orbit which the earth describes about the sun every year. The position of the earth in this orbit is marked for every fifth day, but only every tenth day is numbered. Thus we have March 2, 12, 22, April 1, 11, 21, and so on, with intermediate marks for March 7, 17, 27, April 6, 16, 26, etc. The next circle is the orbit of Venus, with which we are not now concerned. The third and smallest circle, whose centre is not the sun but the point O, is the orbit of Mercury, and gives the position of the planet for every five days from April 1st to June 25th. Everything on this diagram is drawn accurately to scale, except the sun, which has been enlarged about 10 times; its true diameter being about one-one-hundredth of the diameter of the earth's orbit.

According to Kepler's law all planets move in ellipses with the sun in one of their foci. The ellipses of Venus and the earth upon the scale of our diagram cannot be distinguished from circles, and we may call them by the one name or the other. But the case is different with Mercury. Although the curvature of his orbit resembles that of a circle, it is a circle very much out of centre, and even in our diagram the centre of the ellipse O is at a considerable distance from the sun's centre. No planet, in fact, in our solar system has a more eccentric orbit. When Mercury is at the point P, or in perihelion, as that point of the orbit is called which is nearest the sun, it is fifteen million miles nearer to the sun than when farthest away at the point A, or in aphelion, the distances being $28\frac{1}{2}$ and $43\frac{1}{2}$ million miles respectively. On account of this great variation of distance, it receives more than twice as much light and heat at perihelion as at aphelion; and it would be quite

an interesting and complicated problem to investigate the influence this fact has on the seasons of the planet, if what we call the wintry season, were to occur at perihelion. But how a true winter, with ice and snow, is really possible on this planet, is difficult to conceive, because its average supply of light and heat is nearly seven times the earth's allotment. The eccentricity of the orbit also causes the velocity of Mercury to vary from 35 miles a second at perihelion to 23 miles at aphelion, a difference quite sensible on our diagram, if we compare the distance run from April 1st to April 6th, with that run from May 16th to May 21st.

Mercury completes a revolution about the sun in eighty-eight days. This, therefore, is the length of his year—a pretty brief period according to our notions. As seen from the earth, his orbit appears to be a straight line, or a long and narrow ellipse, if indeed these words can adequately express his apparently most erratic wanderings. We know by observation, and an inspection of the diagram illustrates our views, that Mercury and Venus cannot depart from the sun beyond a certain distance, 28 degrees for Mercury and 46 for Venus. When Mercury is at the point C in his orbit, and the earth at the same time at D, so that the line D C points to the sun, the planet is said to be in *inferior conjunction* with the sun. This occurs May 9th. The planet then passes across the sun's face, and we have a *transit*.

If we draw a line from the earth to the sun and another from the earth to Mercury, and imagine the given lines to follow these bodies in their various movements, the angle made by these lines at the earth is called the planet's *elongation* from the sun. When the planet is at the point C, or in conjunction, this angle is zero and the two lines coincide. But as Mercury runs along in his course from C to A and K, and the earth follows more slowly from D to H, the angle between the lines is continually increasing. It is a maximum when Mercury has reached the point K of his orbit and the earth the point H. The planet is then said to be in its *greatest elongation*. This happens on June 5th. The elongation at the time is 24 degrees; it is to the right of the sun, that is, towards the west, and hence the planet rises before the sun, or is *morning star*. The line drawn from the earth to Mercury is then tangent to the planet's orbit, and any further motion on the part of the planet must cause this line to swing to the left and diminish the angle between it and the line drawn to the sun. To an observer on the earth the planet would seem to approach the sun.

As Mercury passes successively through the points K, M, P, R, his elongation is constantly decreasing, until, when he has come to R and the earth to B, the elongation is zero, the two lines coincide, and he is again in conjunction with the sun. But as he is

on the other side of the sun, he is said to be in *superior conjunction*. This is the case on July 6th.

On April 18th Mercury is in his *greatest eastern elongation* of 20 degrees. The planet is then to the left of the sun, and sets after it, and is called *evening star*. For our latitudes this is the best opportunity of the entire year to observe Mercury, because the whole angular distance from the sun is used to best advantage in raising the planet above the horizon. A keen eye will have no difficulty in finding the planet in the summer twilight. Once seen, we are surprised that we have not picked it up before. And this bright object, shining so beautifully against the purple sky, will be transformed in three weeks into a dark black body stealing across the face of the orb of day, only to be retransformed into its former brightness on the sun's western side.

We have said that at inferior conjunction on May 9th, the planet passes between us and the sun, and is visible as a small black spot upon it. Why does not this occur at every inferior conjunction? The reason is that the plane of the planet's orbit does not coincide with that of the earth's. To make this clear, let us suppose that, with a sharp penknife, we cut the paper along Mercury's orbit in all places except at the points M and N. Then, keeping the little disk attached to the page at the points mentioned, turn it round, so that F may be above the page and K below it, until the disk makes an angle of seven degrees with the plane of the page. Now as the planet moves along the edge of its little disk, it must pass through the plane of the page twice, once at N, when going down, and a second time at M, when going up. Hence only at these two points, M and N, can Mercury cross the plane of the earth's orbit and be in the same straight line that joins the earth and sun. Of course, when the planet is at or near M or N, the earth, at the same time, must be at or near L or Q respectively; that is, only about November 8th and May 7th, is a transit of Mercury possible.

There are, therefore, two classes, the May and the November transits. Of these, the May transits offer advantages not to be found in the others. First, the May transit takes place when the planet is approaching aphelion; that is, when it is farthest from the sun and nearest to the earth. The planet, therefore, appears larger—one-fifth larger than in November—and its details are more easily seen. Secondly, the planet is moving more slowly in its orbit, so much so as to prolong the May transit one and one-half times the length of the November transit. This, of course, admits of more extended observation. Thirdly, the May transit occurs in spring, when the sun is higher in the heavens for the northern hemisphere and when the day is four hours longer than in November, thus increasing the chances of our seeing the passage.

On the other hand, the May transits are about half as numerous as the November transits. There are only four of them during the present century: in 1832, 1845, 1878, 1891, while there are nine in November: 1802, 1815, 1822, 1835, 1848, 1861, 1868, 1881, 1894. Of these 13 transits of Mercury visible to the earth generally, only a fraction can really be observed at any one place or country. Some may take place when the sun is below our horizon, others may be only partially visible, whilst others may be interfered with by the weather. Thus, for example, the transit of 1881 was not at all visible in the United States. The next one, 1894, will be completely observable in this country, but, as it is a November transit, the weather is apt to be unfavorable. As regards the transit just before us, May 9, 1891, only the contacts at ingress will be visible to the Eastern States, whilst the more western States will see half the transit. However, as the most important observations consist precisely in noting the time and scanning the planet's disk at the very moments of the exterior and interior contacts, all the observatories of the United States will be enabled to secure at least this, the most useful and important part of the transit. Additional interest will be excited by the fact that the next May transit does not take place until May 7, 1924.

The small circles between diagrams I. and II. give the apparent size of Mercury at the dates affixed. The scale is exactly ten times as large as that on which Fig. 1 is drawn. The different magnitudes of these small circles are owing to Mercury's variable distance from the earth. Its true diameter is about 3000 miles. As the planet borrows all its light from the sun, it appears as a new moon, that is, a black disk at inferior conjunction; as a full moon at superior conjunction; as a moon in the quarters at the times of greatest elongation, and crescent or gibbous in intermediate positions. But as the planet is always so near the sun, it can never be seen by the naked eye except on or near the days of maximum elongation, and when the sun is some distance below the horizon. On account of this difficulty of seeing the planet, the great astronomer, Copernicus, who has given his name to our solar system, is reported never to have seen it. A telescope, however, will pick it up readily if we know where to look. On May 9th, a telescope of moderate size will have little difficulty in detecting the planet in transit. Telescopes are now so abundant in this go-ahead country of ours, that the privilege of using one in such an interesting astronomical event as the present transit of Mercury, is within easy reach of all our readers. There need be no fear of mistaking a sun-spot for the planet, because the planet presents a circular and well-defined black disk, whilst the spots are irregular in shape, and their edges are not distinct; and secondly, there are no spots on or near

FIG. III.

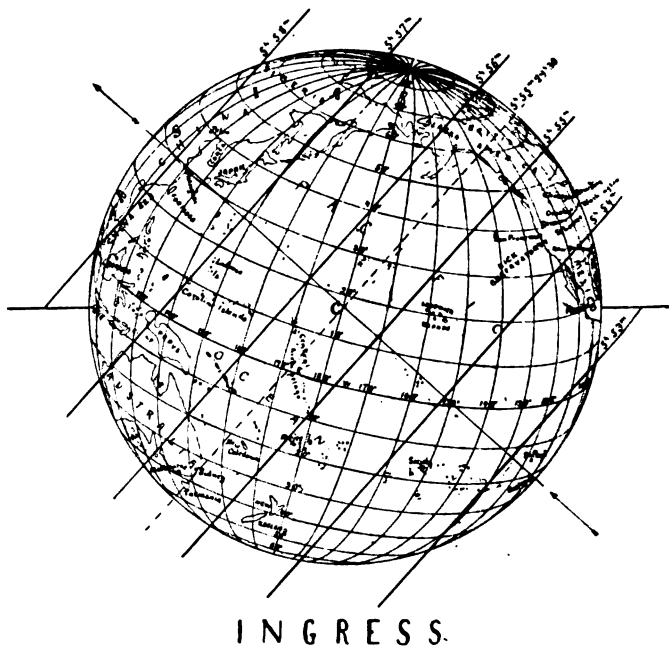
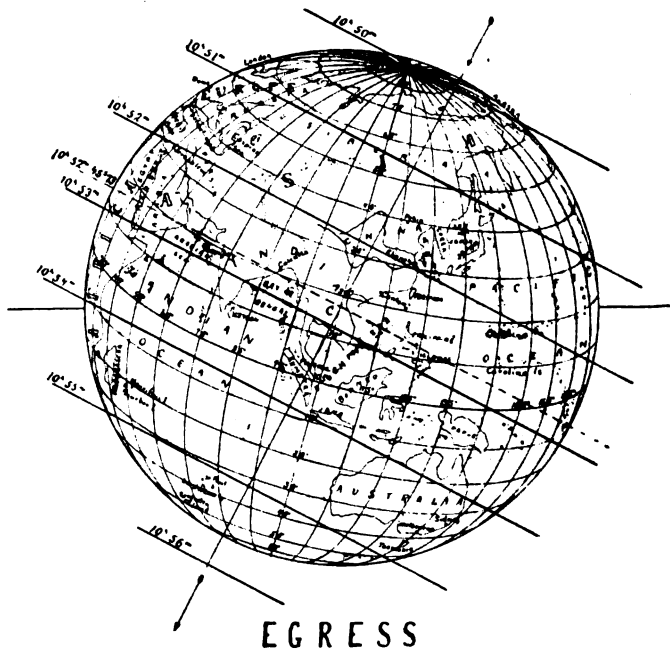


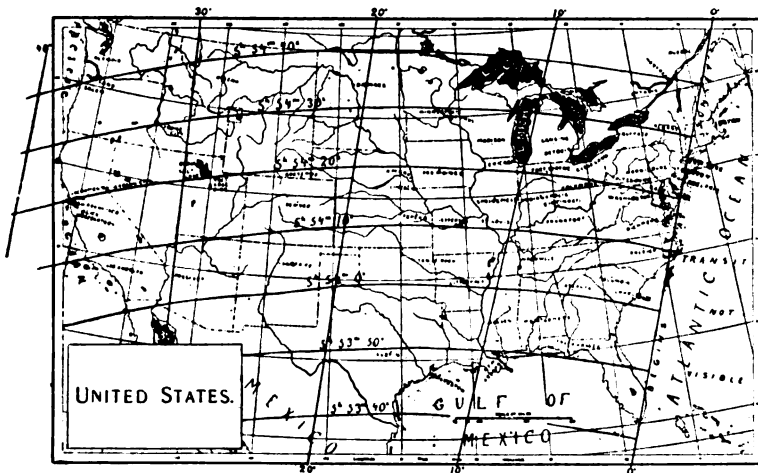
FIG. IV



the planet's path. Of course, a piece of smoked glass must be used outside the eye-piece, except when the sun is near the horizon.

Figs. 3 and 4 represent the earth as seen from the sun at the times of external contact at ingress and at egress. The straight lines pass over all those lands and seas for which the ingress or egress occurs at the same moment. On Fig. 3, the line marked 5 hours, 55 minutes, 29.30 seconds, runs through the centre of the earth's disk, and all observers on that line, from the northern portion of British America down through the Pacific Ocean to near the southeast corner of Australia and through Tasmania, will see Mercury enter upon the sun at the same instant at which an astronomer at the centre of the earth would see it if observations

FIG. 5.



were possible from that spot. Below and to the right of this line the transit will begin sooner, and later on the other side, the exact times being marked on the lines, which are one minute apart. The same explanation pertains to the earth at egress. On both figures the sun is directly over head at the centre, C, and in the horizon for all places along the circumference of the disk. We can therefore see, by examining the two figures, which places on earth have the best view of the transit, which will see the whole of it, or only the beginning or only the end. Those lands and seas which appear on both figures will see the whole transit, *e.g.*, Australia, China, Japan, Siberia, Alaska, and half the Islands of the Pacific Ocean. Those which appear only on Fig. 3 will observe only the ingress, *e.g.*, the United States, Mexico and North America generally. Those which appear only on Fig. 4 will see only the egress, *e.g.*,

India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, the eastern half of Africa, and the whole of Europe, except Spain and the west coast of Ireland. Whilst in the United States the cities of New York and Washington will be sponsors for the safe entrance of Mercury upon the sun a few moments before sunset on the evening of May 9th, in Europe London and Rome will see the planet off the sun a few moments after sunrise on the morning of May 10th.

In order to render every assistance to those of our readers who wish to observe the transit, we give also a map of the United States, from which the exact times of the external contact at ingress, and the height of the sun in the heavens, can easily be measured or estimated for every city and town in the country. The curved lines running east and west give the nearest ten seconds of central time. For those using eastern time, the transit will begin exactly one hour later, and exactly one hour and two hours sooner for those using Mountain and Pacific time respectively. The lines running north and south give the height of the sun above the horizon for every ten degrees. On the easternmost line, marked 0° , the transit begins at sunset, and east of this line after sunset, that is, the transit will not be visible at all.

We see from this map and from Fig. III., that the Lick Observatory, in California, the best equipped and best manned astronomical observatory in the world, has also very fortunately secured the best possible position in the United States for observing the coming transit. The ingress begins at 3 hours, 54 minutes, 17.99 seconds, Pacific time, which corresponds to 3 hours, 47 minutes, 43.90 seconds, Mount Hamilton time. As the sun sets at 6 hours, 55 minutes, Mercury will have to bear for the first time since its erection, the searching eye of the great telescope for 3 hours and 8 minutes. The wonderful discoveries already made by this giant instrument, lead us to hope for most promising results on this favorable occasion. Old data concerning the planet may be definitely settled, or called in question, or proved untenable; at all events, the dicta of the great telescope will be respected, and what it cannot see need not be looked for through smaller and less favorably situated instruments.

Let us hope that this and all the great observatories of the land from which the transit is visible, will be blessed with a clear sky, so that all things may conspire to make the transit of Mercury, May 9th, 1891, memorable in the annals of astronomy.

“PROFESSING THEMSELVES TO BE WISE THEY
BECOME FOOLS.”

THAT “extremes meet” is a proverb none the less true because it is old, and it is a proverb which has received a very startling illustration in the development of what is sometimes (in unjust depreciation no less than in boastful arrogance) called “modern thought.”

The mediæval philosophy which had developed and carried on with fruitful analysis the culminating intelligence of Greece, was overborne and went out of fashion partly by the faults of its cultivators and disciples.

We are not likely, we think, to be accused of want of sympathy for the scholastic philosophy, to which we came as to a well of sweet-water in an oasis, after wandering through an arid desert of unsatisfying speculation under the guidance of the followers of Hume. Nevertheless, devoted as we have become to the teaching of St. Thomas and his immediate predecessors and successors, we think it certain that the later scholastics dealt too much in verbal subtleties, whilst, at the same time, they too much neglected to examine and interrogate the teachings of nature through the senses. Had they paid more attention to the sagacious warnings of that wonderful Friar, Roger Bacon, and to the example of their great model, Aristotle, modern science might have attained its triumphs through men who had never let go the priceless treasures of philosophical truth. The opportunity was unhappily let slip, and when that great change of taste (in art, as well as in learning) known as the “Renaissance” took place, men welcomed with avidity a new departure in philosophy by a scorner of the old ways—one who had never even studied, and therefore could not understand, the Aristotelian philosophy he despised—we mean Descartes.

Still, however philosophically mistaken and misleading that eminent French mathematician became, he was none the less a most sincere and devoted Christian.

After he had passed away, we all know how a whole school of Christian Cartesian thinkers arose in France and spread its baseless system of philosophy, and therefore necessarily inefficient apologetics for religion, far and wide beyond the limits of that country.

An analogous, and from its results, even more fatal development, took place in England through and after Locke. As Saints

Peter and Paul were the two great pillars of the foundation of the Church of Christ, so Descartes and Locke may be regarded as the two great pillars of the foundation of the modern philosophical system of anti-Christ. Nevertheless, Locke was a Christian, and many of his disciples were enthusiastic and admirable ones—as most notably, Bishop Berkeley. Their systems were erroneous and fatal, but as long as any man remained a Christian, or even a Theist, he neither drew nor sought to draw forth from Cartesianism or the sensism of Locke, the most fatal errors extant in both of these systems.

Even Voltaire (who was intellectually a child of the English philosopher) never developed the errors to which we intend in this article to refer. Indeed, however great may have been the moral enormities of that man, his intellect was too keen and logical to permit of his formulating doctrines so evidently self-stultifying as those we are about to call attention to.

Before, however, proceeding to further advert to them, there are two considerations which in this connection deserve notice: (1) The first of these is the pleasure the intellectual man derives from intellectual activity, and its relation to that love of superiority to which most men are prone. (2) The second consideration is the necessary effects of religious doctrines on minds to which they are, for one or more reasons, unwelcome doctrines.

There is no branch of knowledge that does not give pleasure to any one who will pursue it with enough energy and perseverance to overcome the difficulty or tedium which may attend the earlier stages of its prosecution. We have several times experienced how persons who have more or less unwillingly taken up some branch of learning which they felt to be uncongenial to them, none the less grew to love it and pursue it with energy for its own sake. This is eminently the case with every department of physical science, though the fact is less evident as regards psychical science, the study of the mind and philosophy. It is, nevertheless, to the science of the mind and philosophy, that our own experience (just mentioned) specially refers. But if each branch of science thus rewards its faithful votaries, it is also proverbially true that every man feels the keenest pleasure in doing that which he is specially qualified to do, and does, exceptionally well. This applies not only to the mathematician, the naturalist and the poet, but no less, or even more, to the student of mind and the investigator of the most subtle problems of metaphysics; and for the following reason; Our faculties are naturally formed for external observation. The child, or the quite uncultured man, looks hardly at all in upon himself. Our spontaneous activity is always at first directed externally, and it needs a peculiar, and to begin

with, a very arduous effort, to observe what takes place within us, to examine our own process of examination, to perceive our own perception, to reason about our own ratiocination and to think about our own thought.

But to excel in anything exceptionally difficult, must afford a special gratification to that love of superiority which most men possess, and therefore a pre-eminent gratification to those men who love superiority most keenly. This form of intellectual superiority must, then, naturally be exceptionally tempting to men who are exceptionally proud.

And what can be more gratifying to a very intellectual man, exceptionally proud, than to be able to apprehend, or to have it believed that he apprehends, a whole universe of existences to which the common herd are blind, while at the same time he perceives that those things which the vulgar regard as most certain and obvious, are but so many delusions which his superior vision enables him to recognize as such and rise superior to?

When these considerations are borne in mind by us, we need not wonder at the long succession of those rare and elaborate aërial palaces of cloudland, which have been built up by the busy brains of rival metaphysicians from Descartes, through Spinoza, Hume, Kant, Hegel and Schelling, to Schopenhauer and Hartmann. Most modern philosophers, in England no less than elsewhere, desire to build their whole structure, from its foundation-stone to its highest pinnacle, themselves; a contrast, indeed, to the persevering and synthetic labors of the patient, no less than acute, intellects of the Middle Ages, a fact we before called attention to.¹ In seeking fame as novel thinkers, these modern speculators are necessarily exposed to the temptation of sacrificing consistency to originality. In the struggle thus carried on for pre-eminent fame, nothing is too bizarre, no logical inconsistency too glaring, no paradox too extreme. Thus it is that very able, highly-gifted men, in seeking to rise in the opinion of a dazzled, non-critical audience to empyrean heights, fall into depths of absurdity which are unfathomable. Wishing to appear pre-eminent wise they become unspeakably foolish. But if the attraction of pursuing a specially difficult branch of knowledge, when combined with the desire for intellectual distinction, may alone lead to such exaggerations, the second consideration we propose to notice will show us how easily this tendency to exaggeration may become *extremely* intensified.

The doctrine that an omniscient, omnipotent and all-holy God will judge every man by a moral law, the first commandment of

¹ AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1881, p. 386.

which is this (most rational one), that we are, above all things, bound to adore and to serve Him, must have very different effects upon very different minds.

Inexpressible in its consolation for the good, fearful in its menace for the actively vicious, it has another effect on minds which we have no reason for classing in either one or the other of these two categories. There are not a few men, justly esteemed for many excellent qualities, to whom the above doctrine is most unwelcome. Good citizens, loving parents and brothers, true and faithful friends and fair, unmalicious opponents, they may, nevertheless, regard with extreme repugnance the command to worship and explicitly serve a supreme, invisible power, and to submit their deliberate thoughts, no less than their words and actions, to the judgment of a being who holds absolute sway over both their inmost conscience and their immortal destiny.

Now, although the will has no *direct* control over our beliefs, no one who understands what human nature is can dispute the fact that the *indirect* influence it exercises on credence is very considerable. The existence of God is not actually made manifest to us as is that of our fellow-creatures round about us. The man who claims to be our human father we can know face to face, but our Father in heaven in mercy shrouds Himself from even our most eager gaze, reserving the direct knowledge of Him, now impossible to us, as a future reward above, for our faithful service here below.

Our knowledge of God is due to inference, not to intuition, and hence our will has occasionally, by neglecting to duly consider premisses, a very decided influence on the conclusion which constitutes that knowledge. No wonder, then, if some men, who view the doctrine of God's existence and claims, the claims of a God "inquisitive and exacting," with extreme repugnance, can succeed in persuading themselves that no such claim can be established; that they do not and cannot know Him—that they are Agnostics—or even (with the late unhappy Professor Clifford), that they do know he does not in fact exist.

But when such men succeed in persuading themselves, they soon (if gifted with the art of facile expression) seek to persuade others also. Moreover, as to plain men, the evidence of God's existence appears unquestionable, a triple temptation arises; a temptation to do away with a hateful doctrine, to revel in an intellectual pleasure and at the very same time, to make their mental superiority over other men dazzlingly apparent.

And ever since the English-speaking races, in the person of Queen Elizabeth, fell away finally from the Holy See, increasing facilities for this perverse intellectual activity have been continually supplied. As long as the old and rational philosophy held general

sway, such speculative vagaries as those we in our days witness were utterly impossible. But after Descartes and Locke had, unintentionally, sapped the basis of all certainty (and therefore of certainty as to the existence of God), the way was opened for all that we now see and for anything that may yet remain in the way of negation, if anything worse than Nihilism and Pessimism should prove to be a possibility.

But an unfailing intellectual Nemesis awaits the teaching of all those who have taken up an anti-theistic position. Granted that conclusions they arrive at follow logically from the mistaken premises with which (thanks *ultimately* to Descartes and Locke) they have been enabled to set out, it is impossible for them to maintain their own position against the very same kind of assaults. Self-stultification is for them inevitable. Their arguments may be compared to a super-excellent kind of metaphysical boomerang. Each such argument flies forward with great force, executes a series of graceful curves which charm the eyes of spectators and elicit shouts of admiration at the skill thus displayed; but at last it inevitably and fatally returns, and striking the feet from under him who launched it, prostrates him by the very force which his own act initiated. Such arguments, like uncharitable wishes, "come home to roost."

The doctrines of natural religion repose on a series of sound principles and evident truths, which, one after the other, must be denied by its opponent. Thus religion reposes largely on the principle of causation, the principle which declares a cause to be required for every new existence and for everything which has not a sufficient cause for its own being within itself.

This principle, as a self-evident necessary truth, further depends upon the fact that the human mind does possess the power of knowing such truths, and supreme amongst these necessary truths is the truth that there is such a thing as good and evil, and that we know we are bound to do good and avoid evil. But if we can know universal and necessary truths at all, we must be able to know what is external to our own minds; we must be able to know objective truth.

This knowledge of ours further depends, again, upon our power of memory; for if we cannot know anything beyond a present feeling, we cannot know what is external to that feeling; that is, we cannot know real facts concerning the world about us.

But if we know anything about our memory and its relation to the past, we must be able to know our own being as enduring, persistent and substantial; we must be able to perceive and know that we really exist; we must be absolutely aware of our own being and of our knowledge thereof. To the ordinary reader,

quite unfamiliar with modern philosophy, these simple postulates of our knowledge of God's existence would seem so plain and evident that no man in his senses could deny them.

And yet men, hostile to religion, do deny that we have any knowledge of the first of these postulates, "causation." They say, "We have often enough seen one thing succeed another, but we have never once perceived any inflow of influence of one thing into another; and yet real 'causation' implies action of that kind. Therefore there is really nothing but sequence, and the idea of the inflow of any influence is a mere mistake derived from our foolishly transferring in imagination to external things that 'feeling of effort' which we experience in our own actions, such mistake being then perpetuated by custom." This objection admits, of course, of a ready answer: It is quite true that we never see or feel physical causation itself, for the very good reason that it is invisible and intangible. But, although our *senses* cannot perceive it, our *intellect* may and does; and there is one instance at least wherein we very plainly perceive the inflow and action of causation, namely, in the inflow of the influence of motives on our own will. We have also an experience of the force of causation when anything resists our will.¹

But the same objectors also endeavor to make short work of the all-important principle of causation thus: "that principle," they say, "you represent as a universal and necessary truth, but the human mind can know no universal and necessary truths, for all our knowledge is relative. We cannot even (as John Stuart Mill witnesses) be sure that two and two will everywhere and always make four!"

Now here we have an assertion well calculated to strike some persons with wonder and admiration. "How acute," they may exclaim, "must be the intellects of those who thus see through a fallacy which holds most men fast bound within its fetters. Because we cannot imagine things to be different from what we have universally found them, we rashly jump to the conclusion that everywhere and always they must continue to be what we have universally found them. But what right can we possibly have—insects who live for a few seconds in an obscure corner of the universe—to affirm what can or cannot be in regions and at epochs, not only beyond our knowledge, but beyond our powers of imagination? We only know what is relative to ourselves and not necessary universal truths. Therefore, the principle of causation must be a dream, and the assertion that God exists an unwarrantable assumption."

¹ See further, *On Truth*, pp. 49-52.

In the first place, however, we would ask our readers to remark that philosophy does not appeal to an inability of the imagination ; and secondly, we would call attention to two facts, which are enough to explain why some persons feel staggered on first hearing it said that they do know truths which infallibly apply to the most distant regions of space, and to times anterior to the existence of the world.

In the first place, then, philosophy does not appeal to a negative fact, to a mere impotence of imagination, but to a very positive perception. When we say, that we cannot at the same time have two eyes and only one eye, we do not mean that we cannot form a mental picture of a man with both two eyes and only one eye ; we mean that we have a clear, positive perception of the impossibility of such a thing. If we are asked, " what is the disposition of the surface of the invisible side of the moon ? " our imagination may suggest various possible conditions of that surface, but our intellect will see clearly that we do not know what it is. If we try to imagine the truth with respect to it, our mind becomes a blank ; but we perceive very well that, were certain eventualities to arise we could and should know. If we are asked whether the total number of the heavenly bodies is odd or even, while we see clearly that we have no means of knowing, we see, even more clearly, that it must either be one or the other. In perceiving a universal and necessary truth, such as, that " no event can arise without some cause," we do not experience a mental impotence, but a positive perception. A mere inability to conceive of anything is a very different matter from a positive perception that anything cannot be because it is positively impossible.¹

In the second place, the two reasons which indispose some persons to believe that they can know any such thing as a universal, necessary truth, are the two following facts of mental association : (1) As a rule, things which are very distant, or happened a long time ago, are known to us only in round-about ways, and we feel more or less uncertainty about them, and thus we have come to associate a feeling of uncertainty with statements about what is remote. But, nothing can be more " remote " than " the most distant regions of space," and " times anterior to the existence of the world." It is no wonder, then, if this feeling of uncertainty is called forth by any statement of a " universal " truth. (2) The other fact of mental association is the association which men are apt to form between every statement believed without proof, and believing blindly. This association has been formed because most of our knowledge is gained indirectly or by inference. We

¹ As to this, see further, *On Truth*, chapter x., " Imagination and Conception."

commonly ask for some proof with regard to any new and remarkable statement, and no truths are brought more strikingly home to our minds than those demonstrated by Euclid. Thus it is, that many men have acquired a feeling that to believe anything which cannot be proved is to believe blindly. Hence arises a certain feeling of distrust at our assertions concerning absolute and universal truths. Men forget that everything cannot be proved, and that every process of proof must stop somewhere; and they also forget, that if we do not act blindly in believing a statement on the evidence of something else, they must act yet less blindly in believing that which is directly evident in and by itself.

If we cannot be certain as to any necessary and universal truths, we cannot be certain as to the "principle of contradiction!" Let us, then, glance at the wisdom of those persons who, while enunciating their own systems of philosophy, deny our certainty as to necessary and universal truths, amongst which the "principle of contradiction" must be included.

That principle affirms that, "nothing can at one and the same time both be and not be."

If we deny or doubt this principle, we are thereby plunged into a scepticism which prevents us from being able to logically affirm anything. In that case, if we know that anything has been proved *true*, that knowledge will not suffice to convince us that it was not at the very same time proved *false*. All reasoning, and every possible observation, is thus rendered untrustworthy, and science is made logically impossible. If we look into our own minds, we shall see that what the mind declares is, that this truth is a valid truth for everything outside the mind, no less than for our own thoughts. It is thus a fundamental truth, such that even a supreme and omnipotent being could not—however different the existence of such a being may be from our own—both be, and be non-existent.

It is certainly very wonderful that we should be able to know necessary and universal truths; but, after all, it is not so exceptionally wonderful as, at first sight, it may appear to be. It is most wonderful how we are able to have any knowledge at all, yet no one doubts that we can and do know "phenomena." Phenomena are, of course, matters of experience; but necessary truths are matters of experience likewise. If we know we have been to San Francisco, we are at least as certain that we cannot both "have been there" and "not have been there," as we can be of the fact of our past visit to that city. We have a direct intuition that we see and hear, and know a man who stands before our eyes, and, speaks to us, and we have also a direct intuition that a thing cannot simultaneously both be and not be; but the latter intuition

is both the more certain and the more important. If we doubt whether we are not the victims of a delusion of the senses as to the presence of the speaking man, the whole fabric of our intellect is not thereby impaired; but, if we doubt whether there is a man who, at the same instant, is both truly speaking and really silent, the very basis of our reason is thereby overthrown.

The same result also follows from various assertions of the men, now known as "Agnostics," amongst others, their assertion that that "all our knowledge is relative."

This system of the "relativity of knowledge" evidently refutes itself. If its assertions mean anything, they must mean that it is an absolute fact that we cannot know absolute truths. But if we cannot know any absolute truth, we cannot know it to be certain that all our knowledge must be merely relative. A man, therefore, who affirms the relativity of all our knowledge, affirms what the system he adopts forbids him to affirm. But a man who does this, and who thus declares that he believes what he at the same time declares to be unbelievable, can hardly complain if he is called "foolish." No system can be true and no reasoning valid which necessarily culminates in an absurdity. To uphold any such system cannot be the mark of an exceptionally intellectual mind, but of an exceptionally foolish one.

But if we can be certain about the principle of contradiction, if we can be certain that nothing can at the same time both be and not be, why cannot we also be certain of the principle of causation and of all those other truths which our minds tell us must be true everywhere and always, such as that two and two make four, and that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another?

The remarkable way in which men, in other respects, very admirable and distinguished, make fools of themselves when they attack what is the basis of Theism, is well shown by the following example: Helmholtz and Clifford have affirmed that for creatures devoid of thickness, and living on a sphere, a straight line would not be the shortest line, while two parallel lines prolonged would enclose a space. Now putting aside the answer that the supposition is absurd because no material being could exist without thickness, any more than a square without angles, it is obvious that such creatures if they could conceive of such things as "straight" and "parallel" lines at all, would also perceive those necessary truths concerning them which we ourselves perceive. But the very men who make the supposition actually demonstrate to us that they see clearly that very objective necessity, the non-necessity of which they attempt by this illustration to make evident. If they did not see this, how could they affirm what would be the neces-

sary results of such imaginary conditions? These men have hurled one such metaphysical boomerang (as we before spoke of) very effectually; just as the asserters of the relativity of our knowledge have launched another.

Pre-eminent amongst the necessary truths perceived by us are (as we before said) those of ethics, but as they specially relate to action as distinguished from thought, we will for the present pass them by.

The modern "spirits who deny," and who have denied our power of perceiving any necessary truths, as a means of destroying the validity of the law of causation, and therefore of God's existence, are logically compelled to go further still and deny our power of knowing objective truths at all. The whole crew of Agnostics concur in this negation, Spencer saying that we have not even a knowledge of "difference," save as a modification of our own consciousness.

But if we have no knowledge of objectivity, we have no such thing as memory, for whatever is not a present feeling or state of consciousness is "objective." Yet there is, we are sure, not one of our readers who is not absolutely certain that he has an absolutely certain knowledge of something in the past—if only that he was doing something else before he began to read the present article.

Yet the power which memory possesses of lifting us, as it were, out of our present selves and showing us facts which otherwise we could never know, is certainly a most wonderful power, and the plain fact that if we admit the validity of this faculty we can no longer dispute our power of knowing objective truth, is a very bitter one for Agnostics. It is not surprising, therefore, that the original Agnostic- and inventor of the name was driven to the absurdity of declaring that we may trust our memory, "because we learn its trustworthiness by experience." But how could we ever acquire experience if we did not begin by trusting our memory? Particular acts of memory may of course be confirmed by experience, if the faculty of memory be already confided in; but in every such instance it must be confided in. The teaching cited comes in fact to this, as the late Dr. Ward pointed out: We are to place confidence in our present act of memory because in past instances its truth has been experimentally confirmed, and we can only know that it has been so confirmed by trusting our present act of memory! Surely never was there a more impressive instance of what St. Paul spoke of as a consequence of men "Professing themselves to be wise."

Every one, therefore, who would affirm that we cannot rationally infer the existence of God is driven not only to deny the prin-

ciples of causation and of contradiction, together with our power of knowing any objective truth, but is forced also to discredit our faculty of memory. But pitiless logic drives the unhappy Agnostic to further extreme negation. If we cannot trust the assurance of our faculty of memory, it follows that we cannot be sure of our own substantial, continued existence; but who can doubt that certainty? The modern Agnostic, thus driven into a corner, and there standing at bay, gladly avails himself of the work of his acute and playful¹ predecessor, Hume, and not only denies that he is certain of it, but affirms that no man can have supreme and certain knowledge of his own existence.

This absurd assertion they attempt to justify by affirming that what we know primarily and ultimately are mere "states of consciousness," and not the being (ourselves) who has those states. The existence of that being, they say, is an inference, and may be a mistaken one. Now we ask our readers to reflect what their own experience has been at mere moments of their lives except when they are explicitly directing their attention to their feelings? We are sure they will say that they have been always aware of doing something, or of having something done to them. They have not habitually thought "I have such and such a feeling," or that "I am now continuously existing." Such thoughts as these are only to be obtained by turning back the mind on itself and reflecting.

When so reflecting, we may either explicitly recognize our "feelings" or our "existence," but neither one nor the other are at first explicitly recognized, though both are implicitly present and perceived in that primary direct consciousness which attends us during our normal, waking lives.

To explicitly recognize a "feeling" is just as secondary, indirect and reflex an act as is the recognition of our "existence," and we believe that a greater effort is needed for the former than for the latter mental act; for we often advert to acts or sufferings as being *our own*, but it is much more exceptional for us to remark that any feelings we may have are *existing feelings*. Therefore, one of the greatest errors of our day is the error of supposing that we can know the existence of our states of consciousness more certainly, directly and infallibly, than we can know the existence of the "self" which has these states of consciousness.²

We say "one of the greatest errors," because there is a yet

¹ We say playful because we are now convinced that Hume did not believe his own negations. They served his turn very well, but he was too acute to be himself the dupe of them.

² See, further, *On Truth*, chapter ii.

further absurdity to which the despairing Agnostic has been driven in his fruitless efforts to escape the logical necessity of affirming God's existence. We may imagine him exclaiming: "Rather than that, let us cast away all our knowledge of necessary truths, all our knowledge of objectivity, our memory, nay, even our very selves; surely that will suffice?" No, replies the pitiless demon of negation, one more sacrifice of reason and consistency is necessary. You have denied the existence of the individual who thinks, you must now deny the real existence of thought itself. Not only must you boldly affirm the certainty of uncertainty, and proclaim that you know as a necessary truth, that no necessary truth can be known; not only must you declare that by the aid of the certainty of your memory, you know that memory has no certainty, and that the thought you know you have, convinces you you do not know you have it; but you must, after basing your whole system of negation on the thought in your mind, proclaim as the ultimate truth that every thought is necessarily a delusion because it has no being of its own, and is but the blind, ultimate outcome of the aimless tremors of mere physical force.

Such folly seems almost incredible, yet at a recent meeting of a metaphysical society in London "thought" was expressly declared to be "a misleading term, the use of which should be carefully avoided." But, in the name of reason, what ultimate court of appeal have we, or can we have,—some supernatural illumination apart,—save our perceptions in conscious thought? Thoughts may be, and should be, carefully examined and criticized, but our judgments about them must be due to and expressed by the aid of our thoughts.

To doubt the ultimate declarations of intellect is nothing but an act of self-stultification, and such extreme folly is part of that system of the deification of unreason, which has become an established religion, and which it is our duty to attack, if possible, to overthrow.

There is yet another folly which has also become a fashion of the day. It is the folly of thinking, not only that "thought" is "not thought," but also of denying that "not thought" is fundamentally distinct from "thought." We are absolutely certain we possess three intuitions (amongst many others), namely: (1) An intuition of intelligence; and (2) an intuition of something extended; and (3) an intuition of the absolute divergence and distinction which exists between these two modes of being. We can perceive in our own very selves, both that which thinks and gives no sign of extension, and that which does not think, but which is extended, and we can see there is a fundamental difference between the two. Fitly is the denial of "thought" an accompaniment of

the denial of that which we know as the material world whereof we form a part. A new strictly denominational periodical for the propagation of this form of unreason has recently been started in the United States under the name, "The Monist." The title needs another vowel, for the appellation "Moonist" would be the most fitting one for an organ of a faith fit only for lunatics.

The intellectual world is rapidly dividing itself into two camps; one, upholding reason and virtue, affirms the validity of thought as an ultimate test of truth; the certainty of the continuous, substantial existence of each one of us; the trustworthiness of our faculty of memory; the fact of our knowledge of objectivity; the certainty of the universal and necessary truths we perceive—amongst them that of causation with its consequence and perception of the truth of God's existence. The men of the other camp, denying all certainty as to the last-named supreme truth, are forced in consequence to stultify themselves by denying the certainty of their own system, in denying all absolute or objective knowledge and the validity of memory, of their perception of their own existence, and even and ultimately the validity of thought itself.

Surely since the world was made there was never a more complete example of that statement in the epistle to the Romans which heads this article!

But it would be a happy thing if we could accuse modern Agnostics of nothing but their portentous folly.

We have distinguished the camp of those who uphold the validity and dignity of human reason as a camp which also upholds the cause of virtue. To that cause all Agnostics are compelled, however unwillingly, to range themselves as systematic opponents—a fact we shall very shortly see.

Knowledge is valuable for its own sake, and the mind feels a natural and legitimate satisfaction in its acquisition, as well as pleasure in its pursuit. But our nature is essentially an active nature, and our actions are guided by our knowledge as well as by our feelings. The more complete our knowledge, also, the better are we able to attain the ends we seek. Knowledge, therefore, is to be sought after both for its own sake and as a guide to action. Indeed, it is to be sought rather for the latter reason than for the former. It is not in accurate knowledge but in worthy action that our true dignity and worth consist. The end and object of knowledge should in part or mainly be the guidance of human action to good results.

We may, then, after the foregoing observations, now proceed to consider further the bearing of the Agnostic system upon action. This may enable us to estimate the world's debt to the teachers

of that system. "Fools" are to be pitied if their folly is not the outcome and result of a bad will and a voluntary turning of the eyes away from light. If, however, such a voluntary apostasy has resulted in folly, foolishness of such a kind merits not sympathy but very plain-spoken admonition. It may be that "folly" is the very least of the evils attendant upon a wilful "walking in darkness."

But we are very anxious that we should not be misunderstood as to the estimate we shall here endeavor to make. There are, of course, in the world a multitude of Gallios who put serious questions on one side, content to go through life's daily round, taking what pleasure they can on the road and as much of it as they can get. But besides such Gallios, there are a number of really estimable men who, from want of time and opportunity, or from some defect of mere intellect in no way blameable, have become hopelessly puzzled. Mentally at sea, amidst the tumult of conflicting voices, and not knowing where to find a secure harbor of refuge, they have become wrecked, and drift, without sail or rudder, amidst the surging currents of conflicting opinions. For such men we have the sincerest sympathy.

It is plain that there are Agnostics and Agnostics—those who lead and those who are hopelessly led; and though in the abstract we are all responsible for our opinions, experience has abundantly convinced us that very well-meaning persons in this busy, work-a-day world have been helplessly led astray by the seductive arts of eloquent sophists. Fourteen years ago we did not hesitate to express ourselves as follows in an esteemed Catholic periodical:¹

"I have had personal experience of, and bear willing testimony to, the self-denying philanthropy and purity of life of men whom I cannot claim as brother theists, but whom for these reasons I cannot but look up with sincere admiration."

Having made these reservations as to the rank and file of the Agnostic body, we may confine our attention to those who have voluntarily taken upon themselves the responsibilities of its advocacy and of proselytism.

The conditions of the English-speaking races of mankind are very exceptional. They have arrived at a degree of self-government, accompanied by a combination of order and freedom, which has hitherto been unknown elsewhere. The tendency to self-government is, up to the present time, a constantly increasing one in the direction of democracy. But the close connection that exists between knowledge and action, no honest man who looks into his own heart can question. In our own race, then, it must

¹ In the *Dublin Review* for October, 1876.

evidently be a matter of the most extreme importance that opinion should not be misled in matters which touch so nearly the innermost springs of morality and social life. It is supremely important that there should be no doubt as to the existence and claims of morality, and the validity of those declarations of reason upon which our moral perceptions depend. It is plainly, therefore, no less important that doubt should not be recklessly cast upon the general conviction which exists that, in spite of much we see around us, happiness cannot be finally divorced from right action. It is also surely most important that elevated ideals should be set before the minds of our citizens, and that amidst the clamorous calls of our lower nature—"the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life," no strength should be withdrawn from convictions which every one must admit cannot be proved false, and which aid men not to shrink from acts of abnegation and self-sacrifice which must remain unknown to, and therefore, unappreciated by, the world. Surely no lover of his country, no clear-sighted and well-meaning citizen of the United States can deny the truth and importance of what we here affirm.

We are far, indeed from denying the independence of morality. We have stated our convictions¹ that it does not ultimately depend upon God's will, or on our recognition of His existence. Nevertheless, as a climbing plant, though rooted in the soil, cannot attain to its perfection save by extraneous aid, so, we are convinced our moral aspirations need for their full fruition, theistic conceptions, even if they did not therein originate. Most strongly, indeed, do we repudiate the idea that any belief not really entertained should be simulated or fostered merely for social ends. An Atheist might without inconsistency take up such an attitude, because he has and can have no guarantee that truth must always be desirable. To every Theist, however, such a position must be utterly abhorrent. The God of such a Theist would be a devil, served by a lie; *a fortiori* must be it utterly abhorrent to every Catholic, for to us Divine teaching is the pillar and ground of the *truth*.

But because falsehood should never be supported, it does not follow that men are bound to wage war with every belief of which they do not see the truth, while they admit that it may be true, though they do not see that it is so. Yet Agnostics affirm that we have no right to act upon convictions which have been for ages the support and consolation of the noblest and most virtuous minds the world has ever known, although they admit they cannot disprove their truth. If they could demonstrate that such convictions are mistaken, they would be in a position to defend

¹ See *On Truth*, pp. 247-248.

themselves. But there is not one of them who dares affirm that his intellect is so superior to, or his knowledge so much greater than, the intellect or the knowledge of all existing Theists, that he has attained to an absolute certainty as to such Theists being in error. The most he can assert is that he doubts, and that he conceives he is right in doubting. We do not question the existence either of such doubt or of such conception; but we emphatically deny that on such miserable grounds he is justified in doing his best to take from the weak and suffering their hope and consolation, from the virtuous and self-denying their noblest ideal, from his fellow-citizens their readiest guide to virtue, and from the state the most weighty sanction of its laws.

We have no desire to refer to individuals. We judge no man; but we desire to stigmatize as adequately as we can, principles and assertions without reference to those who utter them. Now, Agnostics have authoritatively taught that it of right pertains to them to judge as to questions of religion, and they judge theism to be unjustifiable, prayer an absurdity, and a belief in rewards and chastisements hereafter to be a mere superstition. They have taught¹ that physical welfare and temporal happiness are our highest good, that aspirations after things Divine are but the dreams of hallucination, and that there is no such thing as duty; man being only able to follow his inclinations, and virtue and pleasure being synonymous. Such is the explicit and inevitable teaching of all those who affirm that there is no difference of kind between the mind of man and the faculties of a mud-fish. Such, therefore, is the inevitable teaching of all those who faithfully follow the teaching of Darwin on this question. Finally, leading Agnostics have asserted that those persons who give instruction in religion are impostors or dupes, and that it is the teachers of physical science who are the supreme exponents of all truth and the ultimate arbiters as to all actions.

What are we to think of such doctrines and such prophets as these? What are the deserts of Agnostics who, merely because they cannot see their way to accept truths which men whom they are bound to respect, nevertheless declare to be simply evident, dare to promulgate doctrines so extremely anti-social? Can we say such men are only "foolish"? Can we ever call men "good" who thus recklessly scatter poisons and fire-brands among their fellows? They are full of verbose professions of humility; but a little real modesty on the part of such Agnostics would be a great gain. Since they deny that absolute truth is attainable by them, they might surely admit the possibility of error on their part and

¹ See *Lessons from Nature*, pp. 385-396.

put themselves, in imagination, hypothetically in the position of their opponents.

Now we, their opponents, assert that in order to attain to religious truths it is sometimes necessary, as an antecedent condition, to be in a certain state of worthiness, although we no less assert that great unworthiness not unfrequently coexists with true religious belief. Now, these, Agnostics might not unreasonably entertain some misgiving as to whether, in order that they should attain to a knowledge of such truths, they were not rather in want of an increase of virtue than an increase of knowledge. But some of them, indeed, seem very strongly impressed with their own virtue, saying in effect: "There are few men so devoted to truth as we are, and so ready to accept persecution rather than to believe a lie." And they say this though they know very well that not persecution but popularity, applause and prosperity will result to them in this world from the position they have taken up. Yet we have no desire to question their good faith generally, or to represent them as ill conducted in the ordinary relations of life. We have, indeed, already proclaimed the contrary. But we have the right to expect much more from persons who stand forward, as they do, to cast discredit on all that which the best men have honored and all which has served so greatly to promote the cause of virtue. But where amongst Agnostics do we find this "much more" in the domain of ethics? Reasonably good men, ordinarily worthy citizens (save as regards their teaching) they may be; but to which of their fellows can they point as an embodiment of ideal agnostic virtue? Where is their St. Francis of Assisi, for love of the poor and suffering? Where is their St. Vincent of Paul, for devotion to helpless infancy? Where is their St. Francis Xavier, for the propagation of what they believe to be truth? Where is their Father Damien, for a life of consecration to the corporeally afflicted? Father Damien is known and honored throughout the civilized world, yet he is only one example out of hundreds of Christian men whose self-consecration to God, and His poor and suffering children, is known to their fellow-creatures and to their Father in Heaven. Such work it is the effort of Agnostics to paralyze and destroy. They may prate of morality and "altruism"; let them show us some examples of it in practice. Till then let them keep silence and cease to do the devil's work by unjustifiable negations, and by throwing doubt upon that knowledge which is the necessary antecedent and accompaniment of all rational well-doing. On the other hand, let those who are puzzled and confused by such sophistries take confidence. Agnosticism is evil to the core and full of diabolical malignity, but its wickedness all but fades from our gaze when

contrasted with its amazing, its unutterable absurdity. But, however pre-eminent in conspicuousness may be the folly of agnosticism, its evil outcome in the world of action is, nevertheless, what is specially deplorable. But in so far as bad-doing is the outcome of the foolish teaching here animadverted upon, the benefit to be derived from those who initiate or promote wise teaching must be of the most important and most practical kind.

A vast wave of emotion, made up of mingled admiration and regret, has just passed over the whole civilized world since the death of one such initiator and promoter—Cardinal Newman.

Great as his influence must be over the whole future history of this planet it seems destined to exercise a special influence in arresting such follies as those we have here called attention to. In his invaluable discourses on the scope and nature of University education, he eloquently proclaimed and forcibly illustrated the supreme necessity of inculcating sound philosophy and the position it must take in every institution deserving the name of a university. This is the more remarkable because Cardinal Newman was not a metaphysician, and had himself made no special study of philosophy. He was a divine also by his sympathies and position from his early years, and laid down in an irrefragible manner the necessary existence of sacerdotalism, and the irreversible position of the Priesthood. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to assign to philosophy both a fundamental and supreme position in every fully organized and complete system of teaching. It was as long ago as 1852 that those remarkable chapters, entitled "General Knowledge Viewed as One Philosophy," and "Philosophical Knowledge its Own End," were first published. He thus unconsciously acted as a precursor to a greater one to follow, and helped to pave the way for the hearty acceptance of that momentous act by which our present Supreme Pontiff inculcated on all those in authority under him the great duty of promoting the study of Catholic philosophy—the most effectual antidote to the poison of Agnosticism. But Leo XIII. has since taken two further steps of a most eminently practical character, wherein the lands on both sides of the Atlantic may rejoice.

The venerable and distinguished University of Louvain has received a direct impulse from the chair of Peter towards developing a special department of higher studies, both in the empirical sciences and in philosophy. At the very same time a new university, full of promise, has also, by Pontifical favor and support, happily begun its operations in the Rome of the new world—Washington. There also philosophy will enjoy the consideration it deserves, and has begun to prepare the way for the various physical and historical sciences which are to follow. It is, of course, manifestly neces-

sary that every kind of liberal knowledge should ultimately find its home there; but it is not necessary they should take their start at the very same moment. At a Catholic university those subjects may be expected to receive especial attention, which have lately been, are, or will soon be, matters of eager controversy. A subject which has lately been so hotly contested, that it is only beginning to cease to be a bone of contention, is the science of Biology, especially the questions of evolution and transformism. A subject which is now in the very thick of the fight is that of Biblical criticism, so ably represented by Mgr. de Harlez at Louvain. The third burning subject is that of the history of the Church during the first three centuries, and on this great question of antiquity the modern school arising at Washington will doubtless throw much instructive light. These matters, however, we only glance at in passing. It is the question of philosophy which concerns us now, and we desire to record our supreme satisfaction at the circumstance that these two independent institutions (the new schools of Washington and Louvain) have been initiated to grapple with the philosophic follies of the day, the folly of those who, while opposing Theism, "profess themselves to be wise." Our main object in writing the present article is to arouse young men who will receive benefits from the Catholic University of the United States to exert themselves in two ways. Influence in the select world of thought, and therefore in that immense world made up of those whose thinking is done for them, is acquired in two ways: (1) By an unmistakable pre-eminence in some branch of empirical science, and (2) by ability to make use of a thorough knowledge of philosophy. It would not be a good thing that our clergy generally should be men devoted to the empirical sciences; but it is very desirable that a few amongst them should be universally known and esteemed as proficient experts in one or other of them, and should be appealed to as recognized scientific authorities by non-Catholics.

It is certainly much to be desired that there should be Catholic laymen in this position. Increased respect will be felt for the religious convictions of any layman who is known to be a successful, distinguished cultivator of any branch of physical science and the religious convictions of ecclesiastics are largely discounted by many non-Catholics if such ecclesiastics are known to be ignorant of the leading facts and hypotheses of the science of their day. But besides the physical sciences, much good can be done by laymen as well as clergy who can effectively wield philosophical arguments. And here we would strongly urge the need of vigorous and reiterated attacks upon all the leading forms of modern philosophical error. "Defence is much less inspiring than attack," and success in the latter is also far more impressive on spectators than is a

merely successful defence. Moreover, the popular philosophical errors of the day, from those of Mill and Spencer to those of the younger generation, lay themselves open to attack in quite an exceptional manner. These philosophers can be often refuted out of their own mouths, and even when such is not the case the absurd logical results of the several systems they uphold are amply sufficient to overthrow them by a process of *reductio ad absurdum*, and we are profoundly convinced that the following line of argument, if ably presented, will be efficient. The opponents of Theism have been driven to deny their knowledge of their own existence and even the validity of thought, and thus have arrived at the very apogee of folly, while, from a recognition of the existence of self-conscious thought, a complete system of philosophy, including Theism, may be deduced. In recognizing the validity of thought we see that the thought we have is *our* thought, and thus we are certain of our own existence; and in being certain of that, we are certain about the past as well as the present, for if we could know nothing beyond the present moment our mind would be a blank. This shows that we can know with certainty objective truth (*i. e.*, real existence external to our present feelings), and therefore very important objective truths, such as the law of contradiction. If we could not know such necessary truths as these, we should not only be unable to gain knowledge by conversation, but we could not even follow up a train of solitary thought. We should be reduced to idiocy. It is plain, also, that there is another statement, which is as certain as the statement that nothing can, at the same time, both be and not be. This is the statement that every change needs a cause and that if any complex structure performs a certain work there must be a reason why it is formed as it is and not otherwise. Our minds also assure us that we may judge of causes to a certain extent by their effects. We may be certain that no mere donkey-engine can pull a large steamer across the ocean, as also that whatever effect is produced must have been caused by something adequate to produce it.

But, in knowing ourselves, we know that we have a certain amount of intelligence, and that we do, at least, know that some things are right and others wrong. Now, the universe is a most complex structure, which performs a great deal of work, and of that universe we form a part; and therefore we know that intelligence and moral perception do exist within it, because they exist in ourselves. Therefore, we may be certain that the cause of that universe could not, itself, be so defective as to be devoid of what even we possess—namely, intellect and morality—but must, rather, possess those qualities in the highest degree; and therefore, the universe being so caused, must be replete with design. Thus, an

analysis of our own reason suffices to make us certain that the universe is not the outcome of unreason. That a process of evolution has taken place in the world, physical science inclines us strongly to believe, but that it is designed and is the outcome of intelligence, the science of sciences (philosophy) makes us positively certain. To doubt this (when once the perceptions which guarantee it have been clearly and firmly grasped by the mind) is an act of self-stultification. To be certain of it, as reason thus logically compels us to be, is to be certain of Theism. In refuting the Agnostic systems of negation, we are far from professing ourselves to be wise. We but follow humbly in the wake of the great series of thinkers and teachers who, from Aristotle, through Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas, Duns Scotus, to Leo XIII., have upheld one philosophy essentially consentient and absolutely consistent with itself. It was the men who abandoned such solid ground to follow their own private conceits, who, by the very exceptional position they took up, and their scorn for their predecessors, necessarily professed themselves to be exceptionally "wise," and then showed their essential accord with those whom the Apostle to the Gentiles blamed, in that they also unwittingly became "fools." We confidently look forward to the delivery of many successful assaults on the Agnostic position from present or future students of the new Catholic University of Washington.

THE POPES AND THE TEMPORAL POWER—
1790-1823.

Vicissitudes Politiques du Pouvoir Temporel des Papes de 1790 à nos jours; par Charles Van Duerm, S. J. Desclée, De Brouwer & Cie., Lille. 1 vol., pp. 456. 1890.

AT Valence, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1799, the pious, charitable, intellectual, patriotic Pius VI. died, a victim of the brutal foreigner. Twenty-four years of the eighty-two vouchsafed him had been spent in wisely, liberally administering the affairs of the Papal States, and in defending the Church from the hypocritical and from the daring foes, who—crowned, mitred, cassocked, breeched or *sans culottes*—had striven by the most unhal- lowed means to put an end to the temporal and spiritual authority of the Papacy. To plead the cause of outraged liberty, Pius had sought that pitiful despot, Joseph II., in his capital (1782), and there had borne, patiently, contempt and abuse which, eight years later, when the Belgians rose in arms against the Austrian oppressor, he was to repay by a favor wholly undeserved. Against the schismatical Leopold of Tuscany, brother of Joseph, and against Ricci, the grand-duke's Jansenistic bishop, Pius VI. had contended, with spiritual arms, for the liberty and for the law of the Church (1788). With the same smokeless but all-powerful weapons, he had fought a good fight against the tyrannical Constituent Assembly, that, not content with robbing the clergy and people of France, would have turned the rabble into a Pope, and the Pope into the slave of the mob (1791). When that cowardly mob, led by "a lot of brigands, the offscouring of the human race,"¹ assassinated the brave, innocent, helpless King Louis, Pius,—the venerable Pope, whose army could not protect his own small territory, whose person and throne were at the mercy of a Saint-Just and a Robespierre,—Pius alone, among the rulers of Christendom, had the courage to protest against the monstrous crime, and to denounce the workers of it as forever infamous and forever execrable.² During those awful days of the Terror, when, in the name of the Supreme Being and of Virtue, bishops and priests were banished or massacred, and when prostitution, sacrilege, fury, assumed the name and the garb of religion, Pius, firmly, steadily, defended the cause of Christianity, the rights of God and of men.

¹ Vergniaud's words.

² January 21, 1793.

To overturn the altar, symbol and source of justice, mercy and love, was the chief, the logical aim of the men of 1789. The idea was not wholly new. There was no scourged, thorn-crowned Christ to crucify,—only His Vicar to abase. The wisdom of the foolish has been able to devise only one efficient means of repaganizing the world, the destruction of the Papacy. In order to destroy the Papacy, the wisdom of the foolish has been able to devise only one seemingly sure means, the destruction of the Temporal Power of the Popes. Fools learn slowly in this world. The lesson they learned from Pius VI., a lesson taught them again and again through the ages, they have since unlearned.

Abuse of the Holy See did not satisfy the men of 1789. The party of action added injury to abuse. A first blow was struck at the Temporal Power by the seizure of Avignon and the Venaissin, which for nigh six hundred years had been a legitimate possession of the Papacy. Revolt, bloodshed, robbery were the only bases for the decree of the Constituent Assembly (September 14, 1791), a decree that, violating an incontestable title, abolished the Papal rights without excuse or compensation. Pius VI., both before and after this immoral decree, fearlessly asserted the right of sovereignty vested in the Holy See by a prescription of centuries, and acknowledged by Europe as legal and just.

The Directory received and followed the traditions of the Convention and of the Assembly. The guillotined King was 'the last of the Kings'; the still unguillotined Pope should be the last of the Popes. Thus spoke the *citoyens* rulers of France. Napoleon threatened, with a victorious soldiery behind him. The Pope, like many a Pope before, had attempted to unite the Italians against the invader. Failing, Pius preserved a strict neutrality, joining neither with Piedmont, Naples, Austria, Spain nor England. And yet he was not surprised when Napoleon entered Bologna and assumed the control of the Legations. The Revolution had no conscience, and Napoleon was the worthy 'son of the Revolution.' He dare not go to Rome. The Austrians were ready for a new campaign. He agreed to withdraw from a portion of the Papal Territory, while negotiations were carried on at Paris, provided he received twenty-one millions of francs, a hundred statues, vases and pictures, five hundred MSS., the fortress of Ancona, and provided that the Papal seaports were closed to all the powers at war with France (June 23, 1796). Barbarous as were these demands, they were accepted in the interest of peace, and the Papal government proceeded to satisfy them scrupulously. But when the Directory attempted to limit his spiritual rights, Pius suspended the execution of the treaty, reorganized his little army, and entered into a defensive treaty with Austria and with Naples. Once more

victorious, having parcelled out upper Italy as seemed good to him, Napoleon marched on the Papal States. The Directory insisted that he should 'destroy the centre of Catholicity, giving Rome to another power, or that, having banished Pope and cardinals, he should establish a new government.' Bonaparte wanted money. Vienna in his hands,—an Emperor at his feet,—and the temple of fame was his. Money! On the 4th of February, 1797, he was in Bologna. The Papal forces were driven back. Ancona was captured. The country was pillaged. The Virgin's shrine at Loreto, the richest in Christendom, was robbed outright; even the statue of Her who bore the God-man was sent to Paris. At Tolentino the 'son of the Revolution' halted. Vanquished, Pius sent plenipotentiaries to the conqueror. On the 19th of February they signed the stipulations of a treaty of peace, binding the Pope to revoke all treaties of alliance; to reduce his army; to *cede to France the Venaisin and Avignon*, and the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna; to hand over Ancona to the French until a continental peace had been signed; and to pay a "contribution" of thirty million francs. Rightly did Cardinal Consalvi call the treaty of Tolentino the work of a brigand. Why did the Pope consent to this 'great sacrifice?' The cardinal tells us. Though the injustice of the aggressor was manifest, the Pope felt himself obliged to submit, 'in order to save the centre of Catholicity from an invasion fatal to religion.'¹

Raphael's Transfiguration, the Laocoon, and other glories of the Roman collections, a Virgil of the sixth century, a Terence of the eighth, the artistic brigand despatched to France, under this remarkable treaty. The Pope was at the mercy of Bonaparte. The Corsican did not seize Rome; he did not banish the Pope and the cardinals; he did not set up a new government. He was more calculating than his masters. "It is my opinion that Rome, once deprived of Bologna, Ferrara, the Romagna, and the thirty millions we take from her, cannot last; this old machine will break up of itself."² Thus Napoleon wrote to the Directory on the very day of Tolentino. The Directory had another Bonaparte in its service, Joseph, who masqueraded as French ambassador to the Holy See. His instructions were plain. 'To aid, much rather than to restrain, the *good* dispositions of those who think that it is time to put an end to the reign of the Popes.' Joseph's house was a revolutionary centre. There conspirators organized "popular" demonstrations and street riots. In one of these riots, young General Duphot was killed. Duphot's death was not the

¹ *Vicissitudes Politiques du Pouvoir Temporel des Papes*; par Charles Van Duerem, S. J., pp. 30-32. Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie., Lille. 1890.

² *Vicissitudes Polit. du Pouvoir Temporel*, p. 33.

fault of the Papal government. It was the death which a criminal invites. Duphot was a suitor for the hand of a sister of Bonaparte's. The occasion served Joseph. Demanding his passports, he left Rome. The Directory imprisoned the Papal envoy at Paris, and ordered Berthier to march on the Eternal City. Berthier had an army of 30,000 men. Resistance would have been useless. To save the shedding of blood, the Papal troops retreated—at the Pope's command. Without opposition the revolutionary army entered Rome (February 15, 1798). They planted a tree of "liberty"—the hypocrites!—talked lunatic nonsense about Brutus and Cato—God 'a mercy on their souls!—and abolished tyranny. Hence our restful century! The people 'resumed their stolen rights.' You who love the antique comedy may smile. We shall, perhaps, see it on the boards once again before death comes to us.

Cervoni, now a general of the Directory, formerly a Papal soldier, took Berthier's place, and informed the Pope that Rome was a republic, and that the Temporal Power was at an end. Pius refused to abdicate. To the traitor who, impudently and ignorantly, assured him that his spiritual power would not be impeded, Pius suggested that, as the Pope held this power from God, no man could well take it away. Forthwith they ordered the venerable ruler of Christendom to retire into Tuscany. "Pius VI. entreated his enemies to let him die where he had lived; he was already eighty years old. They replied that he could die anywhere. The room he was seated in was plundered before his eyes—they deprived him even of the trifles required for his personal comfort, and drew the ring he wore from his finger."¹ Pius, rudely driven out of the Vatican on a stormy night, found a temporary refuge at Siena. "These indignities," he said to Manfredini, "make me hope that I am not an unworthy vicar of Christ. They recall to me the first years of the Church—and those were the years of her triumph."²

The Brutuses and Catos robbed as cleanly as Bonaparte—robbed churches, libraries, palaces, tabernacles and kitchens. The men of 'good disposition,' in search of things, made no distinction between places. They carried away sacred vessels; burned vestments for the gold in them; levied contributions on an artist, a banker,—on any one every one; stole statues and paintings, not merely for the National collection, but for private uses. And, of course, they suppressed the Propaganda. The indignities borne by the aged Pontiff—how they stir a man when he thinks of these

¹ Ranke, *History of the Popes*, p. 459. London, 1886.

² Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 105.

infamous burglars and bandits! From Siena Pius was removed to Florence. The Italians were fighting for life and home against the foreign invader. In Tuscany the cry of "Long live the Pope!" was not uncommon. Farther from Rome this man of eighty-one would be less dangerous. He was weakly and ill. The Catos had as lief he were a corpse. They brought him to Parma, to Turin, across the Alps to Briançon, and then to Valence. They would have taken him to Dijon, were he not dying. Within six weeks 'the last Pope' was dead. So the philosophers said. The prophet of theophilanthropy wrote to Bonaparte, advising him to prevent the election of another Pope, and to establish a government at Rome and thus relieve Europe of the Papal supremacy.¹ "It might, in fact, have now seemed that the Papal power had been brought to a final close," are the words of Ranke.²

Pius VI. gave his life to the Revolution, but his oath, his honor, his rights, the rights of Catholic Christendom, he did not sacrifice. In exile, as when seated on the Fisherman's throne, he protested against the violent invasion and seizure of the Patrimony. Every government in Europe heard and listened to his voice. The Coalition moved; and the oft victorious French went down before Russian and Austrian and Englishman—and Turk. Within three months from the death of 'the last Pope,' the Directory had fallen and the Conclave had opened at Venice. On March 14, 1800, Cardinal Barnabas Chiaramonti took the name of Pius VII.; on July 3d the Pope-King entered Rome, amid the most enthusiastic demonstrations of the people. His progress through his territory had been one continued triumph

Pius VII. made his peaceable move on Rome, not without opposition. Austria, fighting the French revolutionaries, was the Austria of old. From her rulers the Papacy had to fear what, for ten centuries, it has had to fear from the most "Christian" of governments. An attempt was made to manage the Conclave from Vienna, and to assure the election of a Pope who would cede a portion of the States of the Church to the Empire. When Chiaramonti was chosen, Austria delayed his coronation; and lest the effect of this public act should, by its splendor, arouse the people, and thus interfere with the imperial schemes, the Pope was not crowned in St. Mark's. Hoping to force him to sacrifice the rights of the Church to their ambitions, many devices were used to lure Pius VII. to Vienna. Failing in this, the diplomatists sought from him an acknowledgment of the treaty of Tolentino. Had he conceded, they would have robbed him of the Legations with as little conscience as that of a Directory or of a Napoleon.

¹ Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 143.

² *Hist. of Popes*, vol. ii., p. 459.

The successor of the 'last of the Popes' was, like his Master, a friend of the people. Speaking to his flock, when Bishop of Imola, he had demonstrated the harmony of the Gospel with democracy. "Follow the Gospel," said Chiaramonti, "and you will be the joy of the republic; be good Christians and you will be excellent democrats."¹ Strong in the cause of justice, which is the people's cause, Pius VII. refused any concessions to Austria. Bonaparte, nominal Consul and real Dictator, victor at Marengo, was once more master of Italy. By the peace of Luneville (February 9, 1801), he regained possession of the coveted Legations. Pius VII. promptly protested, enunciating once more the Papal rights over these territories, and over Avignon and the Venaissin. At this very time Napoleon, 'persuaded that the Catholic religion is the only one that can confer true happiness on a well-ordered society,' was negotiating with the Pope for a re-establishment of religion in France. Napoleon's end was purely political. The Pope's aim was altogether spiritual. In order to gain his end the Consul tried to intimidate Pius VII. He was threatened with the loss of the Temporal Power.² The Pope made 'extraordinary concessions. He consented to the alienation of church property, a loss of four hundred millions of francs in real estate'—'feeling disposed to yield on all points where he could do so without offence to religion.'³ On July 17, 1801, the famous Concordat was signed. Amid salvos of artillery, on Easter day, 1802, for the first time since 1789, a Christian feast was celebrated in Paris. "The Pope was transported with joy,"⁴ "that the churches were purified from profanation, the altars raised anew, the banner of the Cross once more unfurled, legitimate pastors set over the people, and so many souls that had strayed from the right way restored to the unity of the Church and reconciled to themselves and to God." "

True 'son of the Revolution,' Bonaparte was a trickster, a hypocrite, a bully. To have the benefit of the moral arm of the Church,—without which no government can hope to last,—he recognized the Pope as the Vicar of Christ; to ensure his own autocracy, he falsified the record of his agreement and attached to the Concordat the Gallican "Organic Articles." Audacious is not the word to qualify Napoleon's fraud, but we have no stronger word. 'Disposed to yield on all points, where he could do so without offence to Religion,' Pius VII. had signed the Concordat, though the Consul refused to let go his hold on the Legations. Having gained a religion, which to him was only an inexpensive system of police,

¹ *Hist. Universelle, Cantu.*, vol. xviii., p. 183.

² *Vicissitudes Polit.*, etc., Chas Van Dueren, S. J., p. 56.

³ Ranke, *loc. cit.*, p. 460.

⁴ Ranke, p. 460.

he sought to use the ministers of religion as a Fouché or a Savary handled their pawns. The Consul had not learned the lessons taught by the history of the Church—lessons open to all men, and plain to read. Pius VII. protested and protested, nor did he cease to insist on the rights of the Papacy in the Legations and in the Venaissin. Bonaparte was deaf, and the 'restorer of religion in France' proceeded calculatingly to undo the Church in Germany. "The complete and final ruin of that stately fabric was attributable chiefly to his agency; the transfer of its possessions and sovereign powers to secular princes, indifferent whether Catholic or Protestant, was effected by his means."¹

Napoleon did not strangle the French Republic; he smothered it. Consul for life in 1802, he made himself Emperor within two years thereafter (May 18, 1804). The *sans culottes* that were, now gloried in their Charlemagne. Bonaparte took them at their word. A Charlemagne he would be,—a crowned Emperor, and King of Italy,—crowned not like Charlemagne, at Rome, but in the capital of France. To him the Pope must come—to him, greater warrior and ruler than Charlemagne. And the Pope went to him. To preserve religion, to assure the peace, morality, happiness not of France alone, but of Europe, Pius VII., in his sixty-second year, journeyed to Paris, and there anointed the splendid adventurer who had treated him so unjustly, contemptuously, and who, as he knelt in Notre Dame, at the Pope's feet, was devising in his crooked, subtle mind, indignities even greater than any he had committed. At Paris the Pope would have pleaded with the new Emperor for the return of the Legations, as well as of Avignon and the Venaissin. Napoleon avoided his guest. To the written memorial of Pius he answered in words of double meaning. 'He would assure the Pontiff of his veneration, of his desire that the ceremonies of the Catholic religion should be magnificently celebrated, of his intention to protect the Pope in his present dominions and in the enjoyment of the property that remained to him.' To the Legate of the Pope he had generously donated the corpse of the venerable Pius VI. and the statue stolen from Loreto. The rare jewels had been removed from the statue. A second Charlemagne!

The Italians have always delighted in the rule of an usurper. Napoleon had dealt with them much as an Arab handles a slave-gang. When he was ready he invited them to submit to his kingship. They submitted graciously, and never have they shown a more beautiful enthusiasm than on the May day that he placed the iron crown on his head in the Milan Cathedral. As city after city

¹ Ranke, *loc. cit.*, p. 461.

begged him to exercise an unlimited mastery, he consented with all the courtesy of an emperor, and forthwith levied heavily upon empty treasuries, generously permitting them to improve their finances by "secularizing" the property of monasteries, convents, brotherhoods, chapters, pious associations. Victor Emmanuel, King of Piedmont, resided in Sardinia at this time. Piedmont was known, in France, as the twenty-seventh military division.

Russians, Prussians, Austrians, English, had once more united. Ulm had capitulated. The campaign in North Italy was a fortunate one for the French. At Rome, the Pope maintained a strict neutrality. Suddenly, without excuse, violating the law of nations, and spoken and written promise, the French seized Ancona (Oct., 1805). On the 13th of November, Pius VII. sent to the Emperor a dignified and courageous letter, charging him with invading the Papal rights, rights respected by every other power; accusing him of adding to the Pope's trials instead of relieving them; demanding the evacuation of Ancona; and notifying him that, in case of refusal, the French minister must remove from Rome.¹ The outcome of the war with Russia and Austria was uncertain. Napoleon kept silence. When the victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Pressburg made him the arbiter of Europe, he answered the Pope's letter. One of the world's greatest tragedians, Bonaparte played comedy with an art equalled by no diplomatist before or since. Recalling the third Napoleon and Cavour, this is a high tribute, but deserved. The answer, dated Munich, Jan. 7, 1806, informs the "Very Holy Father" that 'the occupation of Ancona is an immediate and necessary result of the bad organization of the Papal Army.' Furthermore, it is much better for His Holiness that his fortress should be in Napoleon's hands than in the hands of the English or of the Turks. "I consider myself," writes the Emperor, with a straight face, "the protector of the Holy See, and, as the protector, I occupied Ancona. Like my predecessors of the second and of the third race, I have considered myself as the elder son of the Church, as alone having the sword to protect her and to shield her from the defiling touch of Greek or Mussulman." "I will be the friend of your Holiness whenever you consult only your own heart and the true friends of religion." 'If your Holiness desire to send away my minister, you are free to do so, and to receive instead the English and the Caliph of Constantinople.' "God is the judge, who, among all the reigning princes, has done the more for religion."²

¹ See the document in P. Van Dueren's *Les Vicissitudes Politiques*, pp. 68–70.

² See the document in P. Van Dueren's *Les Vicissitudes Politiques*, pp. 70–71.

Insulting, specious, threatening as this letter was, the self-appointed 'protector of the Holy See' wrote under restraint. On the same day he addressed his minister at Rome, Cardinal Fesch, qualifying the Papal advisers as imbeciles, madmen, egoists; threatening to send a Protestant Minister to Rome;¹ ordering Consalvi to do his bidding or resign. "For the Pope," said he, "I am Charlemagne, because, like Charlemagne, I reunite the crown of France to that of the Lombards." "I mean that he shall regulate his conduct with me from this point of view. If they behave well, I will not alter appearances; otherwise, I will reduce the Pope to be bishop of Rome." 'Tell Consalvi that Constantine separated the civil power from the military, and I, too, can name a Senator to command at Rome in my name.'²

Fesch conveyed these reproaches and menaces to Pius VII., who heard them unmoved. On the 29th of January he answered Constantine Charlemagne, demanding the evacuation of Ancona, payment of the many advances made to the French troops, and restitution of the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna. To this letter Napoleon replied on February 13th: 'All Italy shall be submissive to my law. I will not touch *in the least* the independence of the Holy See; 'but our conditions must be that your Holiness shall have for me, in the temporal, the same consideration that I have for you in the spiritual, and that you cease useless relations with heretical enemies of the Church and with powers that can do you no good. Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor. All my enemies should be yours.' To Fesch he wrote on the same day, ordering him 'to expel the English, Russians, Swedes and Sardinians from Rome and from the Roman State, and to interdict the ports to vessels of these powers. Tell them that I am Charlemagne, the sword of the Church, their Emperor; that as such I should be treated; that they should not know that there is an empire of Russia. I shall make my intentions known to the Pope in few words. If he does not acquiesce I will reduce him to the condition that existed before Charlemagne.'³

To the demand here made, and often repeated, that the Pope should 'consider the antagonists of another as his own enemies,' Pius replied: "That he was the universal pastor, the father of all, the servant of peace, and that the very mention of such a demand inspired him with horror." It was his part to be Aaron, the

¹ He sent one—Alquier.

² See the document in P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72-73. We cannot forget De Maistre's happy exclamation, after quoting a passage from Voltaire: "The Mountebank! Where did he learn all these fine things!"

³ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

prophet of God—not Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.'¹ "Your Majesty establishes in principle that you are the Emperor of Rome," said Pius. "We answer with apostolic frankness that the Sovereign Pontiff, who is such, for so great a number of centuries that no reigning prince can point to a like antiquity, the Pontiff become, in addition, sovereign of Rome, does not recognize, and has never recognized in his states, a power greater than his own; and that no emperor has any right over Rome. You are immensely great; but you were chosen, consecrated, crowned, recognized Emperor of the French and not of Rome. There is no Emperor of Rome, there can be none, unless the Sovereign Pontiff be deprived of the absolute domain and of the empire that he alone exercises at Rome."² Whatever weaknesses the Popes have had, they never quailed before a tyrant. The Temporal Power, each one of them has defended against all comers. Pius, mild and irresolute as he was by nature, though less warlike, was no less loyal to his oath than the valiant Julius.

To consolidate his power in Italy, and to round the great empire he had conceived, Napoleon, in February, 1806, sent a force into the Kingdom of Naples. Her army beaten, Queen Caroline fled; and on the 13th of the month the French took possession of the capital. 'By right of conquest,' Napoleon, on the 31st of March, declared the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies a part of the Empire, and his brother, Joseph, King and grand Elector. The Papal court was notified of this event; and, on the 26th of April, Consalvi called the French Minister's attention to the fact that over the Kings of Naples the Papacy held and exercised rights as over a vassal. Enraged at this independent and prudent act of the Pope, Bonaparte, through Talleyrand, presented a note to Cardinal Caprara, ambassador of the Holy See at Paris, more contradictory and more threatening than any of the previous communications. In this note he reiterates his equality with Charlemagne, and demands the recognition of the new King of Naples, unless the Pope desires that he should be treated merely as a spiritual head.³ Without further correspondence with the Holy See, he took possession of a considerable part of the Papal territory. To each new act of violence and of robbery, Pius VII. opposed a protest. Prussia went down before the Emperor's victorious arms at Jena, and Russia at Eylau and Friedland. By the peace of Tilsit (July 9, 1807), his great Empire of the West gained the recognition of the Czar Alexander, who was content with

¹ Ranke, *History of Popes*, vol. ii., pp. 463–464.

² P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 76.

³ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 77.

being Emperor of the East, and Bonaparte felt that he dare now attack openly the aged ecclesiastic in the Vatican. Thirteen days after Tilsit, he demanded that the cardinals should be selected according to his will; and, on the same day, he wrote to Prince Eugene, his viceroy in Italy, a letter that would have shamed Garibaldi, filled with abuse of the Pope and of the Papacy, and repeating his former threats. In this letter it is that he used a sentence oft quoted since: "What does Pius VII. wish in denouncing me to Christendom? To interdict my thrones, to excommunicate me? Does he think that the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?" To God, the Judge, Bonaparte had previously appealed. In his case, the judgment of God was made visible.

Within three months Urbino, Macerata, Fermo, Spoleto were occupied by French troops. From the Pope protest followed protest. At the beginning of the year 1808, Bonaparte seized the rest of the Papal States, excepting only Rome. On the 2d of February the tri-color floated over the Castle of Sant Angelo. General Miollis was the hero who captured the Holy City without bloodshed. The *régime*, it is presumed, was that of the days before Charlemagne. "The batallions should '*traverser*' the Vatican. There should be a parade on the *grande place* without troubling yourself about the Pope. The French troops should mount guard at the gates of the Pope's palace, as Italian troops; and the troops of the Pope should be gathered in Ancona." Such were the instructions of the Emperor to the military representative of the "temporal power."¹ Pius VII. did not flinch. The written protest, that ever-accusing witness against usurpers, and that safeguard of lawful rights, was promptly issued. Meantime the invaders heaped indignities on the Pope. The commander of the Papal forces was imprisoned, the Pontifical Guard was dismissed, and twenty-two cardinals were expelled from the city. On April 2, 1808, the States of the Church were *irrevocably* united to the Kingdom of Italy, by an imperial decree, because 'the Pope had constantly refused to make war on the English'; because 'it was necessary that the communications between the armies of Italy and of Naples should not be interrupted by an enemy,' and because 'the donation of Charlemagne, Bonaparte's illustrious predecessor, was made to benefit Christendom and not to advantage the enemies of Religion.'² Popular education must have been very backward in Europe in 1808; otherwise this decree would never have been edited. And yet it is as intelligent and as logical a document on which to base a title to the possession of the States of the

¹ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 83.

² P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 83.

Church as any decree or proclamation issued, or any law adopted, under the Piedmontese King, that, following in the footsteps of the new Charlemagne who made a French military department of Victor Emmanuel's quondam Kingdom, temporarily lords it in Rome to-day.

A despot—such the little corporal had made himself, and such he claimed to be. "*Le peuple, c'est moi*" were his words, travestying those of the *Grand Monarque*; "and the people can have no interest distinct from mine. To contradict me is to attack in me the whole public interest."¹ The twenty-two year old Jerome ruled Westphalia. Louis, twenty-eight, was King of Holland. Italy poured millions into the imperial treasury. Europe was blockaded, in order that England might be ruined. Murat was in Madrid, Joseph, the conspirator, now King of Spain. At Erfurt (September, 1808) the Czar, 'four kings, twenty-seven princes, two grand-dukes, seven dukes, and an infinity of counts, barons, marshals' took Bonaparte's orders subserviently. Austria rose in arms once more, was once more humiliated at Eckmühl, and yielded up even Vienna. The conqueror could now complete the ruin of the Papacy. From Schönbrunn, on May 17, 1809, fifteen days after the capture of Vienna, he dated the famous decree by which he assumed to abolish the Temporal Power. "Considering that when Charlemagne, emperor of the French and our august predecessor, donated several counties to the bishops of Rome, he gave them only as fiefs and for the advantage of his States, and that by this donation Rome did not cease to be a part of his Empire . . . we decree: That the States of the Pope are reunited to the French Empire, and that the city of Rome, so celebrated on account of the great memorials with which it is filled, and the first See of Christendom, is declared an imperial and free city."² Bonaparte had most fully vindicated his claim to the honored title of 'son of the revolution;' but he meant to deserve from posterity the title that his contemporaries dared not refuse him. The new Charlemagne—Brutus Charlemagne, would surpass the Assembly and the Directory in the attempt to 'destroy the centre of Christendom,' and to 'put an end to the reign of the Popes.'

When Miollis entered Rome, from each church door there came a voice of condemnation. "Not to fail in the essential obligation of guarding the rights of his sovereignty, the Pope formally protests in his own name and in that of his successors, against any usurpation of his domain, it being his will that the rights of the Holy

¹ Cantu, *Hist. Universelle*, tome xviii., p. 231.

² The document in P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85, 86.

See be, and remain, perfectly untouched." Thus Pius, in the face of force, conserved the rights of the Church. And now, when the usurpation was completed, the dumb doors spoke once more, excommunicating 'all those who, in Rome or in the territories of the Church, have been guilty of sacrilegious attempts upon the temporal rights of the Holy See.' Long before Napoleon's day, and many a time since, the terrible force of a Papal excommunication has been recognized. The mightiest human power cannot hope, with common shot and shell, to bear up against that superhuman weapon of consuming flame.

The scenes in the tragedy Bonaparte had studiously prepared. From his correspondence we can ourselves anticipate what is to follow. On the 17th of June he wrote to Murat, who had been imposed on the two Sicilies in the place of Joseph, promoted to the crown of Spain: 'From my decrees you will see that I have done much good to the Pope; but it is on condition that he keep quiet. If he wishes to form a union of caballers, like Cardinal Pacca, it will not be suffered, and you must act at Rome as I would act with the Archbishop of Paris.' Two days later, Miollis heard from the Emperor: "To you I have confided the duty of maintaining tranquility in my Roman States. You should suffer no obstacle. Bring before a military commission every one that commits an act against the security of the army; arrest, even in the Pope's house, all those who plot against public tranquility and the security of my soldiers. A priest abuses his office, and merits less indulgence than another, when he preaches war and disobedience to the temporal power (*puissance*), and when he sacrifices the spiritual to the interests of this world, which the Gospel says are not his."¹ We have read this letter often. German emperors have written it; French kings, too; and mountebanks of every nationality. The late Mr. Crispi elaborated it into a code. Truth is one. Measured by the measure of originality, error is not one per cent. of one. Is it any wonder that it should not prevail?

On the same day the Emperor gave Murat another delicate hint: 'I have advised that affairs at Rome must move rapidly.' "No asylum should be respected if they do not submit to my decree, and no resistance should be borne with under any pretext. If the Pope, contrary to the spirit of his calling and of the Gospel, preaches revolt, and if he would use the immunity of his house to print circulars, he should be arrested. The time for these scenes has passed. Philippe le Bel arrested Boniface, and Charles V. kept Clement VII. in prison for a long time; and they did much less. A priest who preaches discord and war to the temporal

¹ P. Van Duerm, *loc cit.*, p. 89.

powers, instead of peace, abuses his office.¹ Some well-meaning historians² have kindly relieved Napoleon of any responsibility for the shameful, dishonorable, unmanly outrages to which Pius VII. was subjected. And yet it is he who convicts himself of the great crime. Philippe le Bel was a crowned ruffian. Napoleon knew where to look for a model.

Murat obeyed orders. On the night of the 6th of July, 1809, the Pope and Cardinal Pacca were forcibly removed from the Quirinal, placed in a close carriage, and driven out of the Holy City. To Florence, Turin, Grenoble, Savona, they carried Pius. At Grenoble the Pope was separated from the Cardinal, whom they confined in the fortress of Fenestrelle. "Courage, my children, and pray!" were the words ever on the lips of the Pontiff as the people gathered about him. The Pope was prepared for the worst. Every Pope is. Cardinal Pacca exposes the secret of the calmness with which the Popes of this century have borne their tribulations. "Providence permits this in order to confirm more and more the Divine lesson given to the Popes and to the ministers of the Church, often repeated in the Holy Scriptures, not to put their confidence in the princes of this world." Having no faith in princes, and well advised as to the purposes of Napoleon, Pius girded his loins. "My predecessor," he said, "in his prosperous days was as impetuous as a lion, and he died like a lamb. I have lived like a lamb, but I shall know how to defend myself and to die like a lion." The Pope was strong in his sense of right and in his confidence in Christ. To the despot who was persecuting him he wrote words of warning—prophetic words, that passed unheeded: "Remember that God is over kings, that he excepts no person, and spares no grandeur. Soon he will show himself with a terrible aspect, and the powerful shall be judged with rigor."

At Savona, Pius was a prisoner until June, 1812. There he was surrounded by intriguers, clerical and lay, cardinals as well as bishops; for the Emperor was a master of every wile, and, as a last resource, was ever ready to threaten. The French Senate had, February 17, 1810, declared the States of the Church a part of the Empire; the city of Rome the second city of the Empire; the Prince Imperial the King of Rome. A foreign sovereignty was incompatible with the exercise of spiritual authority, the Senate announced. However, the Pope should have a revenue of two millions. This Napoleonic decree, uttered through the lips of a slavish Senate, undoubtedly served as a model for the more

¹ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 89.

² See Cardinal Wiseman's *Last Four Popes*, p. 76.

recent "Law of Guarantees," with which the Piedmontese government sought to bolster up its attempt to 'destroy the centre of Catholicity.' The Emperor was persistent in his efforts to obtain from the Pope a recognition of this decree. The Austrians, who, as we have seen, had but little respect for the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, endeavored to influence Pius to accept the Imperial demands. He was inflexible. "When opinions are founded on the voice of conscience and the sentiment of duty, they become irrevocable. And, believe me, there is no physical force in the world that can long contend against a moral force of this nature. What we have said concerning the sad events that have affected our Apostolic See has been dictated by such sentiments, and, consequently, can suffer no variation, however frequently we may express our views."¹ Thus Pius answered the Austrian diplomat, Lebzelteru. Napoleon knew the power of this moral force. He was fully conscious of the superiority of the Papal office and authority. "Alexander," said he, to M. de Fontanes, "could call himself the son of Jupiter without contradiction from any one. I find a priest more powerful than I, because he reigns over minds and I only over matter." He wished to be a Sultan—and he took the means.²

An ordinary prisoner, on an allowance of three francs a day, separated from his advisers, spied, persecuted, Pius VII. was as courageous at Savona as at Rome. He refused canonical institution to the bishops appointed by the Emperor; he refused to acknowledge the marriage to Maria Louisa; he re-excommunicated his crowned jailor. The Emperor imprisoned priests, bishops, cardinals; others he swayed. He was determined to control 'the canons, the morals, the discipline, the sacraments, and the dogma of the Catholic Church.' He found docile instruments among the cardinals and the bishops. Even the Pope's confessor was his willing servant. Urged by their selfish and wicked master, these men made the Pontiff's life a life of torture. His age, his feebleness, the perplexity of a half-distracted mind, they used to make a victim of him and of the Church. They had a so-called Council—the Council of Paris—to aid them. 'The worthy old man was at length prevailed on, though not without bitter grief and after violent conflicts with himself, to renounce the right of institution,'³ and to accept an imperial decree, skilfully worded,

¹ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.

² In 1884-85, and again in 1887, Vte. De Mayol de Lupé, published in *Le Correspondant*, under the title: *Un Pape Prisonnier*, a series of historical studies on the Roman seizure and the imprisonment at Savona. Based as they are on original documents, these articles will serve the reader who desires an acquaintance with all the facts connected with a monstrous conspiracy.

³ Ranke, *loc. cit.*, p. 465.

which implied, on the Pope's part, a renunciation of the temporal Sovereignty that he had so long and so valiantly defended. (September 20, 1811.)¹ To read of cardinals, archbishops and bishops scheming to induce a Pope to sacrifice the Patrimony of the Church, is to re-learn the lesson of human weakness. Cardinal Pacca relieves his 'colleagues' of 'evil intention,' but he does say that their action imprinted on their reputation '*une véritable tache.*'

Providence had not forsaken Pius. Quickly he saw the far-reaching effect of his concessions; quickly he assumed anew his former position of defence. "The resistance of the Pope made Napoleon furious. He used every form of intimidation, but his august captive remained unshaken."² On the very eve of the Russian campaign Pius was removed to Fontainebleau. There he could not hope for rescue; there he could be even more persistently harassed. Again the cardinals appeared on the scene; again they laid siege to his impressionable heart, picturing to him, in moving words, the sufferings of his flock. Meantime, God showed himself with a terrible aspect and judged the mighty one. Beaten as few soldiers ever have been beaten, Napoleon returned from the Russian expedition (December 18, 1812). In defeat, as in victory, his malice could be fully gratified only by mean persecution of the Vicar of Christ. As yet the Emperor's plans had not been wholly successful. Unmoved stood the Rock. Pius refused to cede the coveted Temporal Power. To attain his end, Napoleon adopted a conscienceless means, one that his guile had taught him the value of,—the physical shock,—a means by which sensitive men have been often wronged. Suddenly he presented himself to his worn, excited captive; smirked, embraced, stormed—and won. The Pope signed the Concordat of Fontainebleau (January 25, 1813). There were cardinals present, time-serving, timid, aiding the astute tyrant. The Emperor disappeared; the bells rang out; the loud *Te Deum* filled vault of cathedral and of humble village church, and throughout the Empire the Concordat was made public.

Conceived in fraud, executed under false representations, fraudulently published, the Concordat of Fontainebleau was null and void. The articles to which Pius had affixed his name were, by the agreement, to be kept secret, and to serve only as 'the basis of a definitive arrangement, to be elaborated when the Pope could consult the cardinals.'³ Cheated by the treacherous Emperor,—

¹ Comte d'Haussonville, in *L'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire*, has given the details of the moral, or rather immoral, pressure to which Pius was subjected during this period. See also P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 94–98.

² P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 99.

³ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 103–104.

as shortsighted as treacherous,—Pius was at first overcome by grief. The wrong done himself he could have borne. The wrong done the Church he would not bear. Now the lamb was indeed turned into a lion. Publicly the Pope retracted the preliminary agreement of Fontainebleau, and boldly did he affirm his sacred rights as Supreme Head of the Church, and as temporal Sovereign of the Ecclesiastical States (March 24, 1813). The ‘impostor’ threatened him with death, but henceforward Pius was neither to know nor to show fear. On the ninth of May he condemned the various decrees by which Napoleon had undermined the spiritual and temporal authority of the Holy See, and annulled all acts committed under the deceitful forms of imperial law. Then came Murat’s treachery, Moreau’s revenge, the coalition, and the Congress of Prague, that offered terms to him who was accustomed to dictate. From Europe Pius demanded ‘the restitution of that State of which he had been deprived for refusing to enter into a league purely offensive, and because he had sought to conserve that condition of neutrality which his quality of common Father of the faithful, and the interest of the Religion professed in the States of so many Sovereigns, exacted of him.’ “Far from renouncing Our Temporal Sovereignty, we have, on the contrary, at all times and in all places, loudly proclaimed Our rights, all the more legitimate that they are founded on a possession of more than ten centuries, the longest perhaps that can be cited.”¹ The prisoner was still a Pope in the full sense of the word. And Napoleon? Whipped,—at Kulm, Katzbach, Gross-Beeren, Dennewitz, Leipzig. Then the despot knelt, offering to recognize the Temporal Sovereignty, and to replace the Pope at Rome, *provided he would recognize the Concordat of Fontainebleau*. The offer was rejected. At length, on January 18, 1814, he wrote to Pius, proposing a treaty without any exactions. Articles I. and II. of this treaty read as follows: “His Majesty, the Emperor and King, recognizes His Holiness Pope Pius VII. as temporal Sovereign of Rome and of the countries forming, up to this, the Roman States, and actually annexed to the French Empire. In consequence, His Majesty, Emperor and King, will remit, as quickly as possible, into the hands of Pope Pius VII., or of his agents, these countries and their fortresses.”² The Pope’s heart had grown more lion-like. He answered “that he could lend himself to no negotiation because the restitution of his States, being an act of justice, could not become the object of a treaty, and that, besides, whatever he might do outside of his States, would seem to be the effect of

¹ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 110.

² P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, p. 113.

violence, and would be an occasion of scandal to the Catholic world."

Lord Lyons once said that, "it was very difficult to deal diplomatically with the Holy Spirit." The truth of this saying is greater even than its wit. Four days after the Emperor's proposal of a treaty, the Pope was informed that he was free to enter Italy. He doubted the imperial honesty; he feared a new imprisonment and new attacks. The Cardinals he warned to avoid all negotiations about temporal or spiritual affairs, and the doing of any act that would have 'the appearance of recognizing, even tacitly, the pretended sovereignty of the Emperor and of his successors over the domains of the Church.' Pius was only nominally free. Up to the 10th of March a French convoy shifted him back and forth on the confines of Italy. Hopelessly, Napoleon was hoping that he might escape destruction. Had he won a battle or a diplomatic advantage, there is no telling what might have been the Pope's fate. But he won no battles. His kingdoms had tumbled down. Jerome and Joseph were fugitives. Murat turned traitor, held Rome and Ancona, and was denouncing his former master as the representative of 'persecution, artifice, violence, tyranny and consternation.' With an army of 360,000 men, Napoleon was as if he were alone. At Chatillon sur Seine the allies were designing a new map. Well might the ruined Emperor set the Pope free. And this he did, on March 10, 1814.

By the end of the month Pius had crossed the border. As he marched joyously, amid the acclamations of his subjects, the allies entered Paris (April 2d), and in that palace of Fontainebleau which had been the Pope's prison, Charlemagne Bonaparte abdicated his temporal and spiritual sovereignty (April 11th). "On his way to the port from which he was to embark for Elba, he was compelled to disguise himself in order to escape the fury of the people."¹ The prisoner whom he had so terribly abused, did he enter Rome in disguise? No! But in solemn procession, amid the most remarkable expressions of affection.² "The world then commenced a new age, and a new era opened for the Roman See."³ (May 24, 1814.)

Pius VII. did not wait until he reached Rome to exercise his sovereignty. On May 20th he protested once more against the treaty of Tolentino; and, in the person of Consalvi, he sent an envoy to Louis XVIII., the new ruler of France. As Murat still occupied a portion of the Papal territory and greedy Austria

¹ Cantu, *Hist. Univ.*, vol. xviii., p. 303.

² Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 253.

³ Ranke, *loc. cit.*, p. 467. By the way, the King of Elba's allowance was just two millions.

maintained possession of the Legations, the Pope, through Consalvi, addressed a note to the Powers, demanding that he should be placed in control of every foot of territory that of right belonged to him, including Avignon and the Venaissin. At the Congress of Vienna (Nov., 1814), Consalvi presented the case of the Papacy. Before a decision had been formulated, Napoleon re-entered France. Once more Murat joined hands with him. When he violated the Papal territory, Pius protested and withdrew to Florence. Waterloo made an end of Bonaparte. Murat was shot on the rock of Pizzo. (Oct. 13, 1815.) Thus, two of the greater conspirators against the rightful authority of the Holy See testified to the power, the goodness of God and to the ever-watchful and active Providence that guards 'the centre of Catholicity' and the Temporal Power of the Popes.

The Congress of Vienna repudiated the treaty of Tolentino and restored the Legations to the Holy See. (June 9, 1815.) Austria maintained a garrison at Ferrara and at Commachio for her own 'protection.' Parma and Piacenza, which the Popes rightfully claimed, were not returned, nor were Avignon and the Venaissin. In good fortune, as in ill, the Papacy is consistent. Consalvi protested against the 'iniquitous alienation, of the Apostolic domain; and Pius, in a public allocution, reiterated the Papal rights to Avignon, the Venaissin and Ferrara.¹ (Sept. 4, 1815.)

Before the last Pope dies the map of Europe will have changed more than once. The Papal claims will, however, stand unchanged until they have been satisfied, conscientiously, justly. Founded in right, the Church must support them in the interest of order, law, equity. Not only every state, but each individual, owes her an incalculable debt for the patience, courage, tenacity, with which she has defended right as against might.

Returning to Rome, Pius VII. had to do what Pope after Pope had done before him—reorganize the government, repair churches, bridges, roads; re-adorn the city; re-endow charities; encourage devotion; revive art and literature; repress the immoral and the disorderly. The task was heavy, but in the *Curia* they have the traditions of good government and a strong sense of their mission as renovators. The burden of administration did not prevent the Pope from giving due attention to the question of the Temporal Power. From Kings the Popes have learned that they need expect no more justice than from despots, Sultans, Directories, Assemblies or the mob. In this new Europe, Pius was determined to conserve the rights that the Papacy had maintained through all the revolutions that slowly or suddenly had formed

¹ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, 128.

and reformed the world. No Pope can do otherwise. If there be a Church, and a Head of that Church, there must be a centre of Christendom. To recognize this logical conclusion, one need not be either a Constantine or a Charlemagne, a Voltaire, a Lépaux or a Napoleon. Peter's seat, Peter's tomb, has been, is, will be, that centre; and wheresoever the last Pope rules, guides, encourages, instructs the Christian world, whether he be a Boniface, Pius, Sixtus, Julius or Leo, in life, to death, he will, for the sake of the religion of Jesus Christ, protect, defend, protest, denounce, that the spiritual may be preserved, extended, by means of a Temporal independence, assured by sovereignty. The successors of the "King of the Jews" will be rulers forever and by the divinest of rights.

In order that the Bourbons might learn the mind of the Papacy—and the Bourbons were undoubtedly slow—Pius delicately conveyed to Louis XVIII. that the Popes had rights in Avignon and the Venaissin, and that the reigning Pope desired their recognition, by cession or by compensation. This was done in 1816. Nor did the Pope allow the Bourbons at Naples to forget their dutiful obligations to the Holy See. In France he received polite words without other pay. At Naples they answered him with an answer that was first given before a Bourbon had reigned there—an attempt to seize a portion of the Papal territory. Ferdinand IV. was a Bourbon Murat. A King who is not a thief, especially in his dealings with a Pope—deserves canonization; not for keeping one commandment, but because the keeping of this one by kings, is, seemingly, a grace granted only to those who have learned to respect all the ten commandments. However, the Pope, gaining nothing, lost nothing by the action of France or of Naples. Austria would have gladly 'protected' the Pope more efficiently than the Papacy desired; but Austria had enough to do in the territory guaranteed her by the Congress. Indeed, Europe, and more especially Italy, was in a condition of unrest. The allies, to serve the purpose of overturning Napoleon, had everywhere fostered a spirit of revolt. And this spirit they had kept alive, excited, inflamed, by a generous use of the idea of "liberty" and of "nationality." Imagine England, in 1812, propagating a spirit of liberty! It was England—Castlereagh, whose not ill-natured epitaph the liberal Byron wrote—that, more than any other power, tried to upset the 'imperial' throne by a most dangerous appeal to the aspirations of the intelligent and to the passions of the untrained crowd. The attempt to undo the revolution by revolutionary means, is felt over the whole world to this day. To credit France with the full sum of the evil, is to do injus-

tice to the 'mother country.' The Kings and the Emperors deserve their share of the blame—and their share is not small.

Napoleon had won his way in Italy by appealing to the spirit of nationality. He made slaves of the Italians. By appealing to the spirit of liberty, the English rallied the people against the conqueror. The Congress of Vienna could not create a people with the conservative ideas in vogue before Napoleon's day; nor could it moderate the passions, or correct the false notions that had been studiously developed. The country was divided 'among rulers, old, new, some merely temporary, and all with a patriarchal government.'¹ The Italians had the traditions of free government, and before Bonaparte came, enjoyed liberty through representative bodies, the growth of ages, knowing how to protect, organized to protect, the rights of the people. These institutions the French despot had subverted. When he was driven out the people found themselves under a rule they could not bear—the rule of absolutism.² During the Napoleonic sway the Carbonari had taken root. Murat was not the only prince that, for selfish purposes, encouraged the secret political societies. The name of our Lord has been made use of by many men, in and out of the Church, to counteract the beneficent work of His doctrine. Vanity, pride, malice, foolishness, have found in His loved name a resource found not elsewhere. The Carbonari, in the beginning, were vowed to 'avenge the death of Christ and to re-establish His kingdom.'³ Vengeance is the Lord's, and His alone; and yet good, ignorant men might well be misled by the formula of the Carbonari. To trace the development of this association is not our purpose. From it various secret societies took their being. The idea of Christ and of Christianity was speedily lost; and the devil himself has, in time, become the ideal of a considerable class of reckless men in Italy. When Pius VII. returned to Rome the number of secret associations, revolutionary in aim and immoral in their teaching, was already notable. Each year the number grew. In Austria, Naples, Piedmont, they were active—the Socialists of that day. Though the Papal rule was mild, conciliatory, liberal and enterprising, it escaped the attacks of the Carbonari no more than the harsh, illiberal governments that misruled the greater part of Italy and the whole of the rest of the world. From the Neapolitan sectaries the Papal States had most to fear; but the Pope was able to maintain his independent sovereignty until his death, on August 20, 1823.

¹ Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 285.

² Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 286.

³ Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 285.

Truly is it a noble prerogative of Rome, Cardinal Wiseman writes, "to be a place where enmities are forgotten and injuries buried in oblivion."¹ When the family of the Emperor was proscribed, where did mother, sisters, brother, seek an asylum? In Rome; in the territory of the Pope who had been so persecuted, so maltreated by the haughty Emperor. There "they were allowed to have their palaces, their estates, their titles, and their position not only unmolested, but fully recognized." Remembering all that this family did 'to destroy the centre of Catholicity,' Catholicity could boast of a noble revenge.

The study of history as a mere catalogue of dates and of facts is a vain study. As a guide in forming wise opinions and judgments in the present and for the future; as a stay and support of the eternal principles of right and justice; as a teacher of the practical value of longanimity, of the uncertainty of the most-carefully devised schemes of contriving, crooked men, and of the hidden, certain, inevitable action of Him who scattereth the proud in the imagination of their heart, putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth them of low degree, the study of history is invaluable.

From the history of these thirty-three years of the Papacy what lesson may we learn? what opinions and judgments should we form in the present and for the future, wisely? The lessons are many; lessons to be learned from a review of the history of the Papacy year after year, century after century. The Church and the world are not one. The world is the enemy of the Church—has been, will be. Of the world, the Church is the one true, unselfish friend. Of all things that men rightly value,—peace, justice, liberty, truth, happiness,—she alone has the secret-guardian, leader, defender, teacher. The empire she would found is not that of a Charlemagne, but that of the Christ. Call to mind the rulers of Europe during the third of a century that we have glanced at; compare one, all, with Pius VI. and Pius VII. The comparison will not be a more telling argument in our favor than a comparison made between the princes and the Popes at any other period, but it will make the beneficent action of the Papacy on mankind as visible, as dazzling, as the noon-day sun. On every page of history read with honest, open eyes, we read, clearly written, with pens dipped in heart's blood, in salt tears, the lesson that Christ came to teach: "without Christianity, no general liberty; and without the Pope, no true Christianity—in other words, no operating, powerful, converting, regenerating, conquering, improving Christianity."²

¹ *The Last Four Popes*, Boston, 1858, p. 186.

² De Maistre: *The Pope*, London, 1850, p. 243.

From the record of these thirty-three years we are forced to draw still another lesson, one that should guide us in forming a *wise* judgment in the present and on the future. Rome has been, will be a battle-ground. Seat of the Papacy, of that wondrous power, directly instituted by the Saviour, a power that, as Napoleon recognized at the height of his glory, rules the spirit and not matter alone, Rome will be coveted as long as the world is not truly Christian. To possess it without right, is to be dishonored. Kings will dishonor themselves. To seize it is to invite the ruin that is not to be avoided. Kings will be ruined; peoples too. But the Popes—prisoners in Rome or out of Rome, threatened with death, wheedled, forced, from within or without—will never cede their rights as Sovereigns. The independence of the Papacy means the sovereignty of the Papacy. Canonists, compromisers with the controlling ideas of an immediate present, ambitious clerics, time-serving diplomatists, maddened mobs, victorious Emperors, shall argue, distinguish, negotiate, betray, fawn, kill, but the Papal *Non possumus* will baffle one and all. 'The voice of conscience and the sentiment of duty' compel the Popes, will ever compel them, to defend their sovereignty. 'Against a moral force of this nature no physical force in the world can long contend.' Pius VI., Pius VII. fought for no dynasty. They fought for religion, for the centre of Christianity, for the salvation of mankind. They could not do otherwise. No Pope until the end of time can do otherwise. Humanly speaking, the end of the Papacy, as a temporal power, will, from time to time, seem to be assured. Students of history will know that the end is not yet. And the Popes! They refresh their confidence daily, calling to mind the words of the Psalmist: The Lord will not suffer the rod of the wicked to rest upon the lot of the righteous.

MR. LECKY ON IRISH HOME RULE.

IN the January number of the *North American Review*, Mr. Lecky, the well known historian, has given to the public of this country an article on "Ireland in the Light of History." Under this very inoffensive title a bitter attack is made by the writer on the Irish Home Rule movement and its leaders. Mr. Lecky, by his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," and other works, has won himself a high reputation for both research and impartiality which makes it impossible to pass over his assertions as we would do were they not sanctioned by the weight of his name. The editor of the *Review* in his preface says that "every scholar will admit that there is no higher authority on the relations of England and Ireland, no other historian who has investigated the subject with equal patience and thoroughness or measured the testimony before him with so much impartiality." This high character, we are forced to say, is not in any way borne out by the *Review* article. In it Mr. Lecky drops the character of the historian and assumes that of the partisan. He uses his knowledge of historical facts not to bring out the truth but to forward the interests of a party, and that a discredited and ignoble one, by palpable special pleading and even direct misstatements. These are hard words to use of a man of Mr. Lecky's reputation, but they are fully justified by the nature of his article in the *Review*, as we believe we shall show conclusively in the following pages.

The history of Ireland, Mr. Lecky tells us at the opening of his article, is chiefly valuable as "a study of morbid anatomy." As a historian we should have thought that the vitality which has kept the Irish race alive through eight centuries of oppression might furnish other causes for study than can be described as morbid anatomy, but we can let that pass as a matter of taste. We cannot do the same with his stout assertion that "the idea that Ireland before the arrival of the Normans was a single and independent nation is wholly false," and that it was not a nation but a "collection of separate tribes and kingdoms engaged in almost constant warfare." The latter assertion, even if true, no more proves that Ireland was not a single and independent nation than the existence of warring feudal nobles in France, Germany or England would warrant the assertion that there was no French nation before Louis XI. or no German nation before Barbarossa.

Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had a national

sovereign as well recognized as Hugh Capet was in France or Lothaire or Wenceslas in Germany. Mr. Lecky, in almost the next sentence, admits as much, and that had Ireland not been impeded by extraneous influences she would have followed the same path as England or France. The assertion, however, that Ireland was not an independent nation because she happened to be in the same condition as other nations at the same period, is characteristic of the Unionist style of attack. The common faults and errors of human nature, when they occur in Ireland, are spoken of by her assailants as if they were peculiar to Ireland. It is a trick to which we are used in the *London Times* and its fellow-journals, but one which is wholly unworthy of a historian like Mr. Lecky.

Another strange inaccuracy is the statement that the colonies of English and Scotch settlers, which it became the policy of the English Government to introduce into Ireland after the Reformation, were placed on "the land that was confiscated in consequence of rebellion." Mr. Lecky knows Irish history well enough to be aware that the six counties of Ulster on which the plantation of James was made were not confiscated in consequence of rebellion, but seized by the crown on the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel to France to escape the plot laid against them by Sir John Chichester somewhat on the lines of the recent *Times* plot against the characters of the Irish national leaders. The Connaught plantation of Strafford was based on "defective titles," supposed to be found by the crown lawyers in the estates of the native Irish owners of the land. The error is not a very important one, but it is surprising in a writer of Mr. Lecky's usual accuracy. Taken in connection with his subsequent strictures on recent legislation for limiting the powers of the landlord class over their tenants, it would seem to imply that he can occasionally distort historical facts to serve the theories of modern partisanship.

Mr. Lecky's treatment of the Penal Code in the *Review* is a good deal milder than we would have expected from his chapters on the same subject in "England in the Eighteenth Century." It is strange to find a writer who has won reputation as a moralist putting forward with much consideration a plea in defence of the infamous Penal Laws on the grounds that "at the close of a long period of savage civil war it was absolutely necessary for a small minority who found themselves in possession of the government and land of the country to deprive the conquered and hostile majority of every element of political and military strength." This plea would warrant any system of tyranny that the world has ever seen. It would justify the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, the exterminations of the Sciotes or Suliotes by former sultans, or the butcheries

of Nadis Shah or Genghis Khan. It is an explanation of the reason of the Code, not a defence of it. It is true Mr. Lecky puts this remarkable apology in the mouths of Protestant Irishmen of the last century, but as he adds that "there is much truth in these considerations," he gives it to a certain extent his own endorsement. The curious historical misstatement that the Code followed a long period of savage civil war, when in fact the war preceding it was the two years' struggle of the Catholic population of Ireland against the foreign army of William the Third, is also deserving of note.

We may pass over the remark that a union between Ireland and England at the time of the Scotch union might have changed the whole current of Irish history. Mr. Lecky gives no reasons why such a change would have been for the good of Ireland. He gives no reason whatever to make us imagine that such would have been the case, though he speaks of it as "a golden opportunity lost." His assertion that seventy years of quiet followed the rejection of the proposed union, and in another place that the Penal Code produced eighty years of the most profound tranquillity is a different matter. It is directly contradicted by Mr. Lecky's own "*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*," in which the reader will find long accounts of the various disturbances and secret societies that convulsed Ireland under the Penal Laws. He follows up with the further assertion that under the Penal Code "there was no tendency to throw taxation unduly on the poor." This is not only untrue but Mr. Lecky admits its falsehood in the following sentence, in which he says that "the practical evil most severely felt was the system of tithes, and it was aggravated by a very unfair exemption of pasture lands." This exemption, as every reader of Irish history is well aware, was made in favor of the rich landowners who preferred to keep their land in sheep-runs to letting it to the agricultural population. The poor cultivators in fact had to pay the whole burthen of the tithes, while the landlords, if they chose to keep their land in pasture, were wholly exempt from this the chief land-tax. It is true that the average American reader may not be aware of the real meaning of the very unfair exemption of pasture lands, while he would accept at once Mr. Lecky's positive statement that there was no tendency to throw taxation unduly on the poor. Mr. Lecky himself is well aware that the two statements are in direct contradiction and that the first is untrue; still he deliberately makes it, apparently trusting to the ignorance of his readers not to detect the contradiction. It seems to us that he simply lends the weight of his name to a direct falsehood, and it certainly jus-

tifies us in requiring other proofs than his mere assertion for the other statements in his article.

In his palliation of the Penal Code, however, he does not confine himself to distorting the facts about the tithes. He boldly asserts not only that "it produced the most perfect tranquility during eighty years," but that "there was not much real oppression or religious bigotry during the same period." To this astounding assertion it is enough to oppose the testimony of a witness frequently quoted by Mr. Lecky, with approval both in his history and in the *Review*, Arthur Young, who travelled in Ireland in 1776 and 1779, and who refers both to that time and the state of affairs preceding it for one or two generations. Young was an Englishman and a Protestant, and had no tendency to any special sympathy with the Irish peasantry. Speaking under the express head of oppression, he says, in 1776 :

"The age has improved so much in humanity that even the poor Irish have experienced its influence, and are every day treated better and better (than through Mr. Lecky's eighty years of tranquility). Still, the remnant of the old manners, the abominable distinction of religion united with the oppressive conduct of the little country gentleman, or, rather, vermin of the kingdom, altogether bear very heavy on the poor people. The landlord of an Irish estate inhabited by Roman Catholics is a sort of despot who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor to no law but that of his will. . . . A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, laborer, or cotter dares to refuse to execute. Disrespect or anything tending towards sauciness he may punish with his cane or horsewhip with the most perfect security. A poor man would have his bones broke if he ventured to lift his hands in his own defence. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. *Formerly, it happened every day*, but law gains ground. It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipped into a ditch by a gentleman's footman, to make way for his carriage; if they are overturned or broken in pieces, no matter, it is taken in patience; were they to complain, they would, perhaps, be horsewhipped. It is a fact that a poor man having a contest with a gentleman, must—but I am talking nonsense, they know their situation too well to think of it. They can have no defence, but by means of protection from one gentleman against another who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat."

Such was the state of things which Mr. Lecky has briefly summed up by the statement that "there was not much real oppression." Let us see what the same authority has to say of his "eighty years of the most perfect tranquility."

Mr. Young continues :

"Consequences have flowed from these oppressions which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of White Boys, Steel Boys, Oak Boys, Peep of Day Boys, etc. *These various insurgents* are not to be confounded, for they are very different. All but the White Boys were among the manufacturing Protestants in the North; the White Boys were Catholic laborers in the South. The case was different with the White Boys who, being laboring Catholics, met all those oppressions I have describe^d, and would probably have continued in full submission had not

very severe treatment in regard to tithes, united with a great speculative rise of rent about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance. The atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation: acts were passed for their punishment which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary.

"By one they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which, though repealed the following session, marks the spirit of punishment, while others remain yet the law of the land that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which, it is manifest, that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure from overlooking the real cause of the disease which, in fact, lay in themselves, *not* in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely and the poor will not long riot."

If this was the "most perfect tranquility," as Mr. Lecky assures his readers it was, then we do not know what he would call disorder. The reader can judge from the foregoing what amount of credit Mr. Lecky's statements on historical matters are worth where the interests of his own class are involved.

The account which is given of the emancipation of the Irish Parliament is correct in its main features, though it is untrue to say that among the Irish Catholics there was absolutely no sympathy with the American cause. The names of Commodore Barry, Moylan, Sullivan and numerous others in the Revolutionary War are sufficient proof of the incorrectness of Mr. Lecky's assertion. His uncertainty as to whether the Constitution of Grattan's Parliament could last, is somewhat strange in its arguments at the present day. We thought it had been pretty well solved that federations of States with different legislatures can exist, though a hundred years ago there may have been doubts on the subject. Mr. Lecky insists on the fact that the Irish Parliament, from 1782 to 1800, was a purely Protestant and landlord body, and also that it was devoted to the English throne and merciless in its dealings with what he calls anarchy and sedition. All these characteristics were shared by the English Parliament of the day and have passed away never to return, we hope. The most bigoted Unionist will hardly contend that a Protestant oligarchy is the only form of rule suited to Ireland, even if he thinks so.

The sketch which Mr. Lecky gives his American readers of the insurrection of "'98," and the measures used by the Government to bring about the Legislative Union, is widely different indeed from the account of the same period which he gives in his history. In the *Review* article he suppresses nearly all mention of the misdeeds of the Government, while he exaggerates those committed by the insurgent peasantry. During the Wexford insurrection there were two massacres of prisoners committed by the insurgents, one in Wexford town and another at Scullabogue, where a barn containing a number of prisoners was burned by the camp followers after the battle of New Ross. In both cases these mas-

sacres were committed by the hangers-on and runaways in the absence of the main rebel army, and they were at once repudiated by the leaders without exception. On the other hand, before the Wexford insurrection broke out, there were wholesale massacres of untried prisoners committed by the loyalists at Carnew, at Dunlavin Green and other places, which were openly approved by the Government. The butchery at the Curragh by the troops under Sir James Duff was peculiarly infamous. The Kildare insurgents were promised pardon if they would surrender their arms, and, when that had been done, the cavalry were let loose on the unarmed crowd, and between three and four hundred (three times the number of victims at Scullabogue) men murdered in cold blood. For this dastardly murder the loyalist majority in Parliament passed a vote of thanks to General Duff, thus identifying themselves fully with its disgrace. These facts can be found fully told in Mr. Lecky's history, but the American reader will get no suspicion of them from the *Review* article. There they will only learn that there were massacres of Protestants by the rebels, and that it was that which checked the patriotic tendencies of the Ulster Presbyterians.

Both of those latter assertions are direct untruths. Bad as the Scullabogue tragedy was, it had not a religious character, as both Catholics and Protestants were included in the victims. The Ulster Presbyterians did make a rising in Down and Antrim, and it was two weeks after the men of Wexford had swept the British troops out of their country. There were sharp engagements at Saintfield and Ballynahinch, in Down, and at the town of Antrim, and in each case Presbyterians were the leaders on the patriotic side as well as the majority of the followers.

The only reason that we can find for these strange misstatements is that Mr. Lecky wishes to make his readers believe that Home Rule in Ireland would be the signal for a general persecution of all creeds except the Catholic. Absurd as this proposition is to any intelligent man, it has been gravely repeated from hundreds of platforms by the paid orators of the Tory party in England. Mr. Lecky's brief remarks on the Wexford insurrection are calculated skilfully to impress his readers with the spirit of religious intolerance that he supposes to exist among the Irish Catholics. In his "History of England" he remarks that it was an extraordinary fact that the Wexford insurgents, though nearly all Catholics, chose as their commander-in-chief a Protestant gentleman, Baginall Harvey, and made another Protestant, Captain Keough, governor of the town. In the *Review*, the way this is stated by Mr. Lecky is thus :

"In Wexford, priests put themselves at the head of the movement, and turned it into a religious war, deriving its main force from religious fanaticism, and waged with desperate courage. The massacre of Protestants on Vinegar Hill, in Scullabogue, and in Wexford, and the general character the rebellion in Leinster assumed, at once checked all the tendency to rebellion among the Protestants of Ulster."

The reader may judge how much reliance is to be placed on the statements of Mr. Lecky from this extract. Mr. Lecky informs us that "it will dispel many illusions if the reader will remember that the Irish rebellion was directed mainly against the Irish Parliament, and that it received its death-blow from Irish loyalists before any assistance arrived from England. The conspiracy began among Protestants and Deists, who aimed at a union of sects for the purpose of obtaining a democratic republic. It turned into a war, which was scarcely less essentially religious than the war of the Cevennes."

In point of fact, the original object of the United Irishmen was to reform the Irish Parliament so that it should really represent the nation, and not be controlled by the nominees of the English Government. Its ultimate purpose was to separate Ireland from England when it was found that the British Government was determined to make a free Irish representation impossible. As to the statement that it was put down by Irish loyalists before any assistance arrived from England, how does Mr. Lecky reconcile it with the fact that everywhere the rebellion assumed formidable proportions? At Vinegar Hill, at Ballenamuck, and at Ballynahinch, the insurgents were put down by the regular troops of England, under General Lake in the first two, and Nugent in the third. The number of British regulars stationed in Ireland in the end of 1797 is usually given at fifty thousand men, which was increased to eighty thousand during the progress of the rebellion, exclusive of the local militia. Mr. Lecky himself admits that the troops stationed in the country after the rebellion were too numerous for armed opposition to be possible. How can he reconcile this with his assertion that the rebellion received its death-blow from Irish loyalists. We have already seen how he has distorted facts in seeking to make the Wexford insurrection a religious war. There was, indeed, a violently anti-Catholic character given to the suppression of the rebellion by the Government. Some sixty-five Catholic churches were burned by the yeomanry and troops, most of them after the cessation of hostilities, but only one Protestant place of worship met a similar fate in spite of the exasperation of the people. The English ministry, which was all-powerful in the corrupt Irish Parliament during the last three years of its existence, simply revived the practices of the old penal days to strike terror into the Catholic masses. Mr. Lecky,

in his "History," makes no secret of these facts, but the interpretation he gives of them in his article does not give the slightest hint of their nature to his readers.

The picture which Mr. Lecky draws of the changed condition of Ireland to-day is a striking example of how half a truth can be made to pass for a whole lie:

"Ninety years have passed since the Union, 'we are told,' and the conditions of Ireland are completely changed. The whole system of religious disqualification and commercial disability has long since passed away. Every path has been thrown open—the Established Church no longer exists; representation has been placed on a democratic basis. Finally, an attempt has been made to put down agrarian agitation by legislation, to which there is no real parallel in English history. Landlords who possessed the clearest title known to English law—the most absolute ownership of their estates—have been converted into mere rent-chargers."

To read these statements, one unacquainted with the real condition of Ireland would suppose that it was enjoying a condition of ideal prosperity and good government, and that nothing but a spirit of unnatural perverseness could account for the continued agitation for Home Rule which Mr. Lecky admits to exist. A brief filling in of the other side of the picture with facts too notorious to be disputed will give a rather different solution of the Irish struggle for Home Rule.

It is quite true that the letter of the law no longer excludes the Catholics of Ireland from a share in the government of their country or from Parliament. It is, however, equally true that the whole administration of the law and nearly the whole local government and the possession of nearly all the land are still in the hands of the class which a few years ago was known as the "Protestant Ascendancy," and is now more correctly described as the official and landlord class. A body not exceeding ten thousand in number, the descendants, for the most part, of the oligarchy of the last century, who, as Mr. Lecky so neatly puts it, "found themselves in possession of the land and government of the country" when the treaty of Limerick was broken, still holds five-sixths of the land of Ireland, and considers itself entitled to deal with it and its cultivators as it pleases. To fix a limit on the rents which this body may exact from the six hundred thousand families who make up the farming class and form nearly two-thirds of the whole Irish population is, in the judgment of this class, a dishonest interference with the "rights of property." Those rights have been fixed by themselves during their long control of the Irish government on the policy of "self-defence justified by necessity," which Mr. Lecky gives as the plea of their representatives in the last century for depriving the majority of the population of all military and political strength. The Irish oligarchy, even under the Penal

Laws, had, indeed, little of religious feeling or fanaticism. The establishment of a State Church, which the mass of the population refused, for conscience' sake, to accept, was found a convenient means of separating the dominant caste from the bulk of the nation. The small number of Catholic landlords and lawyers that were willing to barter their conscience for their material interests were too few (be it said to the honor of the Irish race) to inspire any fear to the dominant oligarchy. The Presbyterians in the North were excluded by the Test Act from all share in political power as well as the Catholics, and it is a curious fact that in Ireland the term Protestant is confined entirely to the members of the late Established Church. As Sir William Petty put it, they were the only legal Protestants, and political power, not religious teaching, was the main object of the Established Church in Ireland. The class which once constituted the oligarchy still lives, with the same spirit of caste, insolence, and dislike of the mass of the Irish people as it had last century, and it still continues to control the local administration. The grand juries, the sheriffs, the great majority of the boards which govern Irish affairs, education, poor laws, public works, and police are drawn almost exclusively from this class, which also furnishes four-fifths, at least, of the magistrates of the country, and has a preponderating influence in every branch of the administration of the law. Catholics may occupy seats on the bench, but they can only reach them by the favor of the Government, which makes itself perfectly sure that only such shall be appointed as are ready to identify themselves with the interests of the dominant class. National sympathies, if openly expressed, are as effectual a bar to-day to high office in Ireland as was the profession of the Catholic faith before emancipation. Indeed, since the Union, the decay of all spirit of Irish patriotism among the dominant class has made them, as a body, far more hostile to the interests of the Irish people at large than they were during the Penal Laws. Such, in simple fact, is the change of which Mr. Lecky speaks, and its results can be gathered from the present material condition of Ireland.

At the beginning of the century the population of Ireland was about three-fifths that of England. To-day it is one-fifth. Within the last forty-five years, from the combined effects of preventable famine and anti-national misgovernment, it has fallen from eight and a half to less than five millions. In this respect Ireland is absolutely alone among the nations of Europe, and the decrease still goes on. The wealth of the country has decreased in like proportions. The cultivated land to-day is just half of what it was fifty years ago. And every branch of the national resources—fisheries, manufactures, and commerce—has shared in the decline. When the Union

was enacted the value of Irish property was estimated at two-seventeenths of that of the Empire. To-day the first authorities say it is less than one-twentieth, yet the taxation for imperial purposes has been increased nearly seventy-five per cent. during the past thirty-five years, while that of England has not increased much over ten. It is this state of affairs as much as the abstract principle of love of native land that makes the great mass of Irishmen—Celtic, Norman, or Saxon in origin and Catholic or non-Catholic in creed—continue the struggle for Home Rule, which has never been abandoned during eight long centuries of good or evil fortune.

The description which Mr. Lecky lays before his readers of the Anti-Home Rule party in Ireland is at once the most audacious and the most comic part of his article. "About a third of the population of Ireland," he gravely informs us, "regard Home Rule as the greatest catastrophe that could befall themselves, their country or the empire; and it is worthy of note that they include almost all the descendants of Grattan's Parliament, of the volunteers and of those classes who, in the eighteenth century, sustained the spirit of nationality in Ireland." If, by the latter, he means the gentlemen whose plea for maintaining the Penal Code he has so naively given, or the corrupt majority of placemen who sold away the parliament of their native land, he is probably correct; but we are not aware that any descendant of the men who won the freedom of Ireland, in 1782, in spite of the corrupt majority of a packed legislature, is to be found among the little band of Irish Unionists. A descendant of Grattan, Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, fills a seat in the imperial parliament to-day, but he is to be found on the Home Rule benches. The Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer who forfeited his office sooner than sell his country, has also left a representative, to-day in public life, but even Mr. Lecky will hardly make Americans believe Mr. Parnell an opponent of Home Rule.

As to the statement that a third of the Irish population, including, in Mr. Lecky's words, "almost all the Protestants, almost all the Catholic gentry, the decided preponderance of Catholics in the lay professions and a *great and guiding section* of the Catholic middle-class," a very simple consideration will suffice to show its falsehood. Belfast is the stronghold of the Unionists as well as of the Orangemen. Its Catholic population is about one-fourth of the whole and is mainly composed of the working classes; yet one of the most distinguished Home Rule speakers finds his constituency in Belfast. The whole representation of Ulster numbers thirty-three; sixteen of these are returned by the Unionists who have at their disposal the entire government patronage, both imperial and

local, the administration of the law and the support of the whole landlord class. The Home Rulers return a clear majority of seventeen members, and in at least three, if not more of the Unionist seats, they have almost the assurance of success were an election held to-morrow. Throughout the other three provinces, the Unionists have not secured the return of a single member except in the close corporation of Trinity College. In not more than half a dozen do they even venture to contest a seat when vacant, and in several the proportion of Nationalist votes recorded at the last election was from twenty to forty to one. If Mr. Lecky expects Americans to believe that a third of the population with the whole machinery of government and landlord influence at its back is unable to return one-sixth of the popular representatives, his confidence in their credulity is sadly misplaced. His array of Unionists is strikingly suggestive of Falstaff's men in buckram and just as worthy of credence.

The tirade against the Home Rule leaders, which concludes the article, is hardly worth replying to after the evidence already given of its author's want of good faith. The men whom he assails have never put forward the plea of "self-defence justified by necessity" for plundering and crushing any section of their fellow-countrymen, which Mr. Lecky finds so natural in the representatives of his own class. They do hold that the well-being of the whole country requires the abolition of the privileges of a class and of the rule of foreign officials, but neither they nor any impartial thinker in any land believes that such an abolition is dishonest in any sense though it may undoubtedly bear hard on individuals. Crimes undoubtedly have been committed by individuals during the progress of the land struggle, but they are far fewer than occur in the adjoining country of England or in most of the States of this Union, even in the most tranquil times. To compare them for a moment with the atrocities of the ascendancy class during its tenure of power in 1798, as told by Mr. Lecky himself, the burning of houses and churches, the butcheries of unarmed men by hundreds, the half hangings and floggings and pitchcaps of the savage yeomanry, would be as reasonable as to compare one of our railroad or labor strikes with the Turkish massacres in Bulgaria or Greece.

As to Mr. Lecky's references to the late special commission on the *Times'* charges against the Home Rulers, we can assure him that it is well known in America. The details of the plot laid by the *London Times* and the Tory Government to blast the character of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues by forged documents and evidence culled from the convict prisons by the promise of liberty in exchange for perjury are known in every American community. The chief wonder that his allusion to them will cause, is at the

audacity with which he brings them forward now as evidence against the Home Rule movement. The names of Pigott, the forger and suicide, of his employer, Houston, the Secretary of the "Loyal and Patriotic" Unionist League, who bought the forgeries and pledged himself for their correctness while refusing to tell the particulars of their origin, the scandal of the Attorney-General of England lending his services and official position to the conspiracy while claiming afterwards to know nothing of its origin—all these are as well known in America as in Ireland itself. The conclusions which every impartial American has drawn from them are in direct contradiction to the assertions of Mr. Lecky, whose fame as a truthful historian is irretrievably damaged by this his latest essay on "Ireland in the Light of History."

"PROMISE OF THE SECOND SPRING IN ENGLAND."

Life of Father Ignatius of St. Paul; by Rev. Father Pius à Spiritu Sancto. Dublin: Duffy. 1866.

Paper read by His Lordship, the Bishop of Salford, at the Catholic Conference at Birmingham, July, 1890.

Sermon of His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, at the Brompton Oratory, August 20, 1890.

Memories of Fifty Years; Sermons preached by the Very Rev. Canon Lochart at St. Ethelreda's, Holborn, August, 1890.

EVEN to think of the eighteenth century is to an English Catholic like struggling through a weary oppressive dream. That dissolute, vain, dreary, hopeless, godless era, when the faithful remnant hid their heads in obscurity and obloquy, and the religion of the nation at large was like the dry unblest sands of a desert, whence the water-courses have retired forever, is, thank heaven, a hundred years distant, and it has taken us a hundred years to recover from its deadly effects.

Yet, if only because of thankfulness, let us cast back our looks over that dead level of irreligion and iniquity, into which the Reformation had succeeded in transforming the dower-land of the Virgin-Mother. Let us contemplate the dusty, whitewashed country churches, where the bewigged parson, worldly and sensual

as he of Hogarth's pictures if rich, cringing and beggarly if poor, Sunday by Sunday declaimed a lifeless service which nobody heeded, to a congregation of sleepy, careless, God-bereft peasants, and to a few painted ladies and port-sodden, duel-fighting gentlemen in the squire's pew. Let us look into the town churches as they were in that odious century, great dreary St. Paul's, enlivened by a ray of real heartiness and reverence only when some hero of earthly battles was laid to his rest in its cold solitudes; venerable Westminster, and all the old shrines in the city, where once the Pure Oblation was wont to be daily offered, but where now the mouthing of the parson and strident amens of the clerk, with at best some burning abuse of Papists (for that at least was earnest) constituted public worship week by week. Most heart-rending of all, let us think of cathedrals raised by our ancestors to honor the Divine Presence, glorious temples not often matched even in Catholic countries, reduced to be the rendezvous of drowsy, unspiritual canons whose knowledge of music was their only title to perform a religious function, and sheltering the throne of worldly bishops appointed by worldly statesmen, perhaps even by women of evil influence at court. Let us call to mind the few remaining faithful who still trimmed the lamp in hidden places amid the gloom of the surrounding heathendom, trodden down, impoverished, debarred from every calling, and unfitted by their very isolation for the championship of their cause. Persecution now was slow, passive, grinding, common-place. In the two previous centuries there had been the glory of martyrs seeing heaven from the scaffold, the ecstasy of confessors, consoled by angels, on the rack; but in the eighteenth century there only remained the lifelong irksomeness of being hated, feared, misrepresented, and deprived of intellectual no less than physical weapons of self defence.

But all this was the Reformation *in extremis*. This was the dark, foggy winter, preferable to the autumn of the seventeenth century, inasmuch as it was nearer to the spring of the nineteenth. Slight signs that warmth and light might again return, were not altogether absent. The English, once a highly religious people, who had given numerous saints to the Church, began to weary of the hopeless want of God. They had been led to hate the faith of their fathers as something foreign and wicked, something utterly unlike its real self, which they no longer had any means of seeing as it was. Formal and ignorant as the nation generally had become, there were many whose souls craved for communion with their Creator more wearily than their bodies craved for food in the frequent dearths which checkered the national glory and prosperity. Such souls were to be found mostly among the lower

classes in the towns. The bulk of the rural population were sunk in that state of indifference and want of religious comprehension which, alas! stupefies them still.

John Wesley fought blindly, though with good intent, against the prevailing dull heathendom, and his followers soon constituted a new and fervent form of dissent. Naturally dissent had existed ever since the days of Henry VIII., for the Church of England no sooner raised the standard of mutiny, than her own troops turned her own engines of war against herself. But the kind of dissent which queened it in the days of the parliament was even more worldly, gloomy, cold and repellent, than the schism from which it had separated. Wesleyan Methodism, on the other hand, was warm, ardent and attractive to excitable minds; the party nearest to it in the Established Church imbibed something of its ill-regulated fervor. Wesley had sown seed destined to come to a very different blossom from what he hoped or wished. He had prepared many souls to imbibe that "intense conviction of God" which, as Father Lochart tells us in one of his sermons at Ely Place, was the ruling, abiding motive power with our great departed cardinal from the time of his boyhood in an evangelical family. A profound devotion to the great primary truth of revelation, no matter by whom implanted, was sure to work in pure and honest souls till their eyes opened on a scene of unexpected light.

Grace, then, had not been extinct even in the darkest, chilliest time; and towards the end of the eighteenth century the pitiful spirits, whether of angels or men, who mourned over this land

"After that unheard of coldness,
That intolerable winter,
Saw the first flower of the spring-time."

It might be said that such a flower was the hospitality extended by England to exiled French priests. France had revolted against the Church with a more sudden, rapid, and infuriated movement than was the case with England; she had thrown down the altar, and had not even erected a table in its place; she had gone to logical extremities, and denied the existence of God, together with His revelation. All this was shocking to the more staid and reverent heterodoxy of the English, who chose to believe in God, even though they preferred Him at a distance. Therefore they received, fed, even welcomed the French priests as sufferers in the cause of religion, law and order. It was the first time for two hundred and fifty years that England had shown charity; nay, aught but bitter enmity to the Catholic priesthood; yet did she in no wise lose her reward.

She was on the brink of the century which, as we hope and

trust, will be illustrious throughout all succeeding ages, as the time when the reconversion of the English was begun. The worst of the Penal Laws had been relaxed in 1778 and 1791; and now another sign of spring arose in the person of John Milner. Inspired by the ancient Catholic memories of Winchester, where he served the small chapel which the present bishop of the diocese seeks to enlarge; and endowed with a clear and fluent style, he entered the field single-handed against a host of bitterly Protestant controversialists. Bishop Milner's attitude, both as a writer and a public character, was a bold one for those days, when, as he himself observes, English Catholics were "just emerging from a storm of almost three hundred years," and when, in spite of some alleviations, "the abuse of popery" was still "almost every Sunday, in numberless Protestant pulpits, the standing subject with which zeal enlightened ignorance . . . with all the low buffoonery of holy ridicule." (Letters to a Prebendary, p. 127, *et seq.*) Little could Milner then foresee that in less than a century every pulpit in England would ring with the praises of one who, from an Anglican clergyman, became a Catholic priest and a cardinal of the Roman Church! Yet Milner was himself a factor in this change. His "End of Controversy" has nobly earned its title by terminating the doubts and troubles of many an English soul; it was the "short cut" by which some even of Newman's disciples at Littlemore found their way to the truth before their great master.

Milner's work was to force on the attention of Protestants the true nature of doctrines and practices which they were accustomed ignorantly to condemn. A little later arose one who began to carry the position by enlisting Catholics everywhere in the cause of England's conversion by means of prayer. A great mystery it is that the Omnipotent God should have hung His purposes on our prayers; a mystery which it belongs to theologians to sound, and which even they cannot fathom; but we see by evident results, that as well might one expect a crop without sowing the seed, as spiritual good without prayer. It was when united supplication went up for England that the breath of May began to thaw "the winter of our discontent." And this was the work in particular of one ardent soul.

From the unlikelyst quarter, from a noble, worldly, wealthy, Protestant house, the old Norman family of the Spencers, came the man destined to reconquer by prayer the land which his ancestors had conquered by the sword.

A youth of fashion, naturally in the best society, dressing like a dandy of the regency, frequenting balls and fond of cards, George Spencer was all the while a pure elect soul, who "loved justice"

and hated iniquity from his childhood onward. He himself tells us, in his own humble, self-doubting way, how he struggled against the "dark iniquity" prevalent, at Eton and Cambridge in his day. "Life," pp. 8-36. When he became a clergyman, though he seems to have taken the step rather because it was suitable to a younger son than from religious motives, he threw himself loyally into his work. The time was a dull one for the poor, dry and dusty Church of England, going on for two hundred and fifty years, old yet not in the least venerable. Spencer took her as she was; he had no ambition to Catholicize her; no thought of tracing in her any resemblance to the old faith whose place she had usurped, and whom it was a law of her being to hate. At first he adopted "High Church" ways, which then consisted in persuading people (much against the grain, apparently) to have their children baptized and to attend the "Lord's Supper," and in calling Dissenters "schismatics." But Dr. Elmesley demolished Spencer's High Church principles by pointing out that they were "very convenient doctrines, if we could make use of them, but . . . available only for Roman Catholics." He then became a fervent Evangelical, believed in a "new birth," lectured his ecclesiastical superiors, and fraternized with all kinds of sects.

Yet now it was, just when he seemed furthest from what was to be his vocation, that he took the narrow path which leadeth unto life, the path of bodily mortification. As rector of Brighton, he adopted the practice of rigorous fasting; he gave all his goods to the poor, denying himself even necessities for their sakes. Then suddenly his eyes were opened, and he saw light.

His acquaintance with Ambrose Lisle Phillips threw him in the way of learning what Catholic doctrine really was, and his mind was matured by purity and self-denial to receive the good seed. At one step he strode from evangelicalism to the Catholic Church. Now, at last, he was unchangeably settled; but his warm, earnest character naturally found its life-work in a great effort for the conversion of his country. He was ordained priest in Rome in 1830, in the Church of St. Gregory the Great; and from those very cloisters, whence St. Augustine went forth to convert the Anglo-Saxons, stepped the missionary priest on his way to recall them to St. Augustine's faith. The task before him was more than herculean, it was hopeless, it was impossible. He was face to face with an absolutely anti-Catholic nation. Probably we, who have known England in better days, and who reap in ease where others sowed in toil, cannot conceive the spiritual darkness of that time, prior to the "Oxford Movement;" the sedate worldliness of the High Clergy, the dark imaginings and deadly *odium theologicum* of the Low, love of God the fee-simple of the ignorant Dissenter,

blind hatred of Rome the one common heritage of all. And out of this religious pandemonium Father Spencer proposed to make a Catholic nation.

Not a great preacher or a great writer, his lovable character and his linguistic talents were curiously suitable to his peculiar work of uniting Catholic nations in prayer for the conversion of England. Intercession was his abiding hope. In Rome he had formed acquaintance with Father Dominic, the Passionist, who, like St. Paul of the Cross himself, had all his life, for no external reason whatever, desired the conversion of England; and they prayed and said Mass with this intention. They, themselves, could not but look on the Tractarian movement, which almost immediately followed, as an answer to their prayers.

Nothing in the history of the Church in England, if we except the lives and deaths of the martyrs, is more exquisitely fascinating than the history of the Oxford movement. That group of scholarly, refined, religious, manly men, the very flower of once Catholic but long apostate Oxford, must ever stand out in clear, soft light to the backward-gazing eye of future times. Their story, if an old one now, is unchangeably new; and within the last few weeks all the interest of it has revived around the grave of him who was the central figure of the group. Those born after the movement have been translated back to olden days at Oriel and Littlemore; those who took part in it have lived through it again. Who could hear the clear accents of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, recalling the days when, as a lad, he first saw John Henry Newman in the University church at Oxford, and not picture in a moment the long by-gone scene, where not one among the dons and doctors and undergraduates guessed that the young preacher, and a yet younger listener, would one day be great princes of the Catholic Church, far more highly honored, even by their Protestant countrymen, than any prelate as "by law established?"

How was it possible to be present when the Cardinal, who yet works for us on earth, spoke of him who pleads for us in heaven, as "My friend and brother of sixty years," or recalled Newman's prophecy of the "Second Spring," in presence of the newly established hierarchy, and not feel that only some great backsliding on our own part can render the work of two such spirits and their glorious compeers of no avail?

Deeply interesting, too, were the "Memories of Fifty Years," recorded by the venerable Superior of the Order of Charity, in that ancient church of St. Ethelreda, which, now restored to Catholic worship, seems a kind of first-fruits of other English shrines. Father Lockhart was one of those who followed Newman to Littlemore, and has described the self-denying life led by that band

who may truly be called angelic, since their one desire was to fulfil the will of God. At midnight they rose to say Matins and Lauds, "rejoicing to think that they were uniting in worship with the religious of the whole Catholic world;" their fast was never broken till noon, and in Lent not till 5 P.M., the one meal of the day. They "brought their bodies into subjection," they lived in brotherly charity and the observance of the counsels; they served the poor. One thing alone was wanting, and that was peace of mind; but this gift could not long be withheld from hearts so emptied of self. Lockhart and some others found it through Milner's "End of Controversy," and left "Littlemore for Rome" before their teacher; how he followed, we know. In his own gracious language, like unto the language of an unfallen soul that had been accidentally placed far from God, but had infallibly found its way to Him, Newman has told us all. No one can be scandalized; we know the reason of the delay, and the end of the delay also, on that historic autumn night, which was brighter for England than the fairest morn of May, the rainy October midnight when Father Dominic came to Littlemore and received into the Church John Henry Newman.

Surely it is all a wonderful harmony, of which the keynote is prayer, while the dominant is bodily austerity. First, we see St. Paul of the Cross, that great ascetic, conceiving a most ardent desire for the conversion of England, in his time surely the most hopeless-looking nation under the sun. Then we see his spiritual son, Dominic, full of the same desire, an interior voice which warned him that he had a great work to do in England; a similar warning was given to John Henry Newman, while yet a young man and a Protestant clergyman, apparently on his deathbed in Sicily, in 1827. In 1830, George Spencer, the fervent evangelical, became a Catholic, and at Rome joined Father Dominic in ardent prayer for the conversion of England. In 1844, Dominic, after many years of patient work in other lands, was sent by his superiors to England; in 1845 he received Newman into the Church; in 1847 he clothed Spencer as a novice in the Order of the Passion. These three men, marked out for the salvation of a nation, were exceedingly diverse in many respects, in birth, training, mental and even spiritual gifts; but they had three qualities in common, without which all their labor had been in vain—love of souls, perseverance in prayer, contempt of bodily comfort. And although George Spencer, as a Low Churchman, and John Henry Newman, as a Tractarian, carried mortification to an excess, far beyond what Catholic direction would permit, it seems as if, like St. Ignatius in his three days' total fast at Manresa, they thereby won large blessings which were not to be confined to themselves

alone. We may well thank heaven "for England's sake," that they had a strong old-fashioned courage, enabling them, not for ambition, but in a worthier cause, to "scorn delights and live laborious days."

There was great joy in Catholic Europe over the sudden vivification of the dry bones. Prayer had seldom been more swiftly answered. Faith was almost lost in sight. It was in 1838 that Father Spencer had established his Association of Prayer for the Conversion of England, and within twelve years all that was best and greatest, most learned and most lovable, in the Establishment had been won, and the Catholic hierarchy was re-established after a lapse of almost three centuries.

The consequent unavoidable explosion of Protestant anger passed off like a puff of smoke (fortunately it evoked one of Newman's most benignly satirical works *en passant*) and showed a strange transformation in a portion, at least, of the poor old Establishment herself; veneration for the Sacraments, which were tending to be seven again instead of two, a tendency to meditation and fasting, a travesty of Catholic ritual and of monastic life. There was also a continual secession to real Catholicism of those who found travesties unsatisfactory. And much more would doubtless have followed, had not prayer for England begun to languish in England herself.

It seemed as if the work of Father Ignatius died with him in 1864. His Association of Prayer somehow dropped out of sight in the land he loved, and for whose benefit it existed. For twenty years the bulk of English Catholics forgot to pray for England. Some declined outright. England was too hopeless, they said. They would pray for France, for Italy, for China, for Polynesia, for any other country with pleasure, but their own poor separated brethren were quite too clearly beyond the pale of redemption to merit any interest in the prayers of those devout far-seeing ladies and energetic philosophizing gentlemen. Anything foreign was charming, but the wealth and splendor and horrible poverty of England, the cleanliness and order and law, and hidden dirt and abomination of English cities, offered no field for religious hope, were not worth a thought or an intercession.¹ Well was it that foreigners themselves, successors to those canvassed by Father Ignatius, continued to pray as, no doubt, did many devout but isolated souls in England itself. There was progress—the increasing number of churches and priests proved it—but it was not such as to excite much of that wild alarm which we cannot but love to

¹ Father Spencer, in his lifetime noted and ridiculed this anti-patriotic affectation, as especially inexcusable in those who are themselves converts.—*Life*, pp. 450, 451.

witness in the honest, dwindling old No-Popery party. About 1884, the need of combined intercession again began to be felt, and to this end the Oblate Fathers of St. Charles established the "Confraternity of St. Augustine."

At last dawned a great year, in which an unprecedented impetus was given to the work of the conversion of England. In 1886 the heart's desire of the choicer spirits among English Catholics was gratified by the beatification of the Fifty-Four Martyrs. The thrill of spiritual joy which this event aroused was indescribable. Now, could Blessed John Fisher, Blessed Thomas More, and many others whose sufferings equalled those of the martyrs depicted on the walls of Santo Stefano, be publicly honored in their own country; and immediately, simultaneously in marvellous yet hidden connection with this new honor, like a vast wave raised by an earthquake in some distant region, the tide of spiritual conquest came hurrying in.

That very year saw the commencement of two great works destined, as we may humbly trust, to complete the re-conquest of England to the faith. One of these was the Guild of our Lady of Ransom, of which the Bishop of Salford has just spoken in high commendation at the Catholic Conference. Indeed, the Guild is one of those institutions which, supplying as they do some crying need, carry all before them. It was founded by the Rev. Philip Fletcher, a graduate of Exeter College, Oxford, and for six years a clergyman and curate of St. Bartholomew's, Brighton. Dr. Newman's writings, and most of all the "Apologia," filled him with doubts as to the validity of Anglicanism; and a letter from the great oratorian himself (published in the current number of the organ of the Guild) seems to have brought about his decision to purchase the pearl of great price at any and every cost. He was received into the Church in March, 1878, and subsequently ordained priest, and appointed Catholic rector of Uchfield, in Sussex.

Like George Spencer, more than forty years before, Father Fletcher conceived an ardent desire to share the blessings of the faith with all his countrymen, and the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom was the result. He first started the Union of Intercession with only two dozen names on the roll; but these increased, and in about a year's time, in the autumn of 1887, the society took its present status with the sanction of Episcopal authority. How marvellous was its growth will be seen when we record the sum-total of "Ransomers" to-day as 14,412.¹ They are divided into

¹ The September number of the Magazine gives 14,259, but a private letter from Father Fletcher informs us that since the Magazine went to press members have already increased to the above figures.

three classes, consisting of White Cross Ransomers, priests who undertake to say Mass at least once a year for the objects of the Guild, and who now number 805.¹ Red Cross Ransomers, who, besides saying the daily prayer, enrol others, lecture or distribute tracts, if desired to do so by the parish priest, and make themselves generally useful (1007); and Blue Cross Ransomers, for whom the prayer is the only obligation (12,600). This consists of the dying petition of Venerable Henry Heath, at Tyburn, in 1643, "Jesus, convert England; Jesus, have mercy on this country;" one Hail Mary, and invocations of the patrons of the Guild, *i.e.*, Our Blessed Lady, St. Gregory and the English Martyrs.

No doubt organization contributes greatly to the success of the Guild. The master is, naturally, the Reverend Philip Fletcher, who founded the Guild; there are also a lay secretary and a treasurer who conducts business matters. In neighborhoods where several Red Cross Ransomers reside, one of their number is placed at their head as District Ransomer, to hold meetings and direct work. Four funds have been established out of voluntary donations: a "Tract Fund," for buying tracts to be distributed *gratis*; a "Mass Fund," for masses for the dead who have been robbed of their suffrages, the alms being sent to priests in charge of poor missions; a "Ransom Church Fund," for building churches in country places; and a "Reserve Fund," for furthering the work of the Guild. Every two months a little magazine is published, under the title of "Faith of our Fathers," borrowed, by the kind permission of His Eminence, from Cardinal Gibbons' great work. The object of this publication is to keep before the eyes of Ransomers the three ends of their association; the conversion of England and of individuals, the salvation of apostates, and the deliverance of the forgotten dead.

Ecclesiastical authority, with its quick intuition of the good of souls, has generously encouraged Father Fletcher's work. The Bishop of Southwark from the first promoted the interests of the Guild, and it was owing to the *imprimatur* of His Lordship that it met with favor at Rome. Leo XIII. accorded his hearty approbation to the undertaking, enriched the Guild with indulgences, and erected it canonically in the church of St. George and the English Saints; and further marks of good will from Rome have now been promised. The Cardinal Vicar is himself a White Cross Ransomer. The Guild has struck its roots deep and wide, and though the bulk of its members are English-speaking people who do not refuse to pray for England, nay, cannot refuse in face of their

¹ The number of Masses per annum now promised for the Conversion of England is 2373.

bishop's express command,¹ yet Ransomers belong to all countries, and Scotland and Switzerland are now affiliated in their own interests.

If ever, therefore, a continuous prayer for England can be secured, the Guild secures it. "An apostolic work which depends for its life and continuity on one individual is doomed to decay," observes the Bishop of Salford. "To carry it on a corporation, an organization, which does not die, is required." Thus we have seen with admiration the recent establishment of the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom. Then, in addition to prayer, the Guild does much active work. One branch of this, highly recommended by the cardinal archbishop and the bishops, is the distribution of the controversial tracts now printed in immense numbers by the Catholic Truth Society. The more shy and retiring kind of Ransomers, and those living in small missions where personal tract giving is not considered desirable, leave these behind them in railway carriages and cabs; but in the thick of a large town they have been very successfully distributed by hand. A report in the magazine of the Guild, by Mr. Lister Drummond, lay-secretary, and District Ransomer for Hampstead, has given most encouraging details of this work as carried through in that neighborhood. "On every occasion," he writes, "that tracts have been distributed, the Ransomers have invariably met with the utmost courtesy, and in one or two cases the tracts have been accepted eagerly. Several instances have occurred to my knowledge in which, when the tract has been at first refused, the recipient on being told it was 'a Catholic tract' has taken it and asked for more."² This incident indicates one of the most hopeful signs of the times. After all there is nothing that people take so much interest in as religion. Of the refined and the intellectual this is especially true; and let them but once have a glimpse of the strength and beauty and perfection of Catholicism, and they will adhere to the realization of what before seemed to them a hopelessly glorious ideal. There is an increasing tendency among Protestants to look up to Catholicism as a "high religion," holding out an almost unattainable standard of virtue, and demanding of its children a singular saintliness of life. Of course this tendency imposes a very grave responsibility on the professors of the true religion in England, a responsibility which they must, for the sake both of their Church and their country, brace themselves to meet becomingly. The practical English nature loudly demands that a good tree should bring forth good fruit; if indeed this be the tree of life, let her show the

¹ Their Lordships, the Bishops of England, have ordered that Benediction be offered up every second Sunday in the month for that intention.

² *Faith of Our Fathers*, July, 1889.

fruits of the Holy Ghost, longanimity, meekness, temperance. While a small and ever dwindling section of ultra-Protestants decry us as immeasurably wicked, the large majority of such English people as consider the matter at all, expect us to be almost above human weakness. Both are wrong ; but at least Catholics should make it their earnest endeavor to disappoint the former more than the latter.

The revival of pilgrimages, due to the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom, has not only found favor with Catholics, but has been "patted on the back" by several of those great powers, the London daily newspapers. In May last, a large and orderly crowd of pilgrims visited the scenes of the captivity of Blessed John Fisher and Blessed Thomas More at the Tower, ending the day with what might be called a triumphal service at the Church of the English Martyrs; and in July a most successful pilgrimage to Canterbury took place, when the dean and other cathedral magnates showed the greatest courtesy to the Ransomers and their friends.

These two pilgrimages are but the beginnings, we may devoutly hope, of a great renewal of public religious practices such as England rejoiced in of old. It is almost impossible, in the present state of the national mind, that the remnants of penal laws can long remain on the statute-book. Were but these repealed, there is no doubt that in the neighborhood of London and other large towns at least, the Holy Viaticum might be carried to the sick with due attendance and state and without the smallest fear of insult.

We may hope, too, that great as has been the work done in the few years of its existence by the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom, greater things yet are in store for its future. The Hand of God seems to be visibly with it. Blessed by the Pope, encouraged by the bishops, spreading rapidly among Catholics, interceding for England generally and for nearly 7000 individuals particularly, it is an institution formed to meet the utmost need of a nation on the threshold of the Church.

The other great work to which we alluded as having taken its rise contemporarily with the beatification of the martyrs, is yet as hidden as were the privations of the Child Jesus in the cave at Bethlehem, or the secret sufferings of the saints in hidden cell and quiet cloister. In a quiet street of historic Chelsea, on the very spot where Blessed Thomas More once lived and wrote and worked, dwells a little community of priests. Their home is poor, their rule is austere, their possessions are few, their aims are bound-

¹ Their names are entered in an "Intercession Book."

less; they have given themselves to the work of expiation for the excessive sin of the world, but more especially for sacrileges committed against the Blessed Sacrament in this country, whence the Eucharistic Presence was for two centuries banished by law.

On Christmas Day, 1885, the "House of Expiation," as it is called, under the patronage of Jeremiah the Prophet, was solemnly opened by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. The Very Rev. Canon Keens is the Rector. Sanctity breathes around that tranquil dwelling-place. Beautiful and precious things are there, and wonderful works of Catholic art, but they are all grouped either in the little chapel around the Divine Presence, or in the museum, which is a kind of object lesson in Scriptural history, and also contains a most precious relic of our own days of persecution, an altar-stone used for Holy Mass in the house of Venerable Margaret Clitheroe. Behind the chapel is the garden, a portion of that garden whence Blessed Thomas More was taken to be rowed down the quiet river to the scene of his captivity and martyrdom. His own vine hangs heavy on his own brick wall.¹ An aged mulberry tree, perhaps contemporary with the vine, puts forth abundant branches. Memories of bygone greatness and glory and heroic sanctity mingle with vivid hope for England's future as we tread that secluded spot.

Hope, because here, in the very place where a martyr lived a life of hidden austerity in the midst of worldly prosperity, is being worked out that divine enigma of mortification as the condition of fruitful work for souls. We have already touched on this mystery as far as is allowable to non-theologians, in speaking of the austerities practiced by those to whom mainly, under God, the revival of faith in England is due. Suffice it to say that the priests of the House of Expiation are convinced of the hopelessness of expecting to complete that revival without more or less of mortification as a factor in the work. They have established a confraternity, the one obligation of which is to offer up some mortification, either voluntary or involuntary, "in union with our Divine Lord, as Victim in the Blessed Sacrament," and with the intention of expiation for the sins of the world.²

¹ The wall is built of the old "Tudor brick," and Canon Keens has been assured by persons learned in the culture of vines that his tree is obviously between three and four hundred years old. Its shoots are most vigorous, but, curiously enough, the grapes do not ripen.

² The sins of our ancestors are especially to be remembered. The Fathers of Expiation are all White Cross Ransomers. Their devotion to the Conversion of England naturally takes its color from the spirit of their institute; in their beautiful manual of devotion are four prayers in reparation for the principal sins of the Reformation.

Thus does this small brotherhood of priests endeavor to set up a breakwater against that muddy encroaching flood of luxury and effeminacy, which sometimes seems as though it would engulf all that is strong and pure and lovely and of good report. Who but Catholics can be expected to have any appreciation of the mysterious value of suffering, and who abhor mortification more than they? Pious men and women love Thabor, but they will none of Calvary; and yet it was on Calvary that the redemption of the world was accomplished. They wish to share in the ecstasies and delicious tears and final glory of the saints; in church they are admirable; they really are able to make meditation, a most difficult thing to do well, and sometimes (after a very strong cup of coffee, perhaps) they almost think that they are getting into the unitive way. They never passed through the purgative way—they did not require it. But as to refraining from one dainty dish, or from one extra glass of their favorite wine, or from a clever little speech (often a rather uncharitable one, too!), or any other thing that their soul loveth, that is quite too much to expect. They all have such delicate health, and their relatives would be vexed if they did not eat meat three times a day, and take Burgundy or champagne; and they have so much brain-work to do, and think it wrong to shorten their lives and bring on premature decay. And yet they need only look round to see examples of men who have practiced very much bodily self-denial, and have not only seen long days, but preserved a keen intellect at an age when the self-indulgent, if they reach it at all, are in their dotage and their invalid chairs. Will the fashion of gross living ever pass away? And if it does not, will England ever be converted?

We hope so. We hope that our animalism will not prove a bar to the common spiritual benefits of God. But we may be sure that nothing great will ever be done by pamperers of the flesh, however devout they may be, and however fervent their meditations; they will not be the Spencers, or Newmans, or Mannings of the battle, and though they may, themselves, by a sort of miracle, persevere in a low state of grace, they will hardly win another soul to renounce so much as one mortal sin.

And now, with all these pros and cons, where do we stand? Thanks to our leaders, and in spite of our faults and effeminacy, we stand high; not so high as we should do, considering our intrinsic strength, but still high. The name of our chief Pastor is venerated by all classes and all creeds; that of our great deceased teacher is in such honor that the question is mooted of a monument in Westminster Abbey to him who "rejected the whole Tudor settlement in religion" in favor of that Faith to which Westminster Abbey owes its existence. Generously, if blindly, Anglicans chant

the death-song of this same "Tudor settlement," while raising a pæan to one who tried it to the utmost, and found it wanting. Their inconsistency, let us hope, will turn to their own great profit. In the poor Anglican Church all is confusion, out of which there is but one way, which many sincere souls are taking now. The Ritualists, while copying us more than ever closely in their practices, and abusing us more than ever scurrilously in the *Church Times*, are come to a crisis in which neither imitation nor abuse will avail; when the one solitary bishop who really cast in his lot with them, is put on his trial in an ecclesiastical court for that offence, and kept waiting for his sentence because their *primus inter pares* is afraid of driving Anglicans out of the Church of England! His delay is doing as much in this direction as his sentence is likely to do; the honest and the earnest, clerical and lay, are climbing out of the troubled waters into the barque of St. Peter. So far as the educated, the refined, and the earnest are concerned, we may feel sure that before long they will all turn into the narrow way; but one problem we have yet to face, the problem of the rural population.

The rural population! Alas, poor souls, the heathen have more religion, more sense of the nearness of Divinity than they! Some dim, vague idea that there is a God constitutes their faith; perhaps they may have some equally vague notion of a heaven after death, just because their lives here are dull and sad, and they would fain think that something better, they know not what, lies beyond. They hardly seem to have heard of the Incarnation of the Son of God. Of course, they *have* heard of it in Sunday-school, or while half asleep in the village church; but the minds of these people are most strangely impervious to religious teaching as it comes to them from their Protestant pastors. Preternaturally acute about a pennyworth of wordly advantage, they are densely stupid about the unseen, the spiritual, the future, and the past. They will, perhaps, say the creed all their lives on a Sunday, leaving out some of the words, and mispronouncing nearly all, without a thought of the meaning, as if it were a sort of *alcabala*. "I believe in the holy Catholic Church," but what "holy" means, or "Catholic," or "Church," they neither know nor care. Few of them are aware that England was once all Catholic, or "Roman," as they say, if they say anything on the subject at all; this ignorance partly arises from the apparent oblivion of the poor that they ever had any ancestors at all. One of the complaints made by Dr. Jessup in his "Troubles of a Country Parson," is the utter indifference of rustics to the past; they cannot understand that anything existed prior to their grand-parents, and they hardly believe even in their grand-parents if these happened to die before they were born.

Their views are narrow, their lives are sordid, their unconsciousness of better things is complete.

But, "How shall they know, unless they be taught?" The dense, dogged worldliness of these scantily-favored children of the world is not to be laid to their own account. Rulers took away the grand and lovely Church which taught their forefathers, and gave them cold, bare preaching and a few prayers instead; threw down the altars where of old the Lord dwelt among His Saxon children, and reared "an oyster-table" in its place. The people lost their old religion but they did not take to the new preaching or to the "oyster-table;" these things were too unattractive; the village church was good to doze in on a weary Sunday afternoon, and it looked decent to go; but they never understood the sermon, nor took a real part in the service, and could with difficulty only be driven to "the Lord's Supper."

And yet these people gladly take in Catholic doctrine, when it is offered and explained to them; a task requiring much patience, but well rewarded if even one poor English peasant may thereby be led to believe in a personal God.

There is one ground for hope in these latter days, which is, perhaps, not much taken into account; it is the valid administration of baptism introduced by the High Church party. Little doubt can be entertained, that during the last century and the first half of this, the majority of attempted baptisms in England were irregularly performed, and therefore invalid, which, perhaps, accounts for the dense stupidity on spiritual subjects so long prevalent. The reform in this respect following on the High Church movement has gradually permeated even to Low Church and dissenting ministers, and now that the grace of baptism is widely spread among the nation, we may well hope that it may prove to them what it always ought to be—the gate of the other sacraments. A baptized person must have a leaning to the church of his baptism, and this, perhaps, is why we sometimes see a strange attraction to Catholicism even in children who have no means of weighing differences in doctrine. A people baptized, and, as Newman, always maintained, not in wilful heresy, cannot be far away from the Catholic Church. They only want to see and to know her, and it is now pre-eminently the will of her rulers here that she should be so seen and known. They would have the eyes of Protestants drawn upon her ever more and more. The old days of hiding in corners, and minimizing doctrine, and standing on the defensive, are over, and Catholicism comes out on the open field, "terrible as an army set in battle array," but an army whose weapons are and must be "kindly word and virtuous life." Nothing is more striking than the change of tactics adopted of late

years by the leaders of the force, and consequently by those also who fight obediently in the ranks. Formerly it was deemed undesirable to shed a ray of light on a Protestant (unless at his own request) lest his invincible ignorance, that one hope of his safety, should thereby be imperilled. Now his ignorance is to be carried by storm; tracts written by our ablest controversialists inundate it with light, sermons preached at it Sunday evening by Sunday evening leave it not an inch of standing-ground, and Catholics will not be to blame if there is an ounce of it left in England by the middle of the next century for any Protestant to be saved by. This conquering spirit seems to have arisen simultaneously with the work of intercessory prayer, and certainly such a spirit is the first essential of a conqueror. But the warfare must be such as to make Catholics more acceptable to their fellow-countrymen on the field of conflict than ever they were behind the bulwarks of coldness and reserve. "The Church of Rome is making a great combined effort to reconquer this country," said the relics of old-fashioned Protestantism at a May meeting this year; and so it is. Let us not falsify their expectations. Let us above all remember that our own conversion is the first step to the conversion of England.

It cannot, must not be denied, that there are counter-influences, blight, as it were, upon our second spring, frosts which may retard and diminish the glory of the summer. These counter-influences are within ourselves. There lies the danger. We alluded before to want of mortification, but that is a neglect of counsels rather than of precepts; now we allude to actual sin, widespread, scandalous sin. We are not afraid of the *Church Times*, or of May meetings, or of antiquated No-Popery Petitions to Parliament, or of any power on the earth or under the earth, except evil in ourselves. Canon Murnane struck a minor chord to our song of hope in his terrible but undeniable indictment at the Catholic Conference on the subject of drink and its attendant train of vices. It would be heartrending, and it is unnecessary, to repeat those words here; suffice it to say, that they were solemnly endorsed by Cardinal Manning at the Crystal Palace when the League of the Cross held its annual assembly, and that they opened up an awful vista of responsibilities, past, present and future, to the Catholic inhabitants of Great Britain.

Then another counter-influence lurks amid those more refined circles where there is but little question of drink and gross offence. It consists in the want of union, the internecine antagonism which results from that habit of *cliquism* inherent in the English. So much of the work of conversion must be done by the laity, and even by the female portion of the laity, that this supineness, this

uncharitableness, which would sacrifice any good work to jealousy of "another set," is nothing short of a national calamity at the present time. It is odious to have to speak of anything so small and contemptible, as influencing a great spiritual enterprise; it is like trying, and trying in vain, to clear away the barnacles which impede the course of some majestic ship. Cliquism is none the less a real because it is a ridiculous impediment. Certainly nothing could be more unChristlike than cliquism, both in its want of charity and its want of dignity, yet it has attached itself very noticeably to certain forms of Christianity. Any large, well-attended Anglican church, for instance, is sure to be a *rendezvous* for three or four jarring *cliques*; but alas, that Catholic women, a mere handful even now in the great multitude that has to be won, should copy their Protestant sisters in this thing, and that some little Catholic Church, the only shrine of the Divine Presence, perhaps, for miles around, should also turn out its miniature quota of miniature sets, in miserable imitation of the larger and more fashionable world, which, for its own part, would repay the compliment with scorn, to whisper and intrigue in the very precincts of the Sanctuary. There could not be a more effectual check to the influence of the laity for good than this small, insect-like, pestering, evil spirit, ever standing in the way of united effort.

What would not be the results if Catholics, living among a "separated" majority, kept their responsibilities ever before their eyes! Individually, each will soon pass away, but not without having done something to retard or to advance the cause of conversion, and the hoped-for union with the Church of all English-speaking races. America is making giant strides; Europe, even Protestant Europe, looking on from afar, cannot but foresee the day when the United States will be a great Catholic nation. There is a subject of noble rivalry, a rivalry which will endear and not estrange; the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race must keep pace with each other in their return march to the Faith of their Fathers. If those who already possess that faith will but be true to the duties which so hopeful a time as ours imposes, another century may see the North Atlantic bounded on both sides by Catholic countries, none the less temporally great because spiritually subject to the mild, secure rule of St. Peter.

THE EULOGIA, OR BLESSED BREAD.

AN English priest, travelling in France some years ago, chanced one Sunday morning to meet a fellow-countryman with whom he was acquainted. In the course of conversation, the newcomer, who was a Protestant, said that he had been to the High Mass, and also, he added, to the sacrament. At this an incredulous smile passed over his companion's countenance, and the speaker, observing it, continued: "Indeed, what I say is quite true. They offered the communion to me like all the rest, and I took it. I brought it away with me; here it is in my book." The Book of Common Prayer was forthwith produced, and there, between the pages, was a morsel of the holy bread, or *pain bénit*; it is distributed on Sundays in French churches after the parochial Mass. Though intended exclusively for the faithful, it had, on this occasion, through inadvertence, been given to a heretic, and the resemblance it bore to the small squares of bread administered at the Lord's Supper of the Protestants had led him to conclude that he was receiving the communion in one kind of the Catholic Church. This mistake is not uncommon among non-Catholics who are unacquainted with the custom.

Almost every Catholic knows that this ancient rite still forms a part of the liturgy of the Eastern Church, the *eulogia*, or blessed bread, being distributed by the Greeks whenever the Holy Eucharist is celebrated. All may not, however, be aware that, although it now survives among the French alone of all the nations of Western Catholicism, it formerly prevailed throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, and was especially dear to the hearts of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

The custom originated in the Eastern Church as early as the commencement of the third century. When the faithful no longer communicated, as a matter of course, at the daily Mass, the need was felt of showing, by some outward sign, that all who were present at the Holy Mysteries were in full ecclesiastical unity. It therefore became customary for the celebrant only to consecrate as much of the bread offered upon the altar as was needed for the use of the communicants; the remainder, which was simply blessed, being distributed at the conclusion of the mass to those who had not received it sacramentally. At first it was dispensed only to the clerics, subdeacons and lectors engaged on the altar, according to their rank; later on the laity also were allowed to partici-

pate in it. Thus, the blessed bread became, to a certain extent, a substitute for Holy Communion, as the Greek name denotes, *anti-doron*, something given instead ; a vicarious gift. It was generally, if not invariably, taken fasting and consumed in the church ; it was received with great reverence and devotion, even emperors and persons of high rank leaving their seats and going to receive it from the priest's hand, which they piously kissed, for the reason that it had so recently touched the body of Christ. Excommunicate persons, penitents and catechumens were excluded from partaking of the eulogia. In the biography of Albinus, Bishop of Angers, we read that, having denied the blessed bread to an excommunicate person of position, he was urged by the other bishops assembled in the synod to give it him. Albinus replied that he would yield to their desire, but if they would not preserve holy things from sacrilege God would avenge Himself. So it was, for before the excommunicate man could take the eulogia from the Bishop's hand he fell dead. From notorious sinners not only the kiss of peace, but the holy bread was to be withheld. *Interdicto eis primo pacis osculo et pane benedicto in ecclesia* (Wilkins, Concil., i., 635). That catechumens were permitted to participate in the eulogia in the Latin Church, is by some inferred from the words of St. Augustine, who speaks of them as receiving something which, although not the body of Christ, was a holy thing, more holy than ordinary bread. *Quod accipiunt, quamvis non sit Corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen, et sanctius quam cibi quibus alimur* (De pecc. merit, ii., 26). He must, however, have referred to something else, since catechumens were dismissed after the offertory and the bread was not distributed until after Mass was ended. At any rate, the rule in the Greek Church is explicit. A canon of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria (385), says : " Let the clergy divide those things that are offered on account of the sacrifice (that are less) after those that are consumed for the use of the mysteries, and let not a catechumen eat or drink of them, but rather the clergy and the faithful brethren with them. *Quæ in sacrificii rationem offeruntur postea, quæ in sanctorum usum consumuntur clerici et qui ex eis sunt, fideles fratres*. The faithful were also exhorted not to receive the eulogiæ from a priest who was suspected of heresy, lest they should prove to them a curse, not a blessing.

In the early ages it was customary in Rome for the bishop to consecrate the Holy Eucharist on Sundays in the principal church, and send it thence by the hands of deacons to the Presbyters of the *tituli* or lesser churches throughout the city. It was also sent to confessors in prison, and to Christians residing at a great distance. At Easter it was even sent into other dioceses, bishops

being in the habit of sending the consecrated host to each other as a mark of intercommunion, of brotherhood and amity. To the sacred host, on these occasions, the name of *eulogia* was given, and thus until the fifth century the word *eulogia* appears to have been synonymous with *eucharistia*, and used interchangeably with it to designate the sacrament of the altar, the chalice and bread of benediction spoken of by St. Paul (1 Cor., x., 6). When the reciprocal sending of the blessed sacrament was absolutely forbidden by the council of Laodicea (365), probably to prevent the chance of desecration, blessed bread was exchanged instead of it, and the word *eulogia* was used specifically and exclusively to denote the blessed bread distributed in the church, or substituted for the sacred host as a sign of friendship. At Easter, round cakes of unleavened bread stamped with a cross or sacred symbol, were specially provided *dona vicaria*. Passages abound in early writers to show that the exchange of these cakes of bread, in testimony of fellowship and union in the faith, was a very common practice. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, seems to have been very fond of sending them. We hear of his sending them into Africa to St. Augustine, to Severus, to Romanianus, and others. To the last mentioned he writes: That I may not be wanting in the duties of brotherly love, I send you five pieces of bread, of the ammunition of the warfare of Jesus Christ, under whose standard we fight (Paulin, Ep. vii., p. 27). From these offerings of bread sent with the episcopal blessing, the word grew, as time went on, to include gifts of any kind transmitted by friends to one another in token of amity and esteem. The *eulogiæ salutis* of which Gregory of Tours, speaks, were, perhaps, portions of the holy bread distributed in the church, which had been carried home, to be sent to absent friends in proof of fellowship, or to be administered to the sick by way of medicine. St. Gregory Nazianzen relates a dream of his sister Gorgonia, who, when confined to her bed with sickness, thought that he stood by her one night with a basket containing loaves of the purest flour, with which he fed her, after having prayed over them, and signed them with the sign of the cross. The blessed bread was besides given at Easter to children under five years of age, instead of holy communion (Martene, De Art. Rit., Eccl. vi., p. 470). A clause in the canons of Bordeaux (1255) forbids priests on any account to give consecrated hosts to children at Easter, but to give common, blessed bread.

In early times, the *panis benedictus* distributed to the faithful after Mass was considered to be sufficiently hallowed by the blessing pronounced over the elements before consecration, and by the touch of the priest's hand. In the Greek Church it has been for many ages, and still is, the custom to cut off the upper part of the

Eucharistic loaf marked with a seal, and use that only for consecration. The remainder is dispensed after the Mass as *antidoron*, without being expressly blessed, as the prayers said over it before the seal is cut off are deemed enough. Bishop Hefele is of opinion that the sign of the cross made in the canon of the Mass at the words: *Per quem haec omnia, Domine*, etc., was meant to be made over the bread placed upon the altar to be simply blessed and subsequently distributed, not over the Sacred Host. Otherwise, he considers it would be difficult to explain the meaning of the sign of the cross in that place, why it should be made over the body and blood of Christ, or how the words, *bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas*, could be applied to the already consecrated elements, since no further sanctification could be possible.

We learn from ecclesiastical records that the unleavened bread was laid, with the other offerings of the faithful, upon the *mensa diaconica*, now called the credence table, which stood near the altar on the epistle side, and on which the deacon placed in readiness the vessels and vestments required for the Holy Sacrifice. After being blessed with a special formula (introduced into the Latin Church¹), the bread was divided with a knife exclusively reserved for the purpose, denominated a lance by the Greeks, and *cultus eucharisticus* by the Latin Church. The ceremonial accompanying the use of this knife, of which the blade was in the shape of a lance, the handle elongated and terminated by a cross, was, in the Greek Church, rather elaborate. The portion intended for consecration was cut off and set aside, and the remainder placed in a suitable receptacle—among the Anglo-Saxons a maund or skeppe, a wicker basket, that is, open and with handles, being used for this purpose—until the time of distribution at the conclusion of Mass. Martigny ("Dict. Ant. Chr.," p. 409) gives an engraving of a very curious knife of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, which is said to have belonged to St. Thomas of Canterbury. It is preserved in the treasure house of the monks of St. Andrew at Vercelli, Cardinal Guala, who came to England as legate in 1216, having given it to the Church. The blade is double-edged, somewhat in the form of a lyre, with open-work in the centre. The

¹ The form of blessing in the Mozarabic missal before the Canon of the Mass, given by Martene, *De Ant. Rit. Eccl.*, v. i., p. 270, is as follows:

Benedictio panis.

V. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini. R. Qui fecit coelum et terram.

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum. R. Ex hoc nunc usque in sæculum.

Benedic, Domine, creaturam istam panis sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto, ut omnes gustantes ex eo recipiant sanitatem tam animæ quam corporis. Per Christum, etc.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti descendat super hunc panem et super omnes ex eo comedentes.

handle is of box- or myrtle-wood, carved with the occupations of each month in the year. Dr. Rock ("Church of Our Fathers," v. i., p. 136) mentions that among the sacred ornaments belonging to the church of St. Regnier in the early part of the ninth century, was a knife described as *cultellus auro et margaritis paratus*. There can be little doubt, he says, that this highly ornamented knife must have been for cutting the holy loaf.

With regard to the nature of the bread made use of for the eulogia, it is evident that on the first introduction of the custom it was in nothing different from that employed for the Eucharist, since, as we have seen, it consisted of what remained over after the portion required for the communion of the priest and people had been taken from oblations offered at the altar. In St. Chrysostom's time the bread for consecration is known to have been a piece cut out of a large cake, which formed part of the offerings of the people. Whether it was leavened or unleavened in the primitive church is a point upon which opinions are divided. Dr. Döllinger enumerates the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist as one of the peculiarities of the British Church, one of the points in which it differed from the rest of Christendom. In this he is not quite correct, as unleavened bread was used not only in the early Celtic Church, but also in the African Church in St. Cyprian's time, in Spain, in the ninth century, and in the Anglo-Saxon Church in Alcuin's time. For the first seven centuries there appears to have been no rule on this point, as it is certain that in many places the use of leavened bread was permitted, and that it was taken from the offerings of the people, which, in the early ages of Christianity, were both in money and kind. The poor offered what they could; for, to bring a gift, small or great, was incumbent upon all, even upon penitents and catechumens. These gifts were for the maintenance of the clergy and for the relief of the poor, as well as for the altar. St. Cyprian thus reproves a rich woman who offered little or nothing: "Thou art wealthy and rich, and dost thou believe thyself to celebrate the ordinance of the Lord, who dost not at all regard the offering? who comes to the Lord's house without a sacrifice; who takes a part of the sacrifice which a poor person has offered?" St. Cesarius, a century and a half later, says in a sermon: "Give alms to the poor according to your ability, offer offerings to be consecrated on the altar. A man with means ought to blush if he has communicated at the offering of another." But although all Christians were exhorted to bring gifts to the Church, such only were to be offered at the altar which related to the sacrifice. These included wheat in grain, grapes, oil for the lamp, incense. Hincmar of Rheims, in the ninth century, orders that the gifts in kind and money for the clergy and

poor—obligatory at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost—should be made before or after the service. The special oblation of bread and wine at the offertorium on Sundays was only to be offered by persons in full communion with the Church.

About the ninth century we find indisputable evidence that the bread distributed as eulogia was in the Latin Church, no longer of the same form and material as that used for the Holy Sacrifice. It is easy to understand that as the communicants became fewer in number, more was wanted for the non-communicants, consequently a special provision was made for the eulogia. How the change was made, and the exact time when the use of wafer bread was generally introduced is not determined. Cardinal Bona's conjecture seems probable, that it crept in on the people ceasing to make offering of bread of a suitable description. This occasioned the clergy to provide, or themselves to prepare the wheaten bread destined for the Holy mysteries, as may be inferred from the name it acquired, the oblation of priests. The bread for consecration differed from the blessed bread in that it was unleavened, without salt, of the best wheaten flour, fashioned in a round form—as large at first as a plate, to be divided for communicants, but afterwards of the size of a penny-piece—and stamped with a sacred emblem, or letters forming the name of Christ, whereas the holy loaf was ordinary household bread, made of flour in which salt was mingled, and raised by leaven. It was baked in the oven in the usual manner, in the same shape as the daily food of the people. Dr. Rock (*Hiurgia* v. i., 293) thinks that the custom of forming the Eucharistic bread flat and circular may be traced to the remotest periods of Christian antiquity. He quotes the words of the Holy Pontiff, St. Zephyrinus, in the third century, denominating the sacred bread a crown, or oblation of spherical figure (*corona sive oblata sphericæ figuræ*). He also appeals to mediæval Celtic literature, wherein are plentiful allusions to wafer bread. The design in the Book of Kells, depicting the consecrated wafer between two animals who apparently shrink from destroying it, is taken to prove that circular breads, stamped with a cross, were in use in Ireland in the sixth century. The figure of the host is also found on the sculptured-stones of Scotland. A passage in the history of Bede (*Hist. Angl. Eccl.*, L. 2. c. 5) proves that bread of a special kind was used for the Eucharist. He relates that the sons of King Sibert, who were still heathens, having been present at Mass, afterwards asked Bishop Mellitus why he had not reached forth to them also the fine white bread he gave to their father? The council of Toledo (693), has an injunction to the effect that a special preparation of unleavened bread, whole wafers about the size of a penny (*denarius*), not por-

tions of a loaf, was to be provided for consecration. The enactments of the bishops in the eleventh and twelfth centuries enjoin great care in the making of altar-breads and ofletes. Archbishop Lanfranc in revising the statutes of the Benedictine Order, gives minute directions for the baking of the "obleys." Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick in 1090, enumerates among the things every priest should have, a box with altar-breads, and irons for baking them. Ernulf, Bishop of Rochester, in the commencement of the twelfth century mentions the ofletes in his time as heavy round, thin, flat, and like a piece of money, stamped with an impress. Honorius of Autun, a few years later says that the hosts for the Eucharist were made in the shape of money. *Panis in modum denarii formatum*, and Durandus, 1286, speaks of the circular form of the host, assigning to it a mystic signification.

From all this it is evident that about the tenth century the bread consecrated in the Mass was everywhere distinct from and different from that which was blessed and distributed when the Mass was ended. It was specially prepared by the hands of priests or religious, and bore no resemblance whatever to the bread that was cut up for the eulogia. This continued to be invariably provided by the faithful, even when gifts of money began to take the place of offerings in hand. The parishioners usually took it in turn, if their means allowed, to furnish the holy loaf on Sundays, unless one of them, more wealthy than the rest, undertook to provide it every week. It is probable that the Sunday doles of bread to the poor, still existing in some country places, originated in a provision by will to supply the holy loaf in perpetuity.

As after this change of which we have been speaking, the bread for the eulogia no longer formed part of the oblations offered at the altar, so it was no longer blessed in the liturgy, but at the end of the Mass. A special formula was prescribed by the Council of Nantes, 896. A Canon of this Council ordains that the loaves brought by the faithful to the Church, should be properly cut and placed in a neat and fitting vessel, and after the solemn rites of the Mass, should be received by those who had not communicated, as eulogias, after they had been blessed. Then follows a form of prayer to be used in the benediction:

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, benedicere digneris hunc panem tua sancta et spirituale benedictione, ut sit omnibus salus mentis et corporis, atque contra morbos et universas inimicorum insidias tutamentum. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, panem vitæ qui de cælo descendit et dat vitam et salutem mundo. Qui tecum, etc.

(Vouchsafe, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Eternal God, to bless this bread with thy holy and spiritual benediction, that it may be to all health of mind and body, and a safeguard against sickness and all the snares of the enemy. Through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord, the Bread of life that came down from heaven and gives life and salvation to the world, who liveth, etc.

In the Sarum missal a form of blessing bread on the Lord's day, is found almost exactly similar to that taken from the Mozarabic missal. After the reading of the Gospel, *In principio*, the Priest says :

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

R. Ex hoc nunc usque in saeculum.

V. Benedicamus Domino.

R. Deo gratias.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Benedic Domine, creaturam istam panis sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto, ut omnes ex eo gustantes tam corporis quam animæ accipiant sanitatem. In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

(V. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

R. From this time forth for ever more.

Let us bless the Lord.

R. Thanks be to God.

The Lord be with you.

Let us pray.

Bless O Lord, this creature of bread, as Thou didst bless the five loaves in the wilderness, that all who taste thereof may receive health both of soul and of body. In the name of the Father, of the Son †, and of the Holy † Ghost. Amen.

The bread was then to be sprinkled with holy water, and distributed to all who had been present at the Mass.

In religious houses, especially Celtic foundations, it appears to have been customary to distribute the eulogiæ on Sundays and festivals, if not daily, but to monks, who had not received Holy Communion, in the refectory before their principal meal, instead of in the church after Mass. Adaman, the biographer of St. Columban, states that in the Monastery of Aghahoe, in Ireland, there was a table in the refectory, whereon the blessed bread was cut up for distribution at the midday meal. The same practice is known to have existed at Iona in Scotland, and in many continental monasteries. The Monastic Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, expressly orders that the eulogiæ be given to the brothers by presbyters in the refectory. It is recorded of the saintly Ermenfried, who presided over the Columban Monastery of Cusance (625-670) that he used to kiss the hands of the lowliest of the brethren when he dispensed the blessed bread.

The question may naturally arise, wherefore was the distribution of holy bread continued when the religion of Christ was everywhere professed and the Catholic Church dominant throughout Europe. It is easy to understand that while Christians formed a small minority in the Pagan world; while they were a despised and scattered sect in the midst of heathen, an external sign of fellowship in the faith was required to sustain the spirit of unity, which is the essence of the Catholic Church. For those who were not prepared to receive very frequently sacramental communion, a rite was needful wherein they should break bread with their brethren, to remind them that they were all members of one family, children of one Father, servants of one Lord. But a custom, desirable if not indispensable at a period when Christians were

surrounded with spies and traitors, exposed to persecution on account of their creed, and sorely tempted to deny Christ, might seem almost superfluous and useless in Catholic countries, where both prince and peasant, learned and unlearned, acknowledged one Lord, held one faith, were baptized with one baptism, and the propagation of heresy was a crime punishable by the law of the land. Nay, more; might not this relic of antiquity become undesirable, not to say harmful, since it was liable to be degraded to a superstitious usage, the blessed bread being employed as a charm or considered as a substitute for the Bread of Angels, and habitually received in the place of the Sacrament of the Altar? It is, indeed, true, that in the course of time, when the early fervor had subsided, and sacramental communion became less frequent, the people began to content themselves with receiving the holy bread as a kind of substitute, the more so, as no special preparation was needed before partaking of it, as was the case with the Holy Mysteries. This was, of course, an abuse to be deplored; but where will not abuses creep in? The eulogiæ were never intended to supersede the Holy Eucharist, and this fact was constantly impressed upon the people, the tendency to regard them as such being carefully guarded against. Indeed, those who were not willing to receive Holy Communion at the proper times were forbidden to take the holy bread from the priest's hand. The Anglo-Saxons,¹ in speaking of the blessed bread, were careful to distinguish it from the Sacrament of the Altar by the words employed in designating each. The former is called *gehalgadne hlaf*, the hallowed loaf, the latter is *husle*, the housell. Moreover, the holy bread is called the "creature," the housell is the "sacrifice," to remind the faithful that the Eucharist is not a creature, but Christ Himself, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, is the Creator of all things. A proclamation issued in the commencement of the sixteenth century, speaking of the blessed bread, says it was not intended to supersede but to put us in mind of "the housell, which, in the beginning of Christ's Church, men did more often receive than they are now wont to do." In a *Rationale* or ritual,² drawn up about 1543, to which Cramner, who was soon after to speak of the holy bread in the most contemptuous terms, gave his authorization, it was declared to be a godly ceremony, to put us in remembrance that all Christian men are one mystical body in Christ, as the bread made of many grains is yet one loaf, and to put us in remembrance also of receiving the sacred Body of Christ in right charity.

The holy loaf, though only "a creature," was, however, to be

¹ Vide Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, v. 1., p. 139.

² Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 793.

honored, and because it had been blessed, he who lost his portion of it was punished by the discipline of the Anglo-Saxon Church with a penance of four days' length. It was, moreover, regarded as conveying grace to the recipient *ex opere operato*. A twofold use is ascribed to it by Catalani ("Rit. Rom. Comm.," t. 2., 60. Quoted by Mashell, "Mon. Rit. Eccl. Angl.," v. 1., cccviii). He thus explains the spiritual benefit conferred by it:

"The second use is in the salvation of the soul, when, by the intention of the Church, bread is distributed to the faithful, not only as a symbol of fraternal fellowship, but also as a memorial of the Eucharist, through which the faithful are stirred up to desire to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist itself; and by reason of this, by this wish or desire, that sacrament is spiritually eaten, and the effect of it, which is union with Christ by faith and charity, is perceived; and, therefore, this manner of receiving the Eucharist in will or desire, is called spiritual communion."

The first use he ascribes to the blessed bread is the beneficial effect it produces in cases of illness. We have seen that it was not uncommonly carried home from the church to be given to sick friends. Marvellous efficacy and virtue as a remedy were attached to it when administered by the hand of a priest. Instances are frequently met with, in which persons suffering from divers diseases derived relief, or were suddenly cured by partaking of it. In the lives of the saints many miracles are recorded which were wrought by means of the *panis benedictus*. A cup of water, in which was a morsel of a holy loaf blessed by St. Cuthbert, having been given to an officer of King Erfried's court, confined to his bed by a mortal sickness, he was released from pain and speedily restored to health. Two miracles of a similar nature are recorded of St. Bernard. Brompton, in his chronicle, tells us of people being preserved from pestilence in the eleventh century by partaking of the holy bread. Small portions of blessed bread used also to be carried by pilgrims and other pious individuals on their person, as a safeguard from misfortune on a journey, or in order that they might consume it as a viaticum in danger of sudden death. A mediæval romance,¹ in recording the exploits of Count William, of Orange, in the ninth century, mentions this use of the blessed bread. After the battle of Arleschans, finding his nephew dying, he asks if he received the sacrament on the previous Sunday. On the wounded man replying in the negative, William tells him he has some hallowed bread in his wallet, and asks him to eat of it. Vivian answers that he has greatly desired it. He then confesses what sins he can remember, and after taking the bread and beating his mea culpa, ceases to speak and presently expires. This custom of carrying short pieces of blessed bread as a kind of Chris-

¹ Ludlow, *Epics of the Middle Ages*, p. 217.

tian charm, seems to have been very usual in England. In one of the injunctions issued in the name of the young king, Edward VI., in 1547, priests are ordered to discourage the habit, and teach their flocks that "there is danger to the health of a man's soul in bearing about with him holy bread or St. John's Gospel." This is classed with "casting holy water upon his bed, or upon images," as if it were an equally common practice, one of the popish superstitions, to be swept away by the Reformers.

There is no lack of testimony to show that the distribution of the holy bread on Sundays and holy days was, from the earliest times, the invariable usage of the English Church. The incidental mention of it, so frequently made by chroniclers and poets of the olden time, prove it to have been an ancient, time-honored institution. One of the earliest allusions to it in the ecclesiastical annals of the country is found in a canon of the year 960, which decrees that "no hallowed thing be neglected, as holy water, salt, frankincense, bread, or anything that is holy."¹ In 1236 a constitution of Edmund Rich orders the kiss of peace and the bread blessed in church to be refused to women living in open sin. Hence we see that it was customary for all whose lives were not absolutely scandalous to partake of it; indeed, this seems to have been considered as the bounden duty of every Christian. One of the questions given by Myre in his "Instructions for Parish Priests" (1457), for the examination of penitents in the confessional, is: *Hast thou eten any Soday withoute haly-bread? Say ye or nay.* A writer in the "Antiquarian" ("Notes on the Blessed Bread," vol. xvii., n. 101), from whom some of the instances given here of the mention of holy bread in the literature of the middle ages are taken, quotes an extract from an old chronicler, speaking with reprobation of a man who made irreverent use of the blessed bread by crumbling it into his porridge. This can hardly refer to the fragment received after Mass, but probably to a larger piece—a portion, perhaps, of the eulogia distributed in the refectory of some monastery, which had been begged from the monks. The records preserved in parish churches and monastic institutions contain many details concerning the holy bread. A charter granted to Heston Hospital, Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry VI., ordered the priest who said Mass there, after the Mass to bless bread and water. These were to be respectively distributed to and sprinkled upon the faithful who were present. A curious document kept in the vestry of Trinity Church, Coventry, detailing the duties of a deacon attached to the church, has this passage: "Also ye said dekyn schall see ye holy cake every Soday be kyte (cut) according for every man's degree, and he

¹ Scudamore: *Notitia Eucharistica*, ch. xvi., sec. 2, pp. 774-780.

schall beyr ye holy brede to serve ye pepyll in ye north side of ye church." The arrangements for the regular supply of the bread for the eulogia are set forth at full in the church-warden's account book of Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berkshire, published in the "Antiquarian" (vol. xvii., n. 98). They begin by stating that, in the time of schism, when this realm was divided from the Catholic Church, in the second year of King Edward VI., all godly ceremonies and usages were taken out of the Church within this realm, and the money bestowed on the holy bread turned to the use of providing bread and wine for the Communion. It then gives the order for providing the loaves required for the holy bread, beginning at a piece of ground called Ganders, in the tenure of one Thomas Collins.

"Then dos all the cottags in the towne give in ordre with the other groundds and housses rownd abowte untill it come to the said grownde agaynge cauld Ganders, and there levyth."

At the second "going aboute the towne" it was to begin at the house next the vicarage and go on till the same ground was reached, so that the poorer inhabitants should only have to give every second time of going about. Some houses were altogether excluded from taking their turn; the parsonage, the vicarage, a farm called the Manor House, with a few others. This order of going through the whole township was, it is alleged, for the purpose of avoiding variance amongst the parishioners as to when their turn to give the holy loaf should come. The cost of it amounted to twopence, a very different sum, be it remembered, in those days to what it is at present. This twopennyworth of bread, with a halfpenny candle or a halfpenny in lieu thereof, was to be presented at the high altar, but not all to be cut up for distribution. A halfpenny loaf was to be preserved whole, to be delivered to the next in turn, whose duty was to provide the bread, to serve as a reminder that he was to prepare against the Sunday following.

The lord of the manor, or principal inhabitant of the place, often took upon himself to provide the bread on special days or for a fixed time. This we gather from the Bedding Prayer, in use for two centuries previous to the rejection of the Pope's supremacy, in which the following clause occurs: "Also, ye shall pray for the good man and woman that this day giveth the bread to make the holy loaf; for all those who first began it and them that longest continued." In Smyth's "Lives of the Berkeleys," it is recorded that the head of the house, on Palm Sunday, 1361, offered, in Berkeley Church, pure wax for candles and a bushel of wheat, *pro pane benedicto*. This yearly gift was continued for many generations. It is probable that at Boston, in Lincolnshire, land had been bequeathed for supplying the bread, as formerly there was

there a plot of ground that went by the name of Halibreddale. The custom for one of the parishioners to provide the loaf for weekly distribution in the parish church seems to have continued down to the time of the Reformation. One of the rubrics at the end of the Communion service in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. mentions the holy bread having been furnished by the people, and enjoins on them to give money in its stead.

"In such chapel annexes, where the people hath not been accustomed to pay any holy bread, there they must make some charitable provision for the bearing of the charges of the communion, or else resort to their parish church And forasmuch as the pastors and curates within the realm shall continually find, at their cost and charges, in their cures sufficient bread and wine for the Holy Communion, it is therefore ordered that, in recompense of such costs and charges the parishioners of every parish shall offer every Sunday at the time of the offertory, the just value and price of the holy loaf, with all such money and things as were wont to be given with the same, to the use of their pastors and curates, and that in such order and course as they were wont to find and pay."—Prayer Book of 1549.

The observance of this rite naturally ceased after the Reformation, when, to say Mass, was an offence subject to the most terrible penalties. Blessing bread was reckoned among the popish practices to be ruthlessly abolished. The people, were, however, attached to the custom, and consequently, Cranmer proceeded somewhat cautiously in its removal. In his Visitation Articles of 1547, he contented himself with declaring the receiving of the blessed bread to be no longer obligatory, and prohibiting persons from carrying it about with them. Two years later, under the First Book of Edward VI., the blessing of the bread was done away with. Its restoration is one of the demands made by the Devonshire and Cornwall commons, who, in the same year, rose in rebellion, partly on political grounds, but chiefly on account of the "laying aside of the old religion, which, because it was old, and the way their forefathers worshipped God, they were very fond of." One of the fifteen articles of complaint drawn up by them ran thus: "We will have holy bread and holy water every Sunday, palms and ashes at the times accustomed; images to be set up again in every church; and all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore by our Mother Holy Church." This demand was answered at length by Archbishop Cranmer, in a strain, as his chronicler¹ informs us, "of happy perspicuity and easiness," his design being "to expose the abuses and corruptions of popery; what need there was that such matters should be abolished, as the Pope's decrees, solitary Masses, Latin service, hanging the Host over the altar, sacrament in one kind, holy bread and holy water, palms, ashes, images, the old service book, praying for souls in purgatory." In his answer, he reproaches the petitioners for "re-

¹ Strype, *Mem. of Archbishop Cranmer*, v. ii., p. 117.

fusing the true heavenly Bread of Life except at Easter, and utterly refusing the cup of the most Holy Blood, and, instead of these, desiring to eat often of the unsavory poisonous bread of the Bishop of Rome, and drink of his stinking puddles, which he nameth holy bread and holy water." Even if allowance is made on account of the different times in which he lived, one can hardly think this language becoming to Cranmer's position, or the nature of the petition of the rebels. On another occasion, he spoke of the holy bread and holy water as "conjured bread and water."

Even after the radical changes in faith and ritual which were made throughout the realm, the use of holy bread was retained for a time in some parts of England. Latimer appears to have been obliged to tolerate it in his diocese. His historian¹ seeks to explain this by urging as an apology that, "he could not do all things as he would," owing to the dangers of the times. Although he could not utterly extinguish all the "sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought that they should be used with as little harm and with as much profit as might be." Consequently, the clergy, under his authority, were instructed to pronounce these words before dealing out the holy bread:

"Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for your sins was broken;
Wherefore, if of Christ's death you would be partakers,
Of vice and sin you must be forsakers."

In London, the work of Protestantizing proceeded more rapidly. In 1550, Ridley, issuing his Diocesan Injunctions, forbids the maintenance of the obnoxious holy bread, and classes it with palms, ashes, candles, and many other "superstitious things now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceeding." Hence, it appears probable, if not quite certain, that the use of holy bread was completely discontinued in the latter part of Edward the Sixth's reign. It was temporarily restored, with other Catholic rites, under Mary. In 1554, we find Bishop Bonner inquiring at his Visitation: "Whether there be, every Sunday, holy bread and holy water made and distributed among the parishioners?" Under Elizabeth, it was finally abolished. About the last definite mention to be found of the custom is in the list of articles destroyed or removed from a church in Lincolnshire in 1566; one of these was the *holy bread skeppe*, which was sold, as the records state, to a certain Mr. Allen, "who maketh it a baskett to carrie fishe in." The memory of it, however, lingered long in the minds of the people, and allusions to it are occasionally found in popular dramas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹ Foxe, *Acts and Mon.*, ed. 1861, v. 7., p. 46.

AMERICAN CATHOLICITY.

UNDER a name often many errors are concealed. It is not true that a name is of little consequence; for while the name may be perfectly good, and, properly understood, may embrace no error, still, improperly understood, it may encourage grave errors or lead to consequences which are seriously injurious to the best interests of mankind. We Americans are naturally proud of our country and its institutions. We are proud of its material success, and we who are Catholics have the most devoted love for our fatherland. We yield to no one in patriotism and love of country. We are thankful every day for the privileges which we enjoy in the freedom which our institutions give us in many respects. We are also thankful to God that our government does not in many things attempt to interfere with the freedom of worship or the best interests of our divine religion. Catholics are ever ready, and are among the first, to give their talents, and even their lives, in the service of their country. There is, perhaps, a boastful spirit which is contagious among us, leading many to exaggerate when comparing our own nation with the other nations of the earth. This spirit, when not carried to an undue excess, so as to violate truth or equity, is pardonable and even praiseworthy. We do not easily see defects in those we love or in institutions to which we are attached.

Nevertheless, our love for the country must not in any way blind us to errors which are serious; which, although they be widely circulated and have many adherents, are contrary to the law of God, and, therefore, to the best interests of society. Our first duty is to God and our divine religion. Our faith comes to us from God. It cannot be changed by any condition of man or by any kind of social progress. In discharging our duty faithfully towards God, in maintaining, as we are bound to do, the truths which He has revealed, and the integrity of faith, we subserve in the best possible manner the interests of our country, the preservation of true liberty and the perpetuity of our free institutions.

God is true, if every man be a liar. No one can doubt, who believes in the existence of God, that our first obligations are to Him, and no one can doubt that obedience to His law is the source, and the only source, of all true happiness.

"A nation and a kingdom that will not serve Him shall be destroyed."

To revert to our first remark in regard to the use of a name, we have heard in some quarters the term American Catholicity covering a multitude of errors, and falsely representing that one true religion which we are bound to defend and profess. It has been said that in this country there is a peculiar kind of Catholicity which is in advance of the old nations of the world, which has taken to itself the wings of progress, which is more consonant with the spirit of the age, less hostile to those who differ from us in faith or morals, which puts upon itself a mantle of expediency, and loses the stern attributes of our unflinching creed. We have heard it said, as a mark of the peculiarities of American Catholicity, that we do not pretend to judge between error and falsehood as far as others are concerned; that we embrace them all, no matter what they believe or profess, as really *one* with us in the profession of a conservative Christianity. It is also said that our differences are not so great as has been supposed; that we are willing to meet all our fellow-citizens on an open platform of a wide Christian belief; that we are willing to yield to the majority, or even to the State, the education of our children, provided we are allowed the liberty of teaching them privately the principles of our faith. It is also maintained that the rights of the Sovereign Pontiff, especially in his temporal principality, may in this country be waived, and that those Catholics are more truly American in their sympathies who look upon the temporal power of the Supreme Pontiff as a thing of the past; who are willing to let it die, and feel no obligation to do anything in their power to restore it.

According to the prevailing doctrine in the world, "Might makes right. The Holy Father, as a matter of fact, has lost his temporal principality. Such is the providence of God, and we are not bound either to maintain its necessity or to do anything actively for its restoration. We will simply let it go as a thing that once was, and which is now dead."

Another feature of American Catholicity, as we have seen it in some quarters, is to maintain "that our form of government is the best possible, and most suited to our religion; that in respect of government we are far beyond the nations of the old world."

Undoubtedly, our own form of government is the best for us and most suited to our people. Nevertheless, it belongs to the Americanism of which we are speaking, to seek to propagate it elsewhere; to deny the rights of those who rule by the providence of God; to justify rebellion without proper cause; to forget that he who rules, rules by the ordinance of God; that God is the supreme king among the nations of the earth, and that "he who resisteth the ordinance resisteth the power of God." In other words, it is sometimes held as a principle of *true Americanism* that "power

comes from the people and ascends to the ruler; that the people make their own government and their own ruler, and therefore, without any cause except their own will, they have a right to change them or to destroy them." Now, we humbly submit that such Americanism is not the true spirit of our institutions, that it is not Catholicity in any sense of the word, and cannot usurp for a single moment, justly, the title which we have placed at the head of this article.

For the illustration of all that we have said we shall proceed to prove that the errors which we have indicated, which are sometimes classed under the term of American Catholicity, are contrary to our faith, and therefore cannot be held by Catholics.

In the first place, the doctrine that "all religions are good, and may conduce to the salvation of men, while the Catholic religion is only better and more complete," is liberalism, condemned by the Holy See.

Reason teaches us that there is one God, and as God is the Author, and the only Author, of His divine religion, creeds which contradict each other cannot all be true. While we are bound in charity to judge no man—not to enter into the supreme tribunal where each one stands alone before God, and will be judged for all his deeds and all his intelligent acts—we are bound to judge his errors, and also to condemn them, and this for the love of God and for true charity toward our neighbor. The proposition that every man is free to embrace and profess that religion which, by the light of his own reason, he shall have considered to be the true one, is condemned by the Catholic Church. As far as Protestantism is concerned in all its various and contradictory forms, it cannot be a species of the true Christian religion. We quote from the syllabus of Pius IX.

"Every man is free to embrace and profess that religion which by the light of reason he shall consider true."¹

"Protestantism is nothing else than a different form of the same Christian religion in which equally as in the Catholic Church one can please God."²

"Man in the observance of any religion can find the way of eternal salvation and also attain it."³

These propositions have been condemned by the supreme authority of the Church, and the doctrine contained in them cannot

¹ "Liberum cuique homini est eam amplecti ac profiteri religionem, quam rationis lumine quis ductus veram putaverit.

² "Protestantismus non aliud est quam diversa veræ eiusdem christianæ religionis forma, in qua æque ac in Ecclesia Catholica Deo placere datum est.

³ "Homines in cuiusvis religionis cultu viam æternæ salutis reperire æternamque salutem assequi possunt."

be held by any one who calls himself a Catholic. A man is *not* free to follow any religion which his reason may teach him to be true. Men cannot obtain eternal salvation and find out the way of life by virtue of any false religion. If they do find salvation through invincible ignorance, or through any truths which may be taught them, mixed with many errors, they find their salvation by graces which come to them, entirely independent of the system which they follow. Their system of religion, if followed, would lead them astray. Protestantism, which, as we all know, embraces all kinds of contradictory errors, cannot be held to be a form of the true religion in which equally, as in the Catholic Church, one can please God. We are not denying here, that there are those out of the visible fold of the Church who will be saved by virtue of invincible ignorance or their obedience to the law of God, as far as they know it. But it is a very grave error, condemned by the Church, to hold that those outside of the pale of the Church are in a *safe* way, and still more so, that in some respects, they are better off than Catholics. We do not believe that this is true Americanism. We know it is not Catholicity. Americans love consistency. They are generally in earnest, and feel the power of sincerity. We shall never lead our erring brethren to a knowledge of the truth by making light of the differences which exist between them and ourselves, or by mitigating the doctrine that out of the Church there is no salvation. Almighty God, having instituted a way of salvation, has instituted no other.

Another grave error, which sometimes takes to itself the shield of the name of Catholicity, is what may be called the doctrine of intellectual or social progress. We make progress in many things; in material affairs; in the discoveries of science; in the application of these discoveries to the needs of mankind. But we can make no progress whatever in the faith which God has revealed to us and which comes to us perfect from His hands. We may study it and understand it better, and learn better to apply it to our daily life, and to the life of nations; but we cannot make any progress in the matter of the divine revelation. The doctrine, that we have greater light in our age; that we better understand the truths of our revelation than the ages before us; that we have theologically taken upon ourselves the wings of human progress, is not simply an empty boast, it is a serious error. By it we are led to look down upon the masters of theology, the great teachers of the Church, the doctors of the spiritual life; to think that in our age we have made such advance that we can get loose from the restraints which the great doctors of the Church, following the instincts of the faith, have placed upon the human reason. This doctrine of progress, applied to matters of faith, has been distinctly condemned by the

Holy See, and therefore cannot be considered to be the teaching of any kind of Catholicity.

We quote again the propositions condemned by Pius IX. in the Syllabus :

"The decrees of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Congregations impede the true progress of science."¹

"The methods and the principles by which the scholastic doctors of former ages cultivated theology do not at all agree with the necessities of our time and the progress of the sciences."²

The decrees of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Congregations must be observed by every Catholic, and they do not impede any true human progress. Disobedience to them is the reverse of human progress. It is returning into the darkness, instead of going forward into the light. We can never sufficiently value the ancient doctors of the Church, and especially the schoolmen, whose teachings are adapted to all times, and especially to this rationalistic age which, following the doctrines of human pride rather than those of reason, would lead to independence in matters revealed, and therefore to liberalism and latitudinarianism.

There is always in every age a species of socialism or communism which threatens the best interests of society. It is the denial of the Catholic faith and its teachings which allows men to be blinded by such errors.

The holy Church, anxious in all things to preserve the best welfare of society, and to mitigate as far as in her power the sufferings of the poor, has often declared that socialism, while contrary to the law of God, is the enemy of the very poor whom it seeks to benefit. The following is the language of Pius IX. in his allocution to the consistory of April 20, 1849: "Evil men foment agitation among the people in order that all the principles of justice, of virtue, of honesty, of religion, may be utterly destroyed, and that the horrid and grievous system of socialism—or even of communism, as they call it—may everywhere be propagated and reign to the greatest evil and even the destruction of all human society."

We cannot, therefore, in any way countenance the principles which destroy the rights of property and which overturn the foundations of civilized society. Such errors, in any form, are too grave to be trifled with, and they are not the fruit of what may be properly so-called Americanism, while they are distinctly contrary to the Catholic faith. The Roman Pontiff cannot reconcile him-

¹ Apostolicæ Sedis, Romanarumque Congregationum decreta liberum scientiæ progressum impediunt.

² Methodus et principia, quibus antiqui doctores scholastici theologiam excoluerunt, temporum nostrorum necessitatibus scientiarumque progressui minime congruunt.

self nor compromise with progress, with liberalism, with socialism or with what may be called recent civilization. The doctrine that our republican form of government—good in itself, fitted to our state of society, and, in reality, having its source in the application of the principles of our religion—is the best form of government for all the nations of the earth, or the only correct form of government, cannot be held by any Catholics, whether they be Americans or of another nationality. We yield to no one in devotion to our own country; nevertheless, we cannot hold that the best form of government is that in which the Church is entirely separated from the State and the State from the Church. Such a proposition is condemned by the Holy See in the Syllabus of Pius IX., Proposition 55 declares:

“The Church should be separated from the State and the State from the Church.”¹

Undoubtedly, that form of government which does not interfere with the Church in any way is better than the form which persecutes the Church, which deprives it of its rightful liberty, which imprisons its priests and its ministers; but this does not make it the very best form of government. The governing authorities in any nation are as much bound to obey the Catholic religion as any individual. And nations, as such, are as much under the obedience of God as are individuals. The best form of government is that where all believe in the true religion, or where the government supports the Church in the discharge of its high office, in leading men to their salvation. This, although perhaps at the present time existing nowhere, is, nevertheless the best form, and although we do not ask a government like our own to interfere in any ecclesiastical matters—while, on the contrary, we deny its right to interfere in matters purely religious—nevertheless we cannot hold, as Catholics, that a Christian or a Catholic State should not work in harmony with the Church of God, to which are committed the highest interests of man. We cannot call our own form of government religious in any sense. There is a bare recognition of God and also an implicit recognition of many precepts of the natural law; still, we cannot call it a Christian government in the true sense of the word.

And it leads to a grave error to say that the State should always be separated from the Church and the Church from the State, as if they were different bodies, each one moving in its different sphere, and the spiritual having no authority, even indirectly, over the temporal.

The State has already, not only here but in the old world, inter-

¹ “*Ecclesia a Statu, Statusque ab Ecclesia sejungendus est.*”

ferred with the observance of the law of God, and has sanctioned that which, according to the divine law, is positively wrong. For example, the State has sanctioned divorce, thereby destroying the sacred character of Christian matrimony and allowing parties properly married to be separated, so as to annul the bond of matrimony. The Christian law teaches us, on the word of our Lord Himself, that the tie of matrimony, properly contracted, can only be severed by death. When the State undertakes in any way to favor the liberty of human passion and sin, to separate that which God has bound together, to assume the authority it has no power to assume, the very act is invalid before God. For God, at least, is the Supreme Ruler of the universe. The evils which follow, and which will follow to a much greater extent, in the disregard of Christian marriage are too great to escape the notice of any fair-minded and intelligent person. The sacredness of the family depends upon the sacredness of Christian marriage, and the perpetuity of the State depends on Christian families, of which, to a great extent, the State is composed. It is not always wise to attack the evils of society openly, although sometimes it is our duty; but it is a sin to compromise with them or to allow them to pass as if they were indifferent matters.

Another most grave error which concerns the very foundation of Christianity is that which, unfortunately, is widespread, the error that religion and education can be separated without vital injury to the Commonwealth. It is a prevalent doctrine now in our country that the State has the right to take to itself the whole question of education, to disregard the rights of parents and guardians to whom, by God's providence, children are committed. And inasmuch as the State is made up of those who hold widely diverse and contradictory beliefs, it is said to be the American system that no religion whatever must be taught in the popular schools. These popular schools, which are free to every one—in which, consistently, no principles of Christian ethics can be taught—have been called “the *palladium* of our civil liberties.”

To a Catholic mind, to one who believes in Christianity, and to one who has studied at all the lessons of history, it is evident that education without religion is the source of infidelity, and therefore is destructive of human liberty, properly so-called. Catholics cannot approve of any system of education which is separated from religion or from the strict teaching of the principles of their faith. We are not by any means willing to hold that Americanism is infidelity, so therefore we do not understand why any of our fellow-citizens favor the separation entirely of religion from common education.

Protestants, who are bigoted in their notions, may find that

such a system of education leads Catholic children to forget or deny their religion, and in this sense they may approve of such a system of popular education ; but we deny that it is Americanism, or that it is in any sense a feature of our peculiar form of government. The Holy See has distinctly condemned the separation of education from religion, and no Catholic can for a moment defend or permit it.

We quote from the Syllabus, propositions 47 and 48 :

"The best constitution of civil society demands that popular schools which are open to all children of whatever class, and public institutions which are destined to more severe studies and to the education of youth, should be free from all the authority of the Church, from its moderating and governing power, and subjected wholly to the civil and political authority according to the pleasure of the rulers and the general opinions of the age."

"The plan of instructing youth which is separated entirely from the Church and which primarily regards only the ends of earthly social life and the knowledge of natural things may be approved by Catholics."

The teaching of our own Councils and of our own Prelates in union with the Holy See, has distinctly defined the Catholic doctrine on this subject. We are obliged, therefore, in conscience, to establish our own schools, inasmuch as we have no right to ask permission to teach our doctrines in the popular schools. The right to have our own schools is permitted to us by our government ; nevertheless, scarcely a year passes without some proposition in some legislature, or in the Congress of the United States, tending to abridge our rights and to deprive us of the full liberty of Christian worship which we have under the Constitution. And in all the States, so far as we know, every man is taxed for the support of the popular schools, although in conscience he can make no use of them. If this be the highest form of civil liberty, we have not the power to see it.

In almost every country of Europe, denominational schools are not only permitted, but are even maintained at the expense of the State, and the denominational system, while it satisfies the conscience of every one, is much less expensive to the State, and pro-

¹ *Postulat optima civilis societatis ratio, ut populares scholæ, quæ patent omnibus cuiusque e populo classis pueris, ac publica universim instituta, quæ litteris severioribusque disciplinis tradendis et educationi juventutis curandæ sunt destinata, eximantur ab omni Ecclesiæ auctoritate, moderatrice vi et ingerentia, plenoque civilis ac politicæ auctoritatis arbitrio subiiciantur ad imperantium placita et ad communium ætatis opinionum amussim."*

² *"Catholicis viris probari potest ea juventutis instituendæ ratio, quæ sit a Catholica fide et ab Ecclesiæ potestate sejuncta quæque rerum dumtaxat naturalium scientiam ac terrenæ socialis vitæ fines tantummodo vel saltem primario spectet."*

duces harmony and peace according to the testimony of Protestants as well as Catholics. On this subject there can be surely no difference of opinion among American Catholics. No one worthy of the name of Catholic can so far compromise himself as to look with favor upon popular schools in which no principles of morals or religion can be taught.

A most important question in our day, which deeply concerns the interests of our religion, is that of the temporal principality of the Supreme Pontiff. All Catholics are bound to believe that he is the supreme pastor, teacher and infallible doctor of the universal Church; that in matters spiritual and moral there is no appeal from his decision. His temporal principality is not an open question. It cannot be looked upon as a thing of the past. Catholics, and especially American Catholics, who are free at least to think and say what they will, can never agree to look upon it as a question which has passed out of our day. They can never consent to hold that the temporal power of the popes has been taken from them by justice, or that the principality of the Supreme Pontiff has not conduced to religion and is not necessary to the free exercise of his high office. Much less can it be held that it is an open question in regard to which Catholics may differ, or that the abrogation of this principality is sanctioned by the observance of ages, or would conduce to the liberty and happiness of the Church. We have heard of some Catholics saying, that "the Pope is much better off without his temporal power; that at all events it is no question of ours, and that we are not called upon to say or to do anything in regard to it." Such views are not Catholicity, and we do not think that they are American Catholicity. Indeed we are certain that the majority of American Catholics believe in the necessity of the temporal principality of the Pope, and will always be found in the front ranks for the maintenance of his rights, both civil and spiritual. We quote the false opinions condemned in the Syllabus in regard to this matter, propositions 76 and 80.

"The abrogation of the civil power which the Apostolic See possesses would greatly conduce to the happiness and liberty of the Church."¹

"The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself with progress, with liberalism and with modern civilization."²

The Supreme Pontiff, who in this, as in all other matters, is our teacher and guide, has never consented to the unjust usurpation of his temporal rights, nor has he ceased to warn the faithful by

¹ "Abrogatio civilis imperii quo Apostolica Sedes potitur, ad Ecclesiæ libertatem felicitatemque vel maxime conducet."

² "Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civitate sese reconciliare et componere."

his protests against the injustice which, although tolerated for a short time, can never be accepted by the Catholic Church nor regarded as just. The present Pontiff, Leo XIII., has more than once spoken to the Christian world on this subject, and in a letter of the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of bishops and regulars, July 18, 1889, warned all patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, and other superiors of Catholic people, that the injury done to the Holy See should be kept before their minds. They are directed to warn their flocks of the obligation by which they are bound to avoid the snares of secret societies and other enemies of the Holy See, to defend the faith, and by every legitimate means to maintain the rights of the Roman Pontiff, understanding that with his liberty is closely bound the liberty of all states and all peoples. In this connection we quote the words of a pastoral of the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York, addressed to the clergy and faithful of his diocese on October 2, 1889.

"Now it is the common teaching of theologians that when the Vicar of Christ and the Episcopate throughout the world unite in teaching a doctrine which regards the universal government of the Church, then they have that special assistance promised them by Jesus Christ, and their doctrine is to be received by the faithful as undoubtedly true and certain. Again and again, in Encyclicals and Allocutions, the Sovereign Pontiff has declared the temporal independence of the Holy See to be necessary for the good and free government of the Church, and this same truth is proclaimed by the whole Catholic Episcopate. As good children of the Church it is our duty to incline our ears to the teaching of Christ's Vicar, and to give it the homage of our minds and our hearts."

While, therefore, no one is allowed to attack the rights of the Holy See, or to defend the usurpation of his temporal power, every good Catholic is bound by every legitimate means to labor for its restoration. Many times during the history of the Church have the Supreme Pontiffs been placed in a worse position than that which now imprisons our Holy Father. Popular opinion has with many great weight, but we contend that such an opinion, if popular among those outside the bosom of the Catholic Church, can never be popular with sincere Catholics. They cannot even be silent in regard to the matter when time and opportunity permit them to speak plainly, and all their influence, whatever it is, must always be cast on the side of truth and right and justice.

From our knowledge of the American people we are inclined to believe that those grave errors to which we have alluded, which cannot be favored by any true Catholic, are not consistent with

the honesty, the sincerity and earnestness which distinguish our race.

True American Catholicity is honest, sincere and earnest. We have always been distinguished for our devotion to the Holy See. We believe the Supreme Pontiff to be the Vicar of our Lord, to represent Him to us and to speak with His voice to us in all questions of faith and morals. Therefore we are united, those of us who are sincere Catholics, in loyalty to Him, in devotion to his interests and in defence of all his rights. The rights of the Holy See are really the rights of the Church, and they are our rights. In every land devout Catholics are the best citizens, those most loyal to the government under which they live; and naturally so, because the principles which sustain the true Catholic are essentially principles of justice and equity, which are the only firm foundation of any commonwealth. When the rights of the Holy See are violated and disregarded, where shall we look for any foundation on which may rest a well-ordered civil society? "By Me," says the Holy Ghost, "kings reign and princes decree justice." Might does not make right, nor does the lapse of time make the evil a good. The points upon which we have touched so briefly seem to us of the very highest importance. They concern the true progress of our religion in this country, and therefore the perpetuity of our institutions. We maintain in their integrity the only principles upon which Christian society can rest. There is no enemy which we have to fear so much as liberalism in politics, and especially in religion. Liberalism in religion is a contradiction, inasmuch as religion depends upon a revealed faith which must be maintained in its entirety as it comes to us from God. With the divine law it is true that he who sins in one point implicitly breaks the whole law, since all precepts of the law are equally binding, and the disposition to break one precept leads directly to the transgression of all God's commandments. The same principle applies to our creed. The whole creed rests on the veracity of God, and infidelity in one point involves, implicitly at least, disbelief in the whole creed. The great danger to which our country is exposed is infidelity, which is advancing every day, denying, point by point, the precepts of the Christian religion, and even boldly advancing to the denial of the existence and government of God. Nothing can stay the tide of infidelity in our land except our divine faith. We Catholics are the best friends of our free institutions, since we are the only conservatives who maintain the principles of justice and equity on which alone they can securely rest. It is our duty always to protest against every kind of infidelity. Right is always right, and wrong is always wrong, under whatever specious appearance it may be seen. The foes of the

Catholic Church are really the foes of true liberty and of real progress. Knowing full well that the Catholic Church alone is able to stand against the arts of the adversary of man, they attack our religion consciously or unconsciously, knowing that thereby they advance in the surest way the denial of God, of His revelation and of His reign upon earth. Various are these attacks—sometimes under the appearance of progress in things material, sometimes under the false claims of freedom, and sometimes with an open and avowed purpose of destroying the only creed which stands on immovable foundations, because it is divine.

Well-meaning men, who would disavow atheism or infidelity, who call themselves Christians in some sense, are often the dupes of the one great enemy of religion and society. The adversary of man, who is wiser than those whom he deceives, bids them in various ways to attempt to deprive Catholics of their rights before the State, in public meetings, in the legislatures of different States, and even in the United States Congress, to propose laws which, while they deprive us of our equal liberties, strike deadly blows at the order of society. They treat us as if we were a foreign colony in the land, where, to say the least, we are their equals in the land which is our earthly home, and for which we have given our talents and our lives. Nothing could be so suicidal to our faith or to true progress as to compromise with such enemies in any point of faith or morals. The moment we compromise, the moment we yield in any particular where our divine religion and its teachings are concerned, we give up the whole ground to the enemies of society.

We sacrifice the trust reposed in our hands, and under the plea of liberty, we really turn traitor to God and to our country. Not for our merits did God give us the priceless treasure of Christian faith. He has reposed it in our hands that we may maintain it, and well discharge our duty to the good of man and to His glory. We can make no admission to what is falsely called progress. We cannot admit that there is any difference between the creed of the Catholic Church of this day and its creed in former ages. We must maintain that the laws which were binding upon the ages preceding us, which have been properly called the Ages of Faith, are binding upon us; and while the admission of any compromise in the teaching of our religion would really be the sacrifice of our whole creed, we shall gain nothing from our Protestant fellow-citizens in return for such a sacrifice. They who are sincere, respect only those whom they believe to be sincere. They will lose their regard for us, and we shall lose our influence among our fellow-men. The restrictions which Almighty God has imposed on His one way of salvation cannot be removed by man, and if in our intercourse with our fellow-citizens we allow them to think

that we do not fully believe that the Catholic Church is necessary for the salvation of men and of nations, they will never be drawn to embrace it, nor to make the sacrifices which are necessary for its profession. We speak feelingly on this subject, but we speak from knowledge and experience. While we are bound, according to the true spirit of our religion, to be courteous and kind and gentle in all the relations of life, while we do not approve of any unnecessarily offensive word or action, we shall best subserve the interests of those who differ from us, and surely best discharge our duty to God, by maintaining, without compromise, the precepts of our religion. There is no more dangerous disposition, if it should ever become popular, than the belief that there is an American Catholicity which is in advance of past times, which differs materially from the faith once delivered to the Church and always preserved by her, which boasts of a freedom from restrictions which bind the ages of the past. Let us, then, in our humble sphere, wherever God has placed us, be true to the faith which He has revealed to us. The perpetuity of our government depends entirely, according to our mind, on the perpetuity and the progress of the Catholic religion. If our religion fails in this country, true Americanism will fall with it; and we believe that those are the only true American Catholics who, while they maintain the rights and the liberties which our constitution guarantees to us, are obedient to the divine voice which speaks to man through the Catholic Church.

Scientific Chronicle.

DR. KOCH AND THE CONSUMPTION CURE.

For several months past considerable commotion has been stirred up, not only in the medical world, but among all classes of people, concerning the discovery of a reputed infallible, or almost infallible cure for consumption. Nor is this to be wondered at, for, whoever has consulted, however cursorily, the statistics of mortality, issued officially or otherwise, in all parts of the world, must have been convinced that a cure, a *real* cure, for consumption is sorely needed in this suffering world of ours. Not to go into lengthy and unnecessary details, it may suffice to state that the annual number of deaths from consumption throughout the world is estimated at from three to four millions. This represents an annual loss of something like a hundred million of years of human life to the world, and of years that should have been, and naturally would have been, the strongest and brightest and best years of life. The germs of the disease, perhaps transmitted directly from parent to offspring, perhaps admitted later on from without, slowly at first it may be, but none the less surely, undermine the constitution, sap the very foundations of life, and send the victim, generally, to an early, always to an untimely grave. Of the vast number of those on whom consumption has once fixed his grasp few ever escape.

Is there is no remedy for this? The human race has been asking this question for centuries, and the answer has ever been unsatisfactory and delusive. We are asking it now again, and we begin to flatter ourselves that we see the first breaking of the dawn of hope. Is this riddle to be solved in our day, or must it be left for future generations to unravel?

It would seem that there ought to be a solution possible. Other scourges of human life have been practically stamped out of the civilized world by some far-reaching discoveries in the domain of medicine. The small-pox is a case in point. Not so very long ago, it was a thing of terror the world over. Jenner gave us vaccination, and to-day we have no real fear of the disease. True, it is not dead, but when we take the proper precautions, well known as they are to-day, there is no reason to dread any general recurrence of its ravages. In former times, whole towns and cities were often decimated, and savage tribes obliterated by it. To-day, we heed it not. Just in proportion as vaccination is vigorously enforced, small-pox disappears. Thus, in 1886, throughout the whole empire of Germany, there were but 225 deaths from small-pox; the next year, 168, and in 1888, only 110. In England, on the contrary, where a rabid anti-vaccination sect has made its influence felt, the deaths have been about sixteen times as many; while in anti-vaccination Austria there have been one hundred and thirty-six times as many. Of the fol-

lowers of Stanley, in his African explorations, quite a large number died of small-pox; but of those who died thus, not a single one had been vaccinated.

The question recurs, then, may it not be possible to find, in like manner, some simple yet efficacious cure for consumption? It would be an endless task to recount all the remedies that have been proposed and tried by the most renowned medical men of ancient and modern times, by numberless others of lesser note, by the vast army of consumptives themselves, as well as by the horde of unmitigated quacks. The record, take it all in all, has been a record of defeat and failure. Is it any wonder, then, that when a new candidate steps forth with a new cure, we hesitate a little, and ask a good deal of strong proof before being required to make an act of medical faith in the matter? This new candidate is Dr. Koch.

Dr. Koch was born at Clausthal, a small town of Hanover, December 11, 1843. Having finished the ordinary school and college studies, he took up medicine, which he pursued with ardor from the age of nineteen to that of twenty-three. Having received his degrees, he practiced a few years at Posen, after which he accepted a professorship, and then began his life-work, that is, the study of infectious diseases. His labors have been rewarded with a large measure of success. It is related that having labored long and perseveringly on certain new investigations, he believed he had discovered something, and accordingly presented himself before the learned professors to let them know what he had found. The wise ones assembled as a matter of routine, and when Koch appeared asked each other, in a lofty way: "Who is that young fellow, anyhow? What is he going to bore us about now?" It took them but a short time, however, to realize that the young man was not of the ordinary stamp. He spoke with such earnestness, explained with such clearness, and withal went to such depths, that they saw he had a mission to the world, and would not fail to fulfil it. He is but forty-seven years old, just in the vigor of manhood, a hard student, an enthusiastic worker, persevering, fearless, yet retiring and modest. Such is the stuff of which great men are made. Up to the present time he has accomplished two things, either of which would be sufficient to render his name illustrious for all time to come. He has discovered the true cause of the Asiatic cholera, and, most probably, the sure remedy. He has discovered the true cause of consumption, and, very likely, its cure. Moreover, he believes that in following out the lines which he has opened up, cures will be found for many of the worst forms of disease, such as diphtheria, erysipelas, and leprosy. Is it only a beautiful dream? We know that some eminent physicians think so. We know, too, that others equally eminent have a firm belief that, the way having been opened by the Pasteurs and Kochs of to-day, the work will be pushed to a glorious conclusion, if not by them, at least by their immediate successors.

Let us now try to get a general idea, first of the cause, and next of the newly-proposed cure for consumption. We may state, without much fear of contradiction, that Dr. Koch has finally proved that consump-

tion is caused by what are called microbes, which either exist in the body at birth, or enter from without later on, and finding in the lungs the requisite conditions of moisture and temperature, and the food suited for their development, prey upon the substance of the lung itself, or else produce within it a poison which causes the derangement called pulmonary tuberculosis, phthisis, or more commonly consumption. *Microbes* or *bacteria* are living microscopic animals which had, long ago, been observed occasionally in the bodies of the higher animals, and whose presence was thought to be merely accidental, and of no special import. A few years ago, however, it began to be noticed that, in certain diseases they were present in extraordinary numbers, and hence the suspicion arose that there might be some essential connection between them and the diseases. It took time and patience to prove this satisfactorily. There were serious difficulties in the way, both of a positive and a negative kind. Among others, the microscope was not as perfect as it is now; neither was it so well known, and few physicians of the old school made any scientific use of it. Besides, most of them were travelling continually in the same old ruts, and, either through lack of time for study could not, or through prejudice would not, get out of them. Again, in the animal body, even in health, there are usually great numbers of living germs which seem to exert no deleterious influence whatever, and some that, if seemingly injurious in some species of animals, are perfectly innocuous in others. Microscopic examinations have proved that there are, pretty much always, multitudes of living animalculæ in the air we breathe, in the food we eat, and in the liquids we drink. And yet we contrive to live on. Evidently, these cannot be exceedingly poisonous.

To prove, therefore, that a given disease, say in man, is due to the action of micro-organisms, it would be necessary to show, at the very least, that some special kind is always present in that disease, and also that whenever this kind is present, that disease exists. All these difficulties, and a number of others, seem to have been fairly met. The microscope is no longer the toy we knew it some years back, but an instrument of wonderful perfection. In the hands of men who have become skilful in its use, who have learned its value and capabilities, as well as its limitations, it has settled down to honest, hard work. By its aid, as we have said, the existence of numberless minute forms of animal life has been demonstrated around and within us. The task still remained to discover what relation, if any, they bore to the higher forms of animal life, and especially whether any of them were pathogenic, that is, disease-producing germs, and if so, how and under what conditions.

This could not be satisfactorily accomplished by mere observations, however accurate. The scientist must not only observe and classify the bare facts which nature spontaneously throws out to him; he must go a step further, and by well-chosen, crucial experiments, compel her to answer his questions. In the matter in hand, it was not only necessary to see the germs, to describe them, and give them a local habitation and

a *name*, but also to produce them at will, to isolate each species from all the others, and then try their effects on the lower animals, and with due precautions, even on the human subject itself. Let us see how this production and isolation of the germs is brought about. The general method is about the same for all the species; but experience has shown that different food-substances are required for the different kinds.

For the microbe of consumption the process is briefly as follows: We take an ordinary test-tube, and heat it over the fire till we are satisfied that any living germs it may have contained are destroyed. This process is called *sterilizing*. Then a *bouillon* (broth) of agar-agar, a kind of gelatine, is prepared, sterilized and placed in the tube. If the tube be now closed with a plug of sterilized cotton, it may be left an indefinite time, under any conditions, without showing the least sign of change. The cotton allows free access of air, but hinders the entrance of germs from without. This tube is intended as a means of comparison. Another tube, prepared at the same time, is treated in precisely the same way, except that before plugging, a few microbes, taken directly from the mucus of a consumptive, are added to the contents of the tube. Both tubes are now placed in a sort of oven, where a constant temperature of about 100° F. is maintained. After some time the contents of the second tube begin to show signs of change. The *bouillon*, from being clear and bright, begins to grow cloudy in spots; this increases more or less rapidly until the whole substance in the tube is invaded. The few microbes originally placed in it have multiplied to millions. The contents of the tube, in this condition, has been named *culture*. It may contain many other microbes besides the ones peculiar to consumption. To eliminate them, the same process is repeated in fresh test-tubes by taking a little of what was developed in the first culture to start the next, and so on, until the consumption microbe is complete master of the field, and the tube contains no other species. This point is, of course, determined by the microscope, and it may require upwards of a hundred successive cultivations to reach this result. This is called the *pure culture*. This microbe, which, as we shall see, does really cause consumption, has, under the microscope, the appearance of a little rod, and has hence been named *bacillus tuberculosis*. Experiments without number have been made on healthy animals with these particular *bacilli*. The animals found by experience most suitable for this purpose are the guinea-pig and the rabbit. The injection of a minute portion of the pure culture invariably brings on the disease, just as does the injection of the mucus of a consumptive, while the injection of other microbes has either no effect, or else causes some other disease.

The moral law steps in here now, and, as a general rule, forbids us to try this experiment on human beings, but since consumption in the brute shows precisely the same symptoms in detail as in man, it is without doubt the same disease in both cases, and it therefore follows that the *bacillus tuberculosis* is the real cause of consumption in the human subject.

The next step was to find some means of destroying the bacilli without

serious injury to the sufferer. Dr. Koch made a long series of experiments, with chemical reagents, upon his pure cultures in the test-tubes. He tried acids and alkalies, oils and ethers, naphthaline and fuschine, aniline colors, salts of many of the metals, and an infinity of other substances. He found the most energetic of all to be the chloro-cyanide of gold, of which one part in a million is enough to completely arrest all development of the bacilli in the pure culture. He next tried these reagents upon his guinea-pigs in consumption, but it was a total failure; they all died of the disease. This was enough to discourage most men; not so Dr. Koch. He went to work again at a new series of experiments, and seems to think he may be successful. Want of space prevents us from following him through all the stages of his work. Suffice it to say that up to date his process appears to be this: He takes the bacilli of the pure culture, kills them by heat or by chemical reagents, and makes an extract of them in 50 per cent. glycerine. This is the *lymph* about which such excessively good and bad things have been said, and about which opinions appear just now to be more widely divergent than ever. This lymph is injected hypodermically in infinitesimal doses, and the dose repeated at longer or shorter intervals, according to indications furnished by the state of the patient. The reason given by Dr. Koch for the action of the lymph may or may not be the correct one. It is certainly a very curious one, but he places no particular stress upon it. He holds, anyhow, that consumption has been cured by it, and will be again, but warns us that it is an exceedingly powerful agent, and must be used with the utmost caution. He holds, also, that on account of its very different action on consumptives and on non-consumptives, it is a sure means of determining whether or not there is latent consumption in a given case.

The pith of his explanation seems to be that the presence of the lymph in the lungs, brought there, after inoculation, by the circulation of the blood, produces in the tissues a condition so unfavorable to the living bacilli that they soon die, and are rejected as effete matter by the natural reaction of the system. This condition is, strange enough, a sort of disease itself, which, however, is not severe, and which quickly passes away. The dead bacilli are set to kill the living, and nature is to take the office of undertaker when the slaughter is over.

Now, what is the outcome of all this? As might have been easily predicted, the announcement of a cure for consumption was hailed with extravagant acclamations on all hands. Sensational articles from the *enlightened* press were the order of the day. Dr. Koch was made to say more than he ever dreamt of saying, and then the inevitable reaction came, in which the whole business, from first to last, is criticized, condemned and denounced as untrustworthy and dangerous to the last degree.

It is too early yet to give a final judgment. We who have not got consumption can afford to wait till the effervescence subsides and a sufficient trial has been made. It will then probably turn out that the sober truth will ultimately be found between the two extremes, and that when

the action of the lymph is more thoroughly known, and the conditions of its use better understood, it will prove of very great value in the treatment of consumption. But our chief consolation is in this, that we believe it is a magnificent stride forward on the road to something infinitely better, which we still hope will reach us before the millennium.

THREE OR FOUR—WHICH IS IT?

ABOUT a decade ago one of the most eminent among English physicists and chemists, Prof. William Crookes, of London, proposed a rather startling theory concerning the existence of a fourth state of matter. Faraday, as we shall see, had hinted at it as a possibility long years before, but Crookes, while studying the action of electricity in the Geissler tubes, was the first to believe he had laid his hand upon it. He followed up the idea by the means of many long and patient investigations, to carry out which he contrived a large number of very beautiful, not to say brilliant, experiments, which have been the wonder of physicists ever since. The facts were there, numerous and varied, but the theory proposed, although admitted by some, has been called in doubt by others. Yet, as far as we know, no one has offered anything to replace it. For a long time very little appears to have been said about the matter one way or another. Quite lately, however, Prof. Crookes has taken it up again, under a different name, and devised new experiments, equally as beautiful as the former ones, and which seem to add new strength to his theory.

As many of the readers of the CATHOLIC QUARTERLY may have had occasion to hear but little about this subject, we intend, in this and a subsequent article, to review it briefly from the beginning up to the present time.

The theory which Prof. Crookes puts forth is, that besides the solid, liquid and gaseous conditions, or states, of matter, there is a fourth condition, higher yet, which he calls the ultra-gaseous or radiant condition of matter, or simply *Radiant Matter*. The name itself, however, is due to Faraday.

In order to render clear what we intend to say about this ultra-gaseous or fourth state of matter, it seems very necessary to give a faint outline, at least, of the modern theory concerning the three other states already admitted by all. We have all been dealing with solids, liquids and gases from childhood up, and we may imagine that what we don't know about them is not worth knowing. Still, there is one strange phenomenon which men of study, deep thinkers, often encounter. It is that, however familiar we may be with many things, yet when we are called upon to give an exact definition of any one of them, we often find it a very difficult, if not an impossible, feat. So just here, who will give us an exact definition of the solid, the liquid, the gaseous conditions of matter?

Many ancient theories have passed away ; it is with the most modern one that we are concerned now.

We merely intend to *state* the theory at present ; to attempt to give the proofs upon which it is supposed to rest would lead us too far beyond the bounds of a magazine article.

The modern theory about matter and its three states is something like this :

Bodies—by which we mean limited portions of matter—are made up of molecules. Molecules are made up of atoms. Take, for example, a crystal of common salt. Divide it into two parts ; each part will be salt. Divide each of these parts again, and so on ; or, to expedite matters, *grind* them down to fine dust. Each particle of that dust will be salt. But there must be a limit somewhere. Take what means you will, sooner or later a degree of *fineness* must be reached beyond which it will be impossible to go by any mere physical process. The particles thus obtained are what we call *molecules*. They are, in brief, the smallest particles into which a compound substance can be divided without losing its characteristic properties.

The physicist, purely as such, halts here, and allows the chemist to step in. The latter will take the molecules of salt and divide them still further—tear, as it were, each of them asunder, not, indeed, by physical, but by chemical means. The salt will have disappeared, and in place thereof there will now be found *two* substances, each totally different from salt and totally different from each other. They have been named *sodium* and *chlorine*. Now, that quantity of sodium which, in combination with chlorine, constituted a single molecule of salt, is called an *atom* of sodium, and, in like manner, the quantity of chlorine in a single molecule of salt is called an *atom* of chlorine. All *compound* molecules are composed of a greater or less number of two or more kinds of atoms. In the case of bodies which we call *simple* or *elementary*, the molecule is composed of two or more atoms of the same kind. Thus, a molecule of sodium is composed of two atoms of sodium, a molecule of phosphorus of four atoms of phosphorus, etc. There are, however, two or three exceptional cases in which the atom and molecule are said to be identical. The atom, then, of a given substance is defined as the smallest particle of that substance which can exist in a chemical combination.

At this point natural science instinctively feels that it has reached the end of its tether, and leaves to metaphysics to tell us of what *principles*, as they are called, the atom is composed. With this question we have nothing to do just now, and we will lay it reverently aside. We will also lay aside the atoms, as such, and let the chemist take care of *them* while we will take a look after the molecules.

The modern theory, which we are endeavoring to outline, goes on to state that the number of molecules of which a body is composed is fearfully great. For example, Mr. Johnston Storey has estimated that a cubic inch of air, at the ordinary pressure of the atmosphere, is composed of *at least* sixteen sextillions (16,000,000,000,000,000,000)

of molecules. This number may be very much too small, but it will do for the present. Suppose we try now to realize what it means. Let us sit down calmly and count it, say at the rate of one per second. How long would it take us to get through? A day? A month? A year? No, but 500 trillions (500,000,000,000,000) of years! And yet air is so *thin* that, had it never been put in motion, we would perhaps never have been aware of its existence. If, now, there are so many molecules as that in one cubic inch of air, how many are there in all the solid, liquid and gaseous matter of the earth, of the sun, of the universe? That's a problem for some one whose time hangs heavy on his hands.

Another point of our modern theory is that not only are the molecules of which a body is made up not in actual contact with one another, but that they are even, relatively to their size, very far apart. Some have conjectured that the molecular structure of bodies may be likened to the starry structure of the visible universe. Verily, it is hard to believe this. At any rate, it follows, from what has been said above, that the molecule must be almost inconceivably small.

"A thing so small, 'twixt it and nothing naught remains,"

except the atom, which, paradoxical as it may appear, is smaller still.

The third part of the theory, and the part which most nearly concerns us now, is that the molecules of bodies are not in a state of rest; that, on the contrary, they are in a state of continual motion, rapid and violent, and that *the difference between the solid, the liquid and the gaseous states depends mainly on the amount and character of this molecular movement.*

Let us examine this a little more in detail. In a solid body—a lump of ice, for example—each molecule oscillates in every conceivable direction *about a fixed position*, up and down, right and left, back and forth, millions of times in a second. If, however, the body be subjected to some external force, the relative positions of a greater or less portion of the molecules may become permanently changed.

In the same body, when brought to the liquid state (we call it water now), the molecules have no fixed positions. They oscillate more violently than before, make longer excursions, forgetting to return, but yet, as a whole, remain within certain fixed limits.

In the same body, again, when brought to the gaseous state (we call it steam now), the molecules oscillate still more violently; the average distance between them has been enormously increased and the swing has been vastly augmented, and, if unimpeded, they fly off in straight lines to immense distances.

What has been said of the solid (ice), of the liquid (water), of the gas (steam) is equally true of all other solid, liquid and gaseous bodies.

The molecules of a body, even when a solid, impinge upon one another, and those that form the outer layer impinge upon the nearest

molecules of contiguous bodies, and to these impacts are due the impressions which matter makes on our sense of touch.

The rate and amplitude of the vibrations, and the number of encounters per second, of the molecules, may be augmented by the addition, and diminished by the subtraction of heat. Moreover, it is clear that if, in a given volume of matter, we diminish the number of molecules, those that are left in the same space will encounter each other less often, and being less impeded, their swing will be longer between consecutive collisions.

Now let us go back again to our piece of ice, and suppose its temperature is 32° Fahrenheit. The molecules, as we have said, are oscillating, each about a fixed position. We will apply heat. The effect of this will be to loosen the molecules from their fixed positions and to make them vibrate more rapidly—in a word, to convert the solid ice into liquid water. Keep on heating. One effect of this will be to increase the energy with which the molecules buffet each other; that is, the temperature of the water increases. Another effect will be to increase the amplitude of the oscillations; that is, the water expands. And this goes on till the thermometer marks 212° F. At this point the energy of the molecules is great enough to overcome the ordinary pressure of the atmosphere, and little by little the molecules burst away from each other and disappear in the gaseous condition which we call steam. However, we are not done with it yet; so we will close the vessel betimes, and imprison a remnant for further experiment.

The steam is now at a temperature of 212° F. and a tension of about fifteen pounds to the square inch. The molecules are hammering away at each other and against the sides of the vessel. The result of all these blows is what we call precisely the pressure or tension of the steam, *i.e.*, its tendency to escape. Still keep on heating. The energy of the molecules becomes a very frenzy now. The temperature of the steam rises yet higher, and the tension becomes alarmingly great.

But the blows of the molecules of the gas against the molecules of the vessel have put these latter into a state of more rapid and vigorous motion, so that it too becomes hotter and expands to a slight extent. Nor does the action stop here, for the molecules of the vessel impinge upon the molecules of the surrounding air, and in like manner heat it and cause it to expand. We might continue this heating up through some hundreds of degrees until the solid walls of the vessel would no longer be able to withstand the bombardment of the molecules, and then it would give way at its weakest point, and an explosion would ensue.

But supposing we remove the source of heat before the catastrophe takes place, what will happen? The molecules will keep on for a time in their mad drivings against one another and against the sides of the vessel, but the blows will gradually become more feeble; for the molecular motion communicated to the vessel is lost to the molecules of the gas that gave it, and the molecular motion communicated to the air is lost to the molecules of the vessel that gave it, and the molecular motion

which was communicated to the air will be transmitted to the ether, and will continue on, we know not how far, perhaps to be lost in space—if that means anything—perhaps, rather, to nestle for a moment in some far-off nook of any one of the giant worlds of God's mighty universe, and then to speed on again to another, and another, and another, and so on; and then, perhaps after millions of ages, to come quivering back again to its childhood's home, always seeking rest, but finding none.

However this may be, the additional molecular motion which we had set up in the gas, by means of heat, sooner or later dies out, and we have our gas back again at a temperature of 212° F. and a pressure of fifteen pounds. Now comes the critical moment. The swing of the molecules is about at its shortest for this particular state of the substance with which we are dealing. Yet lessen it must, unless we supply what is being lost, which we are *not* doing, and so our steam begins to change to a liquid. The longer vibrations, appropriate to a gaseous condition, are being changed to the shorter ones which indicate a liquid, and being shorter, they are more rapid for a time (just as a shorter pendulum vibrates more rapidly than a longer one), and hence reveal themselves as heat. This is why a body in passing from the gaseous to the liquid state gives out such a quantity of so-called *latent* heat, and this heat keeps the temperature of the whole mass of steam up to 212° F. until it has been all changed to a liquid. It now occupies about one sixteen-hundredth of the space originally occupied by the steam.

But the battle is not over yet, for although their blows grow weaker, and ultimately slower, not a molecule has deserted the ranks. Each one strikes his blow, loses a little of his strength in so doing, makes a shorter excursion next time, and soon begins to take more time to do it—which, being interpreted, means that the water grows colder—and at the same time contracts in volume until our thermometer only marks 39.1° F. The ranks are so serried now that they absolutely refuse to close in any further—the water is at its densest; for the temperature still descending, the molecules begin to spread out again and to group themselves in six-sided figures. They seem to feel that some dire change is impending, and wish to make a gallant stand, or, at least, not to be found with disordered ranks when the change does come. The temperature of the most exposed portions goes down to 32° F., and a few of the outside battalions fall, and are changed, where they fall, into transparent hexagonal crystals of ice. And now others, and others, share the same fate, each company giving up the molecular motion which kept it liquid to its still unconquered companions, thus helping to keep *their* temperature up to 32° F. and retarding their fate a little longer. But one by one they all fall, until you, who are looking on, would say that the iron grip of death was fastened on all.

But it is not so. The mass of ice is not cold *absolutely*, and therefore is not dead. The molecules are still vibrating; there is some heat in that ice yet, and the proof of this is that it can be cooled still further. But how far? Can the vibrations, which we call heat, be ever entirely

stilled? There is a calculation intended to show that at about 491° F. below the freezing temperature of water all molecular motion would cease. This has been named the *absolute zero* of temperature. It is very hard to pass a judgment on this matter, and harder still to form any conception of the condition of matter whose molecules would be devoid of all vibration.

To sum up what has already been said. From all ages matter has been known to exist in the solid and liquid conditions. It is only within the last one hundred and fifty years that the gaseous state has been recognized and understood. The modern theory concerning these three states is that matter is made up of molecules, which are not in contact with each other; that they are always in a state of vibratory motion; that this motion is either heat or the effect of heat, and finally, that on the character and extent of this motion, the solid, the liquid and the gaseous conditions of matter respectively depend.

In a subsequent article we propose to speak of a possible *fourth* state, and to describe the experiments which are relied upon to prove its existence.

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

TIME was when every country thought its peculiar duty was to love its own and hate all the world besides. Assyria, Greece and Rome testify to this on every page of their history. Modern nations have scarcely improved on their ancestors. From the days of Nimrod to darkest Sedan, the world has been full of wars, conflicts and revolutions. Some of the wise ones of the world hold that these things must be, and that so long as men are men, they will quarrel, and that war will be the only arbitrator of their quarrels. We Americans have not quite escaped the thralldom of this idea. A blind hate for the mother country was, not so very long ago, considered almost an essential part of every true American's patriotism. On the other hand, there are those, and we cannot believe them entirely visionaries, who think that the time is coming when the lamb and the lion may lie down in peace together, without the lamb being necessarily inside of the lion; and that all the arts of war are justifiable only on the grounds of being an advance towards the reign of peace. At the same time, the cultivation of the true arts of peace is one of the surest ways of diverting minds from the pursuit of war. To follow up this theme would lead us a long way from our title, so we will stop moralizing.

A little over thirty years ago, the first telegraph cable was laid between America and Europe. Since then many others have been put down under the Atlantic ocean as well as in other parts of the world. The good they have done, from a purely commercial point of view, has been very great, but we believe that the good of another kind, indirectly

brought about by their means, has been far greater. The quest of gain may appear selfish, yet underneath it there is something more noble, which, if not primarily intended by men, is nevertheless brought about by the providence of God in His own gentle ways. The ocean telegraphs have thus served to bind many peoples together in closer bonds of good will and brotherhood the world over. We have learned to feel that we are much less strangers to one another than we ever realized before; that the human race is, after all, *one*; that our interests are the common interests of all mankind, and that by mutually helping one another, we are in reality benefiting ourselves. Hence, every new bridge, every new railroad, every new line of telegraph, that crosses the boundaries between two countries, every ship that spreads her sails or starts her engines for a foreign port is for us a good omen. As we learn to know more about distant peoples, we get to understand better that they are not, perhaps, so much worse than we thought ourselves.

For these reasons among others, we hail with pleasure the project now on foot of a telegraph cable across the Pacific ocean. The subject was discussed as far back, at least, at 1876, and a charter was granted by Congress in that year. The difficulties, however, seemed so great that the capitalists were afraid to venture, lest the returns should prove unsatisfactory. As nothing was done at the end of three years, the charter lapsed. More recently, another project was started; this time to lay a cable from California to the Hawaiian Islands, a distance of about 2000 miles. The company asked Congress for a subsidy of \$250,000 a year to help them along. The matter was discussed in Congress, but the request looked so exorbitant that the sum was cut down in conference 40 per cent.; yet even in this amended form the bill failed to pass. Leaving out the question as to the right of the government to grant subsidies to private corporations from the money of the people, it is, perhaps, all the better that this scheme fell through. We do not want any halfway work. We have no use for a cable with one end in San Francisco and the other on a buoy in the Pacific. We do want a cable to go from shore to shore and get there; to reach from California to China. That is only 6500 miles; and then, to make it reasonably sure financially, you have but to take in all the important islands on the route. Our long experience with Atlantic cables demonstrates that there are no insurmountable difficulties, either mechanical or electrical. We are, therefore glad to learn that the old company is coming to life again. Mr. C. C. Moreno, who was at its head fifteen years ago, is ready again, and thinks the time ripe, and only asks a renewal of the defunct charter to go ahead. He has made his calculations and finds that the work can be done cheaper and better now than it could have been done in 1876. Besides, the need of it is more pressing. Our relations with the whole world have deepened and broadened since then, and we ought not to neglect to embrace our opportunity now. Mr. Moreno asks no subsidy, only the formality of a charter, and believes he has plenty of backing to put the business through.

Besides, we are hankering for a good long talk with our brothers of

the pig-tail and are quite willing to have it at a distance, for the present at least. We think we could tell them some things that would be good for them; perhaps they could tell us some things that would be good for us. We want to civilize them. By all means, then, let us have the Pacific cable, and don't keep us waiting too long.

ELECTRICITY DIRECT FROM COAL.

THE traditions of the human race as they have been handed down from remote ages, have always possessed, and without doubt always will possess for us all a peculiarly weird interest. At one period of our life we believed them all, and even in mature years, we still find it hard to thrust aside the dreamy tales that were fed to us in our youth. Thus, we were told that the world began with a golden age which soon degenerated into an age of silver, and then again into a brazen age to be finally succeeded by an age of iron. The expressions of the ancient poets should doubtlessly be taken in a metaphorical rather than in a literal sense; yet, we have long felt that whatever may have been the state of things in the dim, distant twilight of pre-historic fable, *we* at least are literally living in an age of iron, from which we are but beginning slowly to emerge. While still remaining an age of iron, it seems however to be taking on another character over and above, and which is now causing it be styled by some, the age of electricity.

Twenty years ago electricity was scarcely spoken of, except in connection with Franklin's kite and the electric telegraph, outside of the laboratories of a few scientific workers. Now, what with the electric telephone, the electric light, the electric motor and its application to all kinds of work, electric alarms, pulls, pushes, buttons and wires, electric heating, cooking, welding, electric *vision*, or seeing at a distance by electricity, and a thousand others springing up every day, we begin to get confused and ask if this earth is after all only a vast dynamo, with its poles a little awkwardly placed, the meridians serving for wires, and men only specks of dust held on by electrical attraction. Whatever may be thought about all this, one thing is certain, and that is, that many of the inventions for the application of electricity have come to stay and to supplant forever other older appliances. View it which way we will, there can be no doubt that, a very few years hence, electricity will be the prime mover of the world. However, before reaching the true electrical Utopia, there is one grave difficulty to be surmounted. The minor obstacles, such as the danger to life and property attending its use, the mechanical defects in the instruments employed, its waywardness and beautiful uncertainty, are being rapidly and successfully overcome.

The most formidable obstacle, in fact, the only formidable obstacle is, to put it prosaically, its relatively high cost. It may be a surprise to many to be told that the trouble here does not come from electricity itself, but from entirely different causes.

There are two sources of electricity at present available; the primary battery and the dynamo. In the former the energy of certain chemical actions is converted into electrical energy, at the expense of the materials used up. These materials, so far as tried, are all too dear to allow the electricity generated by their means to enter into competition with other sources of energy. It is the cost of zinc and acids and other chemicals which prohibits the use of the primary battery on anything like a large scale. The whole range of known substances has been pretty well worked over, with results that are entirely unsatisfactory. The battery has its uses, but only in a small way, for very light work, where larger sources of energy would be cumbersome and unwieldy. It is true that more energy can be got out of the same materials in the electric battery than in any other way, but those materials, as we have said, cost too much, so that, unless their price can be reduced to a mere fraction of what it is now, or some hitherto unknown substance comes to the front, it is simply useless to think of the primary battery as a source of energy either for light, or heat, or power, or for any other practical purpose of any magnitude.

The other source of electrical energy that we named is the dynamo. Ah, well, so it is often called, but it is hardly correct to call the dynamo a *source* of energy; it is indeed totally incorrect to do so; for the dynamo gives out only the energy put into it, and not even quite all of that. It must be driven by a steam-engine, or a gas-engine, or a water-motor, wheel or turbine, or an equivalent of some kind. Neither again is the steam-engine, nor any one of the others, a *source* of energy. They too give out merely what is put into them, or rather a part of it, and never create anything. The real *terrestrial source of energy*, in either case, is the coal, or the gas, or the water of an elevated reservoir. In these cases the energy is slumbering, and we call it *potential* energy; but a touch will awaken it; the touch of a match to the fuel, the touch of a tiny hand to the water gate, and the giant shakes his mane, puts forth his strength, and, if properly harnessed and guided, makes the wheels of industry to revolve. We said "*terrestrial source of energy*," because we may go farther back yet, and find that the energy of the coal or gas, and of the store of water was put into them by the heat and light of the sun, and, in an infinitesimal degree, by the heat and light of the fixed stars. Boilers, engines, water-wheels, are but the means of turning the energy of the burning coal or gas, or of the falling water into other channels, or of transforming it into other kinds of energy, for various uses, according to the will of him who, in a certain way, presides by right of sovereignty over it all, the master, man. The energy of a thing in motion is called *kinetic* energy. When now this energy is put into the armature of a dynamo, so as to cause it to revolve, if other things are properly arranged, the form of energy known as electricity results; and, waiving some little unavoidable losses which can fairly be accounted for, the electrical output follows very closely on the amount of mechanical energy put in. Thus, a good dynamo at its best, has been made to render back 99 per cent. of the energy it received from the

steam-engine. A good practical result, if kept up steadily and that can be done under fairly favorable conditions, is a return of 90 per cent. With this we have serious reason to be dissatisfied. Were it possible to find an unfailing natural supply of water at a sufficient elevation, within easy distance of the points where needed, we could have our electrical energy at very reasonable rates. This, except in rare cases, is manifestly out of the question, especially so in cities where precisely it is most needed.

We turn, therefore, to the steam-engine, under which term, in the remainder of this article, we include the whole steam-plant from the fire-door to the exhaust-pipe. And now our troubles begin. True, we look on with wonder when we see a locomotive weighing, say twenty-five tons, hauling a train of perhaps a thousand tons at the rate of forty, sixty, sometimes seventy-five miles an hour, and think that all this energy comes from a few shovels of coal. We look on with a sensation akin to awe when we see the engines of a great ocean steamer (capable, as they are, of putting forth an energy of more than six hundred million foot-pounds, that is, capable of raising that many pounds of matter one foot per minute steadily) breathing, and panting, and heaving, like a leviathan at his work, and reflect that all its energy is due to the combustion of a few tons of coal. Surely, 'tis a magnificent machine. And yet, those engines are a stupendous fraud. We know the value, for mechanical work, of every pound of coal we burn, and we know that the most perfect combination of boilers and engines ever made gives us back but twenty per cent., at most, of the energy of the coal, while the common, every-day types often fail to give us ten. All the rest, from eighty to ninety per cent., is sheer loss, just the reverse of the figures given by the dynamo. If the engine wasted only ten per cent., and the dynamo ten per cent., of what was left, then, coupling them together, we would still have eighty-one per cent of the coal-energy returned to us. But when the engine wastes, on an average, eighty-five per cent., and the dynamo ten per cent. of what is left, the consequence is, that we get back from the coal only thirteen and five-tenths per cent., of its real value. This is a very poor showing.

What, then, is to be done? Why, improve the engine till it gives back as fair a percentage of the energy put into it as the dynamo does. Well, yes, that's just the rub. Try it a little, and send us word of your successes. They won't occupy much space on paper. The best engineers of the world, from the days of Watts, have attacked that problem from every side, and have got no further than what we have stated above. There seem to be inherent defects, so nicely adjusted, that if you cure one you make the others worse.

The only other course that seems possible is to throw boiler, engine, and dynamo into the scrap heap, and get our electrical energy *directly from the coal*. How to do this is the problem before the electrical world now. Other problems there are, but this is the most important one. Only think of it. We get now, out of our coal, about 13.5 per cent of its energy. We ought to get at least seven times as much in the form of

electrical energy ; and with electrical energy, of which we would then have plenty, we could run the world. Heat, light, and motive power in abundance ; what more do you ask ? From a purely material standpoint that, surely, ought to satisfy us. Instead of three hundred and twenty tons of coal a day, the grand Teutonic could run on forty-five, and have all the greater carrying capacity. A much higher speed could be maintained, both by land and sea, and the risks of accident diminished rather than increased ; this, especially on railroads, on which, by well-known means, collisions would become simply impossible. Some writers have indulged in a good deal of rhapsody about running a steamship across the Atlantic on a wheelbarrow of coal and a glass of water. The sober truth will probably turn out to be about what we have stated above.

Now, we do not want merely to get electricity directly from coal ; that has been done, among others, by Edison. It is useless to describe the apparatus employed, since it does not do what we want, viz., convert *all*, or nearly all, the stored-up energy of the coal into electrical energy, and that directly, without wasting, as we do now, nearly nine-tenths of it in the process. The project is a baby yet ; will it ever grow up to manhood ? We believe it will. We know of no reason why it should not. Electricity direct from coal. It looks far more promising than did many problems that have been settled during the last decade. Electric motors were playthings ten years ago. Now, there are hundreds of electric railroads all over the land. Greater discoveries have been made, over and over again. All we want is another Faraday, and a couple of new Edisons, and the discovery will be on hand to discover the man, not the man to make the discovery. Step up, gentlemen, and try your luck ; some of you will, some of you must, sooner or later, succeed, and be crowned with no end of glory and renown.

RAIN ON TAP.

"Streams never flow in vain ; where streams abound,
How laughs the land, with various plenty crowned !"

—COWPER.

WHERE rain falls frequently and in sufficiency, there streams will abound, and the "plenty" of the poet will naturally follow. There are many places on the earth, some quite extensive ones in our own country, where the rainfall is far from being sufficient for the purposes of agriculture. Such, for example, are parts of eastern Iowa, Colorado and western Kansas. Irrigation is about impossible on account of the large extent of country to be covered and the great distance of the water supplies. If, now, rain could be produced by artificial means, and they did not prove too costly, it would be a boon indeed. The experiment is about to be tried. How ? There has been a tradition current from time immemorial that great battles have usually been followed by rain.

storms, more or less severe. Taking this cue, Mr. Francis Powers investigated the history of the case as far as possible, and in 1871 published a work entitled "War and the Weather, or the Artificial Production of Rain." He cites many examples of rain speedily following on great battles. In the Mexican war of 1846 and 1847, he finds six cases. In the first year of our civil rebellion (1861), nine cases; in 1862, forty; in 1863, thirty; in 1864, twenty-eight; in 1865, six: thus making, in this war of four years, one hundred and thirteen battles, or heavy skirmishes, followed pretty closely by rain. Eighteen cases are noted in Europe during the past century, making in all one hundred and thirty-seven well attested examples. Mr. Powers argues that there must be a relation of cause and effect, whatever the mode of action of the cause may be. He thinks that the particles of smoke may serve as the *nuclei* for rain-drops, around which the concussion of the air causes the moisture to condense. Objections have been raised to this theory, notably by the "American Journal of Science," in which it is contended that the cases cited above were probably mere coincidences; that it rains pretty frequently in the places mentioned anyhow, and would probably have rained, battle or no battle. Moreover, the observations were not taken with sufficient care as to the exact time between the beginning of a battle and the beginning of rain, nor of the state of the weather immediately before (in other words, Old Probabilities was not consulted), nor of the general rainfall of the locality. At a time when men are putting forth their best energies, physical and mental, to murder each other from the face of the earth, they would not be likely to busy themselves much about what was going on in the sky.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting cases which seem to speak in more definite tones. At the siege of Valenciennes, June, 1793, the weather was hot and dry; shortly after the cannonading began, rain fell as violently as unexpectedly. About three hundred pieces of cannon were in action at the same time. Again, at the battle of Dresden, August, 1813, the weather, serene and hot, changed suddenly during the battle, and rain fell in torrents. "At Waterloo, June 17, 1815, the weather," according to the historian Siborne, "had been excessively hot during the morning. It was a dead calm, not a leaf stirred, the atmosphere was close to an intolerable degree, while a dark, heavy, dense cloud impended over the combatants. . . . The moment the brigade guns commenced firing, the concussion seemed to rebound through the still atmosphere, and communicate like an electric spark with the heavily-charged mass above. A violent thunder-clap burst forth, which was immediately followed by a rain which has never probably been exceeded even in the tropics."

Humboldt says that when a volcano bursts out in South America, even during the *dry* season, it sometimes changes it to a rainy one. Moreover, in very hot weather, forest fires are generally followed by heavy floods of rain. This has been noticed so often that it seems reasonable to suppose there is some connection between the columns of smoke and the rainfall. Also, Senator Farwell, of Illinois, says that during the con-

struction of the Central Pacific Railroad through the arid regions east of the Rocky Mountains, where a great deal of blasting was necessary, it rained every day there was blasting.

So far as records and deductions from them are concerned, no conclusion seems to be within reach. The only means to settle the question is to test it experimentally, not indeed by fighting the battles over again, but in a more peaceful way; and this is what is going to be done.

Senator Farwell has obtained an appropriation of \$2000 from Congress for the purpose of carrying on experiments of this kind. This sum will not be sufficient, but the Senator intends to supplement it from his own resources, and make a thorough test. Smoky and smokeless explosives, powder, nitroglycerine, dynamite, etc., and smoke without explosions will be tried. The circumstances of time and place and state of the atmosphere thermometrically, barometrically and hygrometrically will be carefully noted and weighed. Everything will be tried that can be suspected of having any influence on the result. There will be explosions at sea-level, on the hill-tops, in captive balloons; in dry weather, in damp weather, in hot weather, in cool weather. The result will be awaited with much interest on all sides.

FOUR GREAT TOWERS.

THE first great tower of which we have any record was built in the plain of Sennaar. It was of brick and is believed to have been of monstrous proportions. It can hardly be said to have been a success, never having been finished according to the plans, nor ever having served for the purpose for which it was intended. It came to confusion and was therefore called Babel. Beyond this, little can be said of it, except what has been supplied by the imagination.

When we were preparing for our Centennial Exhibition, of 1876, it was proposed to build a grand tower on the grounds at Philadelphia. The designer, whose name escapes us just now, boasted that he would eclipse the Tower of Babel. He did not do so, for, in a few weeks, they built a wooden box for him, and he was laid away with his unseemly boast. The Tower of Philadelphia came to confusion even earlier in its history than its prototype of Babel, and so it does not count in the list. Neither does the Washington monument count; it has become a mere pigmy in the race skyward.

Next comes the Eiffel Tower, so named after its designer, Mr. Gustave Eiffel, of Paris. It is a magnificent structure, 984 feet high, not including the great lightning-rod. It is built entirely of cast and wrought iron and weighs nearly eight thousand tons. It has proved a success in every way, financially, artistically and scientifically, and unless destroyed by some soulless enemy or the earth give way beneath, it

will be there to greet, with its majestic smile, the famous future traveller from New Zealand.

Not to be behindhand, our English cousins propose to build a tower in London town, taller than anything yet, so tall, indeed, that you might stand Bunker Hill Monument on the top of the Eiffel Tower and still fall far short of the London one ; in fact, a tower of the stupendous height of 1250 feet. The designs are the work of Mr. Henry Davey. It is to be hexagonal in form, built of steel tubes, and the total weight, notwithstanding the great difference in height (266 feet), will not much exceed that of the Eiffel Tower. The lower portion will be closed in, enclosing a floor space of 70,000 square feet, while a basement will afford room for the steam-plant necessary for the elevators, the electric lights, the fountain pumps and for heating purposes.

The design, showing as it does, two different curves, surmounted by a long taper shaft, with another shaft of a somewhat different style above the last, can scarcely be called elegant, and in this respect falls far short of its neighbor across the channel. Perhaps, however, this was to be expected.

The fourth great tower is likewise, as yet, a "thing on paper." Mr. Proctor has promised us, and, we believe, made all arrangements to erect a tower for the Columbian Fair to be held in Chicago. But, alas, we feel humbled, for it is to be *only* 1100 feet high, not quite twice the height of the Washington Monument, and falling short of its London companion by 150 feet. There is one consolation, however, which is that, as far as can be judged by drawings, it will be the most graceful of them all. Light and airy as a bird-cage, with one beautiful curve from the foundation to the lookout, 1000 feet above. The last 100 feet consist of a straight shaft, surmounted by a dome, both shaft and dome in perfect keeping with the main body of the tower below, and a tall flag-staff to crown the whole. The height of the flagstaff is not included in the 1100 feet. The elevators will be capable of taking up and down 8000 passengers per hour. This is about all the details that have been made public up to date ; but the plans are in the hands of the architects and engineers, and we have no doubt that Chicago will see the work put through with her usual vigor. When it is completed, we only ask that we may be there to see.

Book Notices.

LA REPUBLIQUE AMERICAINE ÉTATS-UNIS. Avec une carte de la Formation Politique et Territoriale des États-Unis. Par *Auguste Carlier*. Paris Librairie: Guillaumin et Cie. 1890. 4 vols.

From an enemy we can learn something; from a friend still more. And about our country, its history and institutions, a foreign friend will best instruct us, provided that he be an experienced, a learned, a studious and an intelligent friend. To the foreigner we Americans owe a considerable debt. With much care, without prejudice, disinterestedly, the foreigner has studied our history, our institutions, with a thoroughness and a perspicacity that we have not brought—probably could not bring—to the work. National pride, local vanity, political prejudice, are so many mists that rise up spontaneously between us and the truth whenever we would see ourselves as we have been and as we are.

The benefit we have gained from foreign study and criticism has been freely acknowledged. De Tocqueville we have quoted as if he were a whole bible of authority on our past and our future. To Von Holst we turn when we would be certain just why and how we were constituted. Mr. Bryce is the last judge and seer whose words we repeat as if they were the words of one who has a larger, sounder, knowledge of the American polity than our publicists have thus far shown.

The interest of foreigners in our history and institutions grows apace. Windthorst, the great leader of the German *Centrum*, only echoes a sentiment common to the world of European politics. To the ideas on which our system of government is based, to the development and to the practical application of those ideas, the attention of all thoughtful politicians has been more than ever turned of late. In the near future the ideas and institutions which we have formulated and developed here will win from foreign politicians more than attention and respect. The world, taking a new shape, enlarging men's liberty, diminishing the authority of the paternal State, aiming at a more secure personal independence, and determined to be relieved of the foolish, the intolerable burdens, to which society has been subjected by princes more taken with dynastic ambitions than with the true interest of the people—the world will, of necessity, Americanize itself in good time. Among the politicians, those who quickly pass from a study of our institutions and ideas to a prudent adaptation of them to other civilizations, will be, deservedly, the leaders and the makers of the men and of the nations to come.

In France, we note a more general recognition of the important part we are to play in the solution of the problems that many nations have before them. Within a twelve-month several thoughtful works on our past and present have come to us from French writers of reputation. Evidently these men have been working, not vainly, not fancifully, whimsically, but to supply the growing demand of reflecting men for a fuller acquaintance with the political history of the United States. Among these works the most complete, the most able, the most instructive, is M. Auguste Carlier's "*La République Américaine*." Readers of Mr. Bryce will find, in the important volumes of M. Carlier, a more scholarly study of the principles upon which our government has been founded; of the growth of all our institutions, step by step; of our failings, failures, contradictions, attainments, dangers; and of the various

factors that, from time to time, have modified our social life. M. Carlier's book was ready for the press before Mr. Bryce's book appeared, but a serious illness prevented the learned Frenchman from attending to the details of publication. Meantime, he had a chance to compare the work of the English author with his own, and he has fairly stated, in a short preface, the many subjects which he has patiently explicated, and which, on the other hand, Mr. Bryce wholly neglected. M. Carlier's plan was much broader than Mr. Bryce's. The English writer was more than all interested in comparing American with English institutions, in showing agreements and differences. The French writer does not weaken his study by any distracting comparisons. His subject is the American Republic, pure and simple, as it was and is. He omits no period of our history; he omits no portion of our country; he omits no addition, modification, change, resulting from our rapid growth; he omits none of the problems that have been forced upon the general government and upon the States. Mr. Bryce puts aside the colonial institutions from which our present institutions evolved. About the District of Columbia; about the public domain; about the army, the navy, the militia; about our unfortunate wards, the Indians, he is silent. An incomplete study on any subject may have a value. How much more valuable a thorough study is, readers of M. Carlier's work will fully acknowledge.

Though Auguste Carlier is not unknown to students of American history, a short sketch of his life, making him better known, will be a most fitting introduction to a review of his book. Born at Chauny, in 1803, he was educated for the law, took his degree at Paris, and there practised until his forty-third year. At this age, poor health, a good income, and studious tastes, all influenced him to adopt a new career,—the study of mankind. For several years he travelled, visiting Italy, Austria, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, England, not a mere sight-seer, but a student of history, art, literature, philosophy and religion. Then, in 1855, he determined to know something more positive about the United States than could be learned from books. Here he came, and here he remained several years, passing from city to city, North, East, West, South, inquiring, noting everywhere. The temper in which he pursued his American studies we learn from his own written words: "Among modern nations, the North Americans are, perhaps, better placed, and in better condition, to exercise a great influence on the future of the world. From whatever point of view America be surveyed, the philosopher and the historian will discover a vast range of studies, daily expanding more and more." With men like Benton, Benjamin, Everett, Sumner, Ticknor, Carey, Quincy, Longfellow, he formed lasting friendships, and was thus enabled to study America and Americans more closely, more intelligently, and to reach all the sources of our history. M. Carlier's mind was original, strong. Habits of study, a scientific spirit, the experience gained by travel and comparison, made him precise, exact. How thorough he was, is proven on every page of these four volumes. The detail he mastered testifies not only to his patience, but also to his talent and to his honesty.

After his return to France he published, in 1860, a most instructive volume on "Marriage in the United States." In this country M. Carlier's book attracted notice, and made a considerable impression. Frankly he called the attention of American statesmen to a grave danger—the increasing number of divorces. Seven years after the appearance of the French edition, Dr. Joy Jeffries, of Boston, published a translation of M. Carlier's book. This translation was widely read and noticed,

and is invaluable to all those who would inform themselves about a question of interest to every patriot, a moral question that is at the same time political, in the highest sense of the word. In 1862 a second volume, evidencing the extent of Auguste Carlier's studies, and his grasp of American problems and interests, was offered to the public: "*L'Esclavage dans ses Rapports avec l'Union Américaine.*" This work merited more attention than it received on this side of the water. M. Claudio Jannet, than whom none is more competent to judge, says that, in this work, M. Carlier displayed "a knowledge of history and an acquaintance with contemporaneous facts possessed by no other European in the same degree." Two years later, M. Carlier issued a third work: "*L'Histoire du Peuple Américain depuis la Fondation des Colonies Anglaises jusqu'à la Révolution de 1776.*" In this original study, based wholly on documents, the learned author narrated the history of the American colonies with a completeness hitherto unknown. He was the first one to study, in detail, the varying relations of the colonies with the Indians. Inquirers who have been satisfied with a reading of American writers on this period of our history may be tempted to enlarge their course after hearing M. Claudio Jannet's statement: 'All the authors who have since written on the history of the United States have largely borrowed from M. Carlier's work.'

At the ripe age of eighty-six, M. Carlier's studies were ended by death. The last twenty years of his life he gave wholly to the great work whose title heads this inadequate review. 'To the United States his thoughts were constantly turned. He lived amid the books and journals of that country.' 'He wished to go to the bottom of things, and to expose the institutions of the United States as they are in themselves, and in their application to the real life of the country.' In order to do this faithfully, he patiently retraced the history of every branch of our government, 'following their development step by step, from the records of the legislatures and of the courts, and from the no less valuable records of events.' The labor was enormous; the result is a fitting recompense; for these four volumes will not only place the name of Auguste Carlier high on the roll of the historians of our century, but will also render invaluable aid to jurists, economists, legislators, American as well as foreign, who, now or in the future, seek to have an intelligent notion of one of the most wonderful and promising movements the world has witnessed.

In 1887, before his work had gone through the press, M. Carlier was prostrated by a severe illness. "Were it not," he graciously says, "for the sincere friendship and the devotion of M. Claudio Jannet, one of the most distinguished economists of our day, it would have been impossible for me to correct the proofs, or to supervise the publication of my book." Indeed it is to M. Jannet's pen that we are indebted for the twelfth and thirteenth books of the third volume; in which the author intended to survey, as M. Jannet does, knowingly and suggestively, the place of religion in our American institutions, and the systems of public instruction that have been and are current in the United States.

The first volume of M. Carlier's work (pp. 14 and 588) is devoted to a history of the formation of the colonies and of the changes brought about by the war of Independence and by the Confederation. In colony after colony he traces social conditions, moral and political principles, methods of government, as each one of these factors was influenced by the home government, or by the restless men that Providence led to the new land of promise. A careful reading of M. Carlier's pages will surprise and advantage the many who have been taught to believe that our

forefathers were all filled with high ideals, and worked, fought, bled under the influence of a pure and passionate love for sweet liberty—and especially for liberty of conscience. Magazine writers on these subjects, and on the ever popular subject of the Free School, will be saved many blunders and be helped to a clearer insight into the minds of the colonial Puritan, Anglican and Quaker, by an unprejudiced reading of M. Carlier's first volume.

Writing a true history, M. Carlier has done something more; he has corrected false historians. It is not alone in France that de Tocqueville and Laboulaye are still quoted as authorities. M. Carlier notes their many misstatements, their imperfect acquaintance with our history, their contradictions, and thus assists two clever men to the modest place to which they are entitled among writers on American democracy and American politics.

With the War of Independence the colonial gave way to the State governments. Out of great trials, great mistakes, great sacrifices, a new order is evolved. Skilfully M. Carlier traces the various steps by which the country acquired its independence; critically he judges actions and policies, ideas and men. Had we space we would reproduce here a page in which he handles Jefferson and his 'demoralizing ideas' with a deserved severity. If we learn from a Frenchman rightly to estimate this able demagogue and bad philosopher, we, and those who come after us, will be relieved of many dangers that threaten our progress, thanks to the "popularity" of the infidel Virginia politician.

In the second volume of his important work (pp. 615), M. Carlier studies in detail the new system of government which was finally formulated in the Constitution. The powers of each branch of the Administration, the problems to be surmounted in defining these powers, the different theories prevalent at the time, the clashings, the compromises, are here discussed in a masterly way, succinctly, clearly. Every addition to the system originally adopted, every modification introduced up to the time of the publication of this volume, is explained to the reader.

Among the most interesting chapters of the second volume are the three treating of "the human races in the United States." The problem we have been so anxious to make difficult for ourselves—the problem of assimilating all the peoples of the world—M. Carlier fully appreciated. Under a greater division, by races, he sketches our treatment of the white man, the black, the yellow and the red men; our naturalization laws, their effect and their defects. Legislators who deserve the name will find in these chapters practical hints that might well be turned to our country's benefit. The Sixth Book, which M. Carlier devotes to that curious structure 'which is neither a State, nor a fragment of a State, nor a Territory,'—the District of Columbia,—is full of interest. In little, one may here learn the variableness, the restlessness, the vices of men, and the vast difficulties that the rulers of great kingdoms and empires have to contend with. But it is in the following forty chapters, on the Territories and on the National Domain, that M. Carlier's patience, knowledge, labor, and judgment are most effectively shown. His review of legislation on these two important subjects is complete; not a detail of any value is omitted. The reader who would inform himself about the formation of the Territories may turn to M. Carlier's book for a satisfactory summary; the reader who desires to know how the National Domain has been managed, or how much of a National Domain there is just now, or what part the General Government played in the construction of the trans-continental railroads, or the details of legislation affecting inter-State commerce, will find M. Carlier a safe and honest guide.

In Volume III. (p. 597), we have an historical sketch of the organization and regulation of the army, of the navy, and of the militia, to which even specialists will refer with profit. To review this volume in the space of a page would be to do it an injustice. We hope to see some of our public men review at length the chapters on "The State, its Sovereignty and its Government," and the following chapters on "Local Government." Here M. Carlier analyzes our whole State system—its structure, the division of power, the prerogatives and limits of legislature and executive, the duties of officials, citizenship, elections, the domain of law, vested rights, taxation, and police, the corporation (municipal and private), the "township" in the different States, the county system, the municipal system. Even American politicians may be still further enlightened about the States they so wisely rule, by a study of M. Carlier's admirable third volume. Nor does the value or the interest of the volume end with the chapters on State and local government. The subject of religious liberty, the relations of Church and State under the Constitution of the United States and of the States, and the subject of "Public Instruction," are presented by M. Claudio Jannet with equal detail and a like understanding of the spirit of our Constitution, of the genius of our people, of our legislation, and of the varying views that influence the present generation. M. Jannet, as we saw, paid a high compliment to M. Carlier. To say of M. Jannet that no European knows the United States better than he, is to pay M. Jannet no compliment. We commend the chapters on "Religion" and on "Public Instruction" to men of all creeds who honestly desire the permanence of good government in North America.

A trained jurist, M. Carlier displays his remarkable learning, and his scholarly application, in the last volume (pp. 408), where he reviews the "Judiciary System of the Union and of the States." After some general considerations on the judiciary of the United States, and a survey of the sources of American law, the learned author analyzes the methods adopted in applying those written and unwritten codes that make up the body of the law. He explains the distribution of judicial power between the States and the general Government, the organization of the several courts, the modes of nomination and election of judges, the jurisdiction and competence of each several court, the rules of procedure, the origin and *rôle* of grand and petit juries, the rights and obligations of witnesses, the value of verdicts, the question of appeal, the function of courts of impeachment, the reason and jurisdiction of the "Court of Claims." M. Carlier's method is most exacting, costly to himself, and immeasurably helpful to his reader. There are few of our jurists who could have written with the knowledge and insight he evidences; there are few lawyers, and no laymen, who will not find in his volume an instructive "short course" in American Jurisprudence.

The subject of American Justice forms a happy introduction to the subject of the American Indians; and it is with a history of our relations with the Indians, and of our treatment of them, from the colonial days down to the present time, that M. Carlier closes his fourth and last volume. Fighting with and against them, protecting them, massacring them, treating with them, parleying with them, robbing them, confederating them, reserving them, bureaucratizing them, schooling them, and yet never civilizing them, the history of our relations with the Indians is not creditable to American politics or to American morals. A more familiar acquaintance with our past doings may lead this generation to seek to remove the blot that our forefathers have fixed on the fair fame of a Christian nation, and may inspire the living to do to the Indians

as white men would be done by. To M. Carlier we owe a debt for telling us the story of our own misdoings. Could we but hope that all our young men would read the last half of his last volume, we could have no doubt as to the future of the Indian. Honest, just government,—give this to the Indian! The white man knows that where this is lacking, the word “civilization” is meaningless.

French scholarship has long compelled the respect of the world. How fresh its traditions are, at the end of this century, M. Carlier's work plainly shows. The votaries of archæology, of the study of mummies, broken monuments, dead civilizations, dead languages, press their pursuits and results upon us with a commendable use of the most modern systems of advertising. Their patience, their ingenuity, we admire; but what real value, what practical use, have their pursuits, compared with the value and use of studies of living men, of living institutions, and of a living civilization, great not by its buried memorials, but by its living, active forces, its splendid realizations, and more splendid promise? To the scholar who devotes the better portion of a lifetime, unselfishly, to these larger, more thoughtful, more beneficial studies, we cannot too often or too loudly express our gratitude. Time will but increase Auguste Carlier's reputation among the students of American history. The wise will prove his value by promptly making use of this learning and of the experience treasured in the four volumes of “*La République Américaine*.”

IPSE, IPSA; IPSE, IPSA, IPSUM. WHICH?—Controversial letters in answer to the above question, and in vindication of the position assigned by the Catholic Church to the Ever-Blessed Mother of the World's Redeemer in the Divine Economy of Man's Salvation. In reply to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Kingdon, Coadjutor Anglican Bishop of Fredericton, New Brunswick, and John M. Davenport, Ritualist Minister, St. John, New Brunswick. By *Richard F. Quigley*, L.L.B. Fr. Pustet & Co. New York and Cincinnati.

The origin of this large volume of 471 pages was as follows: In November, 1887, Bishop Kingdon delivered a lecture in Trinity Church School-house, St. John, New Brunswick, on “Misprints,” in the course of which he said, according to the *Globe* report: “Sometimes the substitution of one letter for another made a vast difference, and as an illustration of this he referred to the words IPSE and IPSA, the latter word, in an important passage in the Douay Bible, being the foundation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.”

Mr. Quigley, a barrister-at-law of St. John, was present at that lecture, and on the spot, immediately after the lecture, he protested to the Secretary of the Lecture Committee against the incorrectness and unfairness of the Bishop's statement. He then wrote to the *Globe* newspaper a long letter, declaring that statement incorrect and baseless; that the question was not whether the true reading is *ipse* or *ipsa*, but rather *ipse*, *ipsa* or *ipsum*, and that whatever reading be preferred, that the text in question, *ipse*, *ipsa* or *ipsum conteret caput tuum*, “he, she or it shall crush thy head,” has never been quoted as the foundation for the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The Bishop did not deign to reply, but in his stead Rev. Mr. Davenport, a Ritualist Minister of St. John, undertook the Bishop's defence. The result was a long series of letters which Mr. Quigley has here gathered together in book form under three heads: a Résumé, a Rejoinder, a Rebutter. We are glad that these letters have thus been permanently preserved; for they deserve it. We would have wished that the author had imitated the patient and kindly courtesy of Dr. Newman's answer to Pusey's “Eirenicon” and avoided all personalities and

severe and uncharitable expressions. He seems to have felt it to be a mistake, and towards the end of his letters strives to vindicate his conduct in this regard; but we feel his work would have been far more convincing and more effective had he kept under control all display of feeling. Again, we would have wished to see at least a general index of the letters, and, better still, an index of the exceedingly valuable information, his deep and critical knowledge has thus given to the public. Mr. Davenport did not allow the author to confine the controversy to the two questions brought forward by the Bishop, but made it embrace the whole subject of Catholic devotion to the Blessed Mother of God. Mr. Quigley first took up the various readings, *ipse, ipsa, ipsum*, and vindicated the reading of the Vulgate *ipsa* (not of the Douay!) It is wonderful what an amount of critical learning he here displays: Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts, manuscripts, versions, Fathers, scriptural critics—all are summoned to bear witness to the reading “she” or “it.” We do not know where our readers could find this question treated more exhaustively or with greater critical power. The author then shows from the Bull “*Ineffabilis Deus*” the dogmatic constitution of the Immaculate Conception, that only the first part of the text is quoted in support of the dogma, and that no mention at all is made, textually, of the words, “she shall crush thy head.” He demonstrates from Catholic theologians that all agree, no matter which of the three readings be adopted, the dogma can be proved as well from either. He then follows the Ritualistic Vicar and answers his objections taken from the “Glories of Mary” and the *Raccolta*. Here the author is at his best and his vast erudition is displayed—devotion to Mary in all ages, the intercession of the Saints, the Rule of St. Vincent of Lerins, Little-dale’s “Plain Reasons,” Pusey’s “Eirenicon”—are all thoroughly and critically examined.

Not only are Wiseman, Newman, Manning, Harper, Passaglia, Ward and Brownson called to his aid, but leading Anglican theologians and Bishops as well. He passes over no difficulty, and this part of his work is invaluable to the Catholic reader; for it is a veritable arsenal, richly furnished with weapons of every kind to overthrow the enemies of our heavenly Queen. We have read the whole volume, not only with pleasure and edification, but we have found it one of the very best we have thus far seen. Mr. Quigley deserves the gratitude of every Catholic, and we hope his publishers will find that his labors are appreciated. We recommend the book cordially to all our readers. In his preface the author says: “What I desiderate in Protestant teachers is a knowledge of the Catholic doctrines they attack. In the conscientious discharge of their duties from their standpoint, they may feel themselves obliged to point out errors (so-called) in the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Of this no reasonable man can complain, but for heaven’s sake let them first learn exactly what these doctrines are. We will then have less of the wild figments of hysterical imaginations and pandemonium caricatures of beliefs, in defence of which the mightiest intellects that ever adorned our race have found their highest sphere, and of which genius allied with sanctity have ever been the most persuasive and enthusiastic exponents.” “More Light.” This is what those outside the Church need. It was this spurred our author on in writing his letters. He wished his Protestant friends to understand the Catholic doctrine of devotion to Mary, the Mother of God. We hope God has blessed his writings with abundant fruit in New Brunswick. He has sown good seed and the Lord will see that it brings forth abundant fruit. We hope Mr. Quigley will not allow his pen to remain idle, but that he

will often use it for the defence of the Church and Catholic truth. He has the talents, the education, the deep reading. We need such laymen.

MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY. By the *Rev. T. Gilmartin*, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Vol. I. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son; London: Burns & Oates. 1890.

"Very few words are required to explain the purpose and plan of this work. It is intended as a class-book for ecclesiastical students who have to read a course of Church History in a comparatively short time." Thus writes the Reverend Professor of Ecclesiastical History of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, in the short Preface with which the book opens. After reading Vol. I. of the "Manual," we have no hesitation in saying that he has done something more than write a good "class-book for ecclesiastical students who have to read a course of Church History in a comparatively short time." He has written a very good summary of the history of the Church from the time of the Apostles down to the Pontificate of Gregory VII.—a summary useful not only to ecclesiastical students who *have* to take a short course, but useful also to the crowd of "college" men who are supposed to absorb a sufficient knowledge of Church History without any course whatsoever. Intelligent and inquiring laymen will be thankful to the Reverend T. Gilmartin for a work that, within reasonable compass, permits them to do, of themselves, what no college professors seem to think it worth while doing with them.

The author's plan is well conceived, and he writes most agreeably, with a style notable for simplicity and clearness—a style not common in or out of manuals. A system of marginal notes and an alphabetical index are helps whose convenience will be recognized by the unprofessional reader as well as by the seminarian. Details that are properly narrated and discussed at length in learned critical works are summarily disposed of here; and yet no important detail is sacrificed. There is a pleasing absence of foreign words from the text. Of references there are enough to guide the reader who would form an acquaintance with the best sources, and not enough to confuse the beginner, or to make him imagine that, in the notes of a Manual, he has acquired an exhaustive knowledge of Church History and historians.

The chapters on the Early Christian Apologists, on the Catechetical Schools of Alexandria, on Christian Monachism, on the Sacraments, and Feasts and Fasts in the Early Church, and on the Nicene Fathers, are exceptionally good. In the explanation of the character of the greater heresies of the first seven centuries, and in the sketches of the persons who devised and practiced these heresies, as well as in the account of the actions of Popes and Councils in defence of the Faith, the Reverend Professor at Maynooth shows no less judgment and skill. We have compared his work with that of other highly reputed scholars whose manuals have been translated into English, and, in our humble opinion, he has handled these various subjects better than they; with a more exact measure of the requirements of young men "who have to read a course of Church History in a comparatively short time."

The story of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland and Scotland, and of the conversion of the Teutonic nations is well told, and told in few words. About St. Patrick's birth-place, the Reverend author has a view which he expresses very modestly. We quote his words: "According to what appears to be the more generally received opinion,

St. Patrick was a native of Scotland, and was born probably at Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, about the year 372." We prefer Father William Morris's position, as stated in the preface to his valuable "Life of St. Patrick": "The mystery of St. Patrick's birth-place still remains a mystery. Boulogne, Tours, Dumbarton, Kilpatrick, Baunave, Bristol, Paisley, Cornwall, Glastonbury, Rosnatt Valley, Perpediac, Carlisle, Carleon, and Bath, still contend for the distinction, like the seven rival cities which laid claim to Homer." Without more contemporary testimony than we now have, the opinions of moderns, however learned or acute, will not be generally received.

In that portion of Vol. I. dealing with the "Second Period," A.D. 692 to A.D. 1517, the Reverend author has offered students a number of studies on the Papacy, worthy of especial notice for their correctness and perspicuity. The chapters on the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes, and on the Papacy from A.D. 888 to A.D. 1046, resume, in small space, the results of much inquiry and thought, and show the talent and the spirit of a true historian. Nor can we say less of the chapters dealing with the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and with the secular clergy and Monasticism during this epoch. Always fair in his judgments, and frank in his statement of facts, Professor Gilmartin is a rarely safe guide as a historian and as a Churchman. We commend his Manual to the attention of our Seminaries, and of our laity of either sex.

"I hope," writes the author, "on some future occasion, to supplement the present volume by the addition of a second." We should have preferred reading an "I promise," rather than "I hope;" and a fixed date would have been more encouraging than the vague "on some future occasion." We hope that the Reverend Maynooth professor will not halt, but will speedily announce his second volume. Something may depend on the favor shown by the public to this first volume. The book once known, there can be little doubt of a considerable demand. It is too good to be passed over. If it should not circulate widely, there will be none to blame but the publisher. The type is good, very good, the printer's work middling, but the binding is disgraceful. How any one can be so supremely dead to all sense of consideration for a learned author, and an intelligent public largely made up of ecclesiastical students, it is hard to conceive. The evil of slop-work binding is such a crying evil now-a-days, especially among Catholic publishers—whatever their nationality—that it behooves all writers and readers to unite in a loud protest. And we know few who have more right to protest than the able author of this Manual of Church History.

DIE KATAKOMBENGEMÄLDE UND IHRE ALTEN COPIEN, EINE IKONOGRAPHISCHE STUDIE VON JOSEPH WILPERT, MIT 28 TAFELN IN LICHTDRUCK. Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, Freiburg im Breisgau. 1891. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo. \$6.75.

Wilpert is a young German scholar who for some years past has made a special study of the Roman catacombs under the direction of that prince of Christian archæologists, Commendatore de Rossi. He is already known by his work, "Fundamental Principles of Christian Archæology in Relation to the Investigations of Von Schultze, Hasenclever and Achelis."

His present work is a critical examination of the old copies of the paintings of the catacombs found in the works of Ciacconio, Bosio, and De Winge.

The work of Ciacconio is the first on the subject, and contains copies taken from the catacombs of Jordani, St. Priscilla, Novella, St. Calix-

tus, St. Domitilla, the Vigna Massimi, Via Latina, and the Crypt of St. Valentine. Bosio's work, "*Roma Sotterranea*," goes over the same ground, and was published in 1632. Our author's object is to show the more striking errors that are to be found in the copies of the mural paintings of the catacombs contained in these early works, and which have been reproduced uninterruptedly in almost all works on the Roman catacombs. The copyist for Bosio was a painter named Giovanni Angelo Santini Toccafondi, of Sienna, to whose artistic taste our author ascribes most of the fanciful changes that have been introduced.

Following in the footsteps of Bosio, came Arringhi, with his two folio volumes; Boldetti, with his observations on the cemeteries of the holy martyrs and ancient Christians of Rome (1720); Bottari, "*Sculpture and Pictures Taken from the Cemeteries of Rome*," three volumes, 1738-1754; Marangoni, "*Appendix on the Cemetery of Saints Thraso and Saturninus, with the Acts of St. Victorinus*," Rome, 1740; the great Jesuit, Father Marchi, and, in our own day, the grand works of Garrucci and De Rossi. The work is gotten up in sumptuous style, and contains twenty-eight plates in phototype. Any library having a copy of Bosio needs this work of Wilpert, and whoever wishes to have a fair idea of the mural paintings of the catacombs and who cannot purchase the regal edition of De Rossi, will be glad to know of this publication of Wilpert.

It is well known that the early Christians of Rome, out of reverence for the dead, did away with the pagan custom of cremating their bodies. From the very beginning they buried the dead. In the early Church there existed a distinct sacred order of ministers known as *fossores*. These were the men who designed that veritable necropolis which exists all around Rome, under ground; which extends, with its innumerable galleries hewn out of the soft rock, for miles on miles; and which, in the days of persecution, served both as a resting-place for the dead and a place of worship for the living. When peace was restored to the Church by Constantine, in the beginning of the fourth century, the Christians came forth to the light of day, and temples sprang up all over the empire, but for many years after the catacombs were still used for interments. Gradually as other cemeteries were established, the catacombs fell into disuse, but for some centuries they continued to be visited as holy and venerated sanctuaries on account of the martyrs and saintly pontiffs interred there. In the catacombs of St. Sebastian and St. Calixtus, which are now united, there were buried, according to an inscription at St. Sebastian's, 147,000 martyrs and faithful Christians and 46 of the early Roman Pontiffs, most of them also martyrs. With the incursion of the barbarians, but especially of the Lombards, the catacombs were devastated and finally filled up with rubbish, so that by the end of the ninth century all traces of them had apparently disappeared. It was on May 31, 1578, whilst digging in the puzzolano beds on the Via Salaria Nova, the workmen came across the opening to the Catacombs of the Jordani. The most precious discoveries of epitaphs, fragments of sarcophagi with reliefs of all kinds, and mural paintings of sacred and doctrinal subjects were the results of the excavations. The whole Christian world rejoiced in the magnificent revelations which were constantly made, and from that day to this the work has been carried on, and has always claimed the attention and study of the lovers of Christian antiquity and of Christian art. We have here in stone and painting, in epitaphs and inscriptions, the faith and worship of the early Church brought clearly home to our minds. Devotion to the Blessed Mother of God the martyrs and Saints; their intercession for us, and our invocation of them; the seven

Sacraments, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the Good Shepherd, the Primacy of St. Peter, Sts. Peter and Paul as founders of the Roman Church, the resurrection of our Lord and our own, prayer for the dead—these are only some of the doctrines clearly manifested to have been the faith of the Christians of the catacombs. If our readers have not as yet made a study of this delightful and most instructive subject, we would recommend them to procure Northcote and Brownlow's "Roman Catacombs," an English work which has been published with the cordial approval of De Rossi.

LIFE OF JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY. By *James Jeffrey Roche*. Together with his Complete Poems and Speeches. Edited by Mrs. John Boyle O'Reilly. Introduction by His Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore. New York: Cassell Publishing Company.

It is not an exaggeration to say that no man of our own times and country was more admired and loved by those who knew or intimately knew of him, than was John Boyle O'Reilly and none whose death was more widely and sincerely lamented. He was emphatically a man, the like of whom we rarely see. Those who were nearest to him and had best opportunities of thoroughly knowing him, unite in testifying with accordant voice to the heroism, generosity, tenderness and beauty of his character. In this estimate, those who have had no previous knowledge of him will join, after they shall have read the volume before us.

It opens with a brief and exquisitely beautiful introduction by His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons; then follows an admirable biographical sketch of the life of John Boyle O'Reilly by James Jeffrey Roche, who, in addition to the advantages resulting from a close personal friendship of twenty years, had access to all the papers of the deceased, whether printed or private. The task undertaken by Mr. Roche was evidently a labor of love, yet we do not think that the writer has permitted his feelings to overpower his judgment. He has written with a full heart, but we find no signs in what he has written of any effort or intention to exaggerate the admirable traits of character the deceased possessed. On the contrary, the author's intention seems to have been to simply depict him as he actually and really was. To us, the chief charm of the narrative is its simplicity, naturalness and sincerity.

The biographer describes in successive chapters O'Reilly's birthplace, childhood, apprenticeship in a printing-office, first in Ireland and then in England, and his speedy advancement from the printer's case to the reporter's desk; his going over to Ireland and enlisting when nineteen years of age in the Tenth Hussars, a cavalry regiment of picked men; his joining the Fenians and his arrest. In the next chapter his trial by court-martial is graphically described, and the testimony of the witnesses, and their cross-examination by the accused, are given in full detail.

The verdict of the court-martial was "guilty," and O'Reilly was sentenced to death, but the sentence was immediately commuted to that of imprisonment for life. Just here comes in an incident showing O'Reilly's magnanimity. Some six or seven years afterwards O'Reilly (having escaped from Australia) was called on by one of the informers whose testimony had convicted him. The wretch found himself so shunned and despised by all his fellow-soldiers, English as well as Irish, that he had deserted the army and fled to America. But the story of his treachery had preceded him, and he was starving in the streets of Boston. He called on O'Reilly and appealed to him for assistance. O'Reilly generously forgave him, and provided him with money to supply his imme-

diate wants and pay his way to some place where he would be unknown and might obtain employment.

The author then, in successive chapters, describes O'Reilly's life in prison, first at Pentonville, then, in succession, at Millbank, in the prison brickyards at Chatham, at Dartmoor, and then his transfer to Portland, preparatory to his transportation to Australia. The horrors of these British prisons are told in simple, graphic language without any effort at rhetorical exaggeration; and none, indeed, is needed to impress the reader; the simple statement of the naked facts is all-sufficient. The story of the horrors of the prison-ship, the life of O'Reilly in Australia, his wonderful escape, his landing in Philadelphia, and arrival in Boston, the place of his future residence, on the 2d of January, 1870, is told in like simple manner, partly in the author's own words, and partly by extracts from O'Reilly's letters and papers.

In subsequent chapters the author narrates the chief incidents in John Boyle O'Reilly's subsequent life in Boston, as journalist, poet, literateur, lecturer, the part he took in movements to free Ireland from British misrule, and the part he took also in all that concerned the country of his adoption. O'Reilly's character, too, in private life, in the bosom of his family, in the social and literary clubs of which he was a member; his geniality, courtesy, warmth of heart, unselfishness, are clearly brought to view.

The second part of the volume consists of John Boyle O'Reilly's Poems and Speeches, edited by his bereaved wife. In referring to his poems, we cannot do better than to adopt the words of Cardinal Gibbons: "Few men have felt so powerfully the *divine afflatus* of poesy; few natures have been so fitted to give it worthy response. . . . Such a nature needed an environment of romance, and romantic, indeed, was his career throughout. . . . With surroundings and a career like these, a man of his make could not but be a poet, and a poet he became of truest mould."

Following the poems are a number of speeches on different subjects, all of which are worthy of the man who delivered them and worthy of the occasions that called them forth.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PHILADELPHIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF ST. CHARLES BORROMEIO. 1832-1890. Hardy & Mahony: Philadelphia. 1891.

It was a happy thought of Rev. Augustin J. Schulte, Disciplinarian and Professor of St. Charles Seminary, to gather together the necessary materials for the composition of this historical sketch whilst some few of the very old priests still lived to give him much needed information, and to settle doubts when such arose in his investigations. It was a happy thought, and most beautifully and even thoroughly, as far as documents and persons allowed, has he fulfilled his task. No one except those who encouraged him in his work can understand how much labor this historical pamphlet of sixty-nine pages has entailed. He had to go over the complete files of the *Catholic Herald and Visitor* and *Catholic Standard* from 1832 to 1890, to consult all the Catholic directories and the annual reports of the seminary, the minutes of the seminary board, to write numerous letters to priests both secular and religious, to make certain of the dates and places of ordination of the many priests who have been educated within the walls of this venerable institution, and the result is one which must be a joy to every priest of the diocese, and is a valuable addition to the historical records of the Church in these United States. We hope that what Father Schulte has

done for St. Charles Seminary will stimulate the rectors of our other seminaries to do or to have done the same for their own, that thus gradually we may be able to furnish a complete history of the ecclesiastical pedagogy of the Church in this country.

The book gives a complete list of all the lay trustees of the seminary, its charter, its present faculty, a short introduction concerning the training of seminarians from the time of the Apostles to the Council of Trent, and the history of St. Charles Seminary. Before 1832 there were only four theological seminaries in the United States, viz., Baltimore, Bardstown, Charleston and St. Louis.

Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, D.D., was the founder of St. Charles Seminary in 1832. From humble beginnings it has grown to the magnificent institution it now is, with 146 students and a staff of twelve professors and a course of studies equal to that of any theological seminary of Europe.

We learn from this history that 477 priests have been ordained during the fifty-eight years of its existence. We have also a list of all the secular priests who have labored in the diocese during this period. Our author weaves into his narrative a short life of the bishops and archbishops of Philadelphia—Kenrick, Neumann, Wood and Ryan; of the various rectors of the seminary—Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Bishop Barron, Bishop Michael O'Connor, Bishop Amat, Fathers Maller and Tornatore, C.M., Bishop O'Hara, Bishop Shanahan, V. Rev. Maurice A. Walsh, V.G., Bishop James O'Connor, Monsignor Corcoran, V. Rev. Charles P. O'Connor, D.D., V. Rev. William Kiran, D.D., and the present rector, V. Rev. John E. Fitzmaurice, D.D. He tells us of some of its more distinguished professors; he speaks of its fine library and of a few of its more valuable treasures.

The book is most beautifully illustrated with phototypes of the different bishops and rectors and some of the professors, with views of the old seminary at Eighteenth and Race streets, the preparatory seminary at Glen Riddle and the present grand edifice at Overbrook. There are several views of this seminary, its front, its chapel, both choir and altars and organ gallery, one of its corridors and porches, and its library.

A book containing so many facts and dates could hardly be published without some mistakes, and the author would be thankful to the clergy if they would notify him of any such errors. We have noticed the ordination of Rev. Nevin F. Fisher is placed on July 19, 1886; it should be June 19th, the general ordination in St. John Laterans before Trinity Sunday. It would be inexcusable to conclude this notice without saying a word of commendation for the admirable style in which this historical sketch has been published. Paper, type, illustrations—all are admirable. The work has been published by order of His Grace, Archbishop Ryan, for private circulation, and as a manifestation of his gratitude to the two thousand and eighty-six solicitors for the seminary collection, each of whom will receive a copy. We are sure, however, that His Grace will be so importuned for copies, that he will be forced to allow another edition of the same which may be offered for sale.

THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK, APOSTLE OF IRELAND. With a Preliminary Account of the Sources of the Saint's History. By *William Bullen Morris*, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Fourth Edition. London and New York: Burns & Oates, 1890.

The fact that this work has passed through four editions during the twelve years that have elapsed since it was first published, is a sufficient proof of the favor with which it is generally regarded. Many learned

critics have also highly commended it, though some of these have dissented from the opinions expressed by the author on a few disputed points of minor importance.

It is impossible for the reader who carefully peruses this work not to be impressed with the importance of the results already arrived at, and the still more important ones that it may be reasonably expected will be arrived at, through the exhumation of late years of ancient Celtic manuscripts, and the careful and laborious investigation of them by learned critical scholars in Ireland, England, and other European countries. It may, with truth, be said that it is only during the last few years that collections of ancient Irish manuscripts which were known to be in existence were considered worthy of study, or that it was thought important to search for others that might be in existence. They were regarded as interesting, curious relics of ages past and gone, but not as having any great importance or real historical value.

But of late years it has been discovered that just the opposite of this is the truth; and acute investigators and scholars are now industriously engaged in searching for the treasures, heretofore unsuspected, that lie hidden in the existing collections of ancient Celtic literary remains, and in hunting up and bringing to light other collections or scattered manuscripts, whose number is constantly found to be far greater than was supposed.

In this way much light has been shed, of late years, upon obscure and disputed points in ancient Irish history, and there is every reason to believe that still more light will soon be thrown upon them. The extensiveness of the field of research now open to scholars may be inferred from the fact that the two libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the Royal Academy, contain 600 manuscript Gaelic works, which, if printed, would make more than 30,000 large quarto pages. In addition to these there are similar unexplored and, until recently, almost forgotten and unknown literary treasures in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Roman, the Burgundian, and other libraries in the British Islands and on the European Continent.

One of the results of this is that much more is now definitely known of details relating to St. Patrick's life and labors than in former years, and more also respecting the condition, habits and degree of civilization of the people of Ireland in ancient times.

The scholarly author of the work before us has availed himself of these newly-opened sources of information and of the labors of others in the same fields, and has used them to good advantage. Among the many merits of the work we only mention two, and they are of primary importance: First, the clearness with which he brings to view the supernatural character of St. Patrick's work, and, second, the Providential relation as regards time and circumstances which the conversion of the people of Ireland bears at that period and during the subsequent three centuries to the condition of the peoples on the Continent of Europe.

MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ PÆDAGOGICA. Schulordnungen Schulbücher und Pädagogische Miscellaneen aus den Landen Deutscher Zunge, von *Karl Kehrbach*.

RATIO STUDIORUM ET INSTITUTIONES SCHOLASTICÆ SOCIETATIS JESU. Berlin: A. Hoffmann & Co. 1887-1890. Vols. I, II, III.

Truly, a wonderful work; and one which only Germany could produce. What heroic patience, zeal, labor, and perseverance, it must have required! The three volumes, on the plan of studies and scholastic regulations of the Jesuits, are the second, fifth, and ninth of the series,

and are the work of G. M. Pachtler, S.J. The first volume embraces the period from 1541 to 1586-1599; the second, from 1586, 1599 to 1832; the third volume is filled with the laws and regulations and order of studies laid down by the various Generals of the Society from the year 1600 to 1722. In these three volumes, Father Pachtler gives us a complete insight of Jesuit pedagogy, not only as far as the training of their own members, mentally and morally, is concerned, but also the education of the pupils entrusted to their care during the last three hundred years. We have here all the official regulations, whether of their Generals or of their general Congregations, or of the Superiors of provinces. We have the history of all their colleges, and the rules enforced in each. Incidentally, we are made acquainted with their greatest teachers and professors. In a word, everything which has placed the Jesuits in the front rank of instructors and educators of youth, is here gathered together from the archives of that great order in Germany and Rome, and the world can now understand the secret of their success. There is nothing in the whole three volumes except rules and regulations. These are all official. The work is well styled "*Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica*." It is truly monumental, and these three volumes, which are the first part of the Jesuit contribution, will be undoubtedly the grandest of the series. No library can be complete without them, and we need not add that every teacher and professor will find a mine of information in studying their contents. And yet they are restricted to the teaching-work of the Jesuits amongst the German-speaking nations. What a work it would be if it embraced their labors in the same sphere all over the world!

The first volume is enriched with fine portraits of St. Ignatius, Father Francis Coster, Father Gregory of Valentia, and Father John Buys (Busæus).

Thus far, ten large octavo volumes of the series have appeared, and the publishers inform us that there will be still three volumes to complete the Jesuit series, and bring their portion of the work down to the present time. We learn from the last number of the *Historisches Jahrbuch* that the continuation of the "*Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica*" has now become the work of a distinct society established for that object in Berlin on the 14th of December, 1890. It will soon publish the plan of education laid down for the princes and princesses of the House of Hohenzollern. With the "*Monumenta*" the society will publish at the same time, as an appendix, dissertations on the subject by its members. Abundant material of that character is ready for the press.

PSYCHOLOGY. By *Michael Maher, S. J.* Benziger Bros. New York.

This is one of the admirable series of Catholic Manuals of Philosophy, published by the Jesuit Fathers of Stonyhurst, in English, for the benefit especially of the laity. We know of nothing in English Catholic literature that was so badly needed as a series of works on mental and moral philosophy adapted to meet the materialistic and infidel difficulties of the age. There are numerous scholarly and profound works on such subjects in all the native languages of Europe, but up to the present, we had scarcely anything in English on kindred topics, and what little we had, e.g., Balme's "*Fundamental Philosophy*," did not treat of many of the burning questions of the present. Father Hill, S.J., did, indeed, publish some years ago, a compendium of philosophy in English, but as a class-book, comprising the whole course of logic, dialectics and critics, ontology, psychology, cosmology, and natural theology, it was necessarily

most concise. It was intended only as a text-book for colleges. The Stonyhurst series gives us satisfactory treatises on every branch of philosophy. They are truly Catholic manuals of philosophy. Father Michael Maher, S.J., is the author of the manual on psychology. In his preface he says "I venture to hope that an attempt at an English exposition of the psychology of Aristotle and St. Thomas, and an application of their principles to modern questions ought to be of interest, not only to the Catholic reader, but to every student of philosophy." He tells us he has followed Liberatore and Zigliara as his guides, giving special attention to those questions which have attracted most notice in the recent psychological literature of the country. After a general introduction on the scope of psychology, its method, and the classification of the mental faculties, our author treats of empirical psychology in Part I., and of rational life in Part II., of the first book; and in the second book of rational psychology. Here come up all the grand questions of the substantiality, simplicity, and spirituality of the soul; recent theories concerning the soul; its immortality; its individuality and unity; the union of soul and body; life; seat of the soul; its origin; evolution; animal psychology. This enumeration of chapters shows that the author has endeavored to make his book a complete manual. The question of free will is treated under Rational Life. The book is enriched with a valuable analytical index. We hope that our readers will appreciate these Catholic manuals of the Jesuit Fathers of Stonyhurst. They have done good service by the publication in English of works which heretofore existed mostly in Latin, and have furnished the antidote to the poisonous literature which is undermining and destroying the faith of so many. Both priests and people should support such Catholic literature. No intelligent Catholic who wishes to understand the foundations of knowledge should fail to study these Catholic manuals, and all should be thankful that at last they are able to do so in this the first edition given in an English dress.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FIRST CONFESSION. From the German of *Rev. F. N. Jaegers*, by a Priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. St. Louis, Mo.: Published by B. Herder, 17 South Broadway. Price 50 cents.

An excellent little work. We can recommend it to catechists and school-teachers. Nay more, we feel that the reverend clergy also will thank us for calling their attention to it. It is not an easy task to explain the catechism to children, and it is exceedingly difficult to interest the very little ones and to adapt oneself to their powers of understanding.

This Father Jaegers has done for children of seven or eight years of age, but his instructions are just as serviceable for all. The author tells us that they are the fruit of twenty-four years' practical experience in instructing children for first confession. Every instruction is an object-lesson in the method of teaching, and shows a thorough understanding of a child's nature.

The author in his preface makes a special appeal, for the proper preparation of the young for their first confession, not only to priests and teachers, but also to parents. His words are timely: "Parents cannot divest themselves, before God, of the responsibility with regard to the Christian education of their children. By a Christian life, parents, at their own fireside, should prepare them for the reception of the graces the Church administers. They should guard and nourish the graces received, that they may bring forth abundant fruit. If a pious mother gently admonishes the child, kneeling at her side, to confess his sins in all

sincerity and humility to the priest, as God's representative; if she joins the child in making an act of heart-felt contrition—there is no doubt he will be impressed with a lively sense of the great importance of this holy act. Such impressions will sink deep into the heart of the child. Contact with the busy and distracting cares of the world in after life, may dim their lustre, but will never wholly efface them." Parents could not have a better book for their children or for their own use in instructing them for this most important of all solemnities after that of First Communion. Every Christian mother should have a copy.

THE LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. By *Francesco Tarducci*, after the latest Documents. Translated from the Italian by Henry F. Brownson. Detroit: H. F. Brownson, Publisher. 1890.

It was a happy thought that led Mr. Brownson to translate this work of the learned and distinguished Italian scholar and writer. In view of the approaching four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the publication in English of a new and reliable Life of the great discoverer is most opportune. Most of the Lives of him that have been written are defective. They are commonly restricted to the main facts of the story, omitting matters of minor importance, or giving a scanty account of them. Few or none undertake to give all the details of his gloriously active life. Then, too, during the last half century many documents have been discovered which shed increased light upon the character, thoughts and actions of Columbus, clearing up many points that were obscure, and correcting erroneous impressions respecting others.

Of these discoveries Tarducci has availed himself, and turned them to excellent account. He has told the story of Columbus, his life, labors, discoveries and sufferings with great simplicity and evident truthfulness, and in a graceful, natural style. He has so carefully and completely studied the character and thoughts of Columbus, and so identified himself with him that, when not giving the very words of Columbus, he gives us what Columbus himself would have said. The result of this is a faithful picture of Columbus and an accurate account of his life and discoveries.

The translation of Tarducci's Italian text into English has been admirably well done by Mr. Brownson. It has none of the stiffness which commonly characterizes translations, but has all the ease and naturalness of an original production.

SERMONS AND LECTURES. By *Rev. J. F. Loughlin, D.D.* Philadelphia, 1890.

The sermons contained in this volume have as their respective subjects: "The Epiphany of Our Lord," "The Blessed Sacrament," "The Sacred Heart of Jesus," "Perseverence in Grace," "The Beauty of the Church," and "Forgiving Injuries." In addition to the sermons there is a lecture on "The Isle of Destiny"—Ireland—and a paper on "The Sixth Nicene Canon and the Papacy," which is reprinted from the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, of April, 1880, in which it first appeared.

The sermons, as well as the other papers, are evidently the result of careful study on the part of their author. Each of them is comprehensive in scope, replete with edifying thoughts, instructive, earnest, devout. The lecture on "The Isle of Destiny" is one which we wish was in the hands of every thoughtful Catholic and of every thoughtful person.

Its careful perusal would sweep away many of the mistaken notions that are commonly entertained respecting the people and history of Ireland, and could not fail, it seems to us, to impress them with the fact that every chapter of that sad yet glorious history has a profound spiritual significance, and, in the counsels of Divine Providence, has been most closely interlinked with the history of the Church, with the history of civilization, and with the blessed work of which our Divine Lord has done and is ever doing in and through His Church.

The paper on the "Sixth Nicene Canon and the Papacy" is an acute, critical discussion of the meaning of the reference, in that Canon, to the Roman Pontiff. It shows clearly that the Canon incidentally, yet for that reason all the more powerfully, testifies to the belief of the Nicene Fathers in the primacy and universal supremacy of the Holy Roman See.

THE LIFE OF BLESSED MARGARET MARY: With Some Account of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart. By the *Rev. George Tickell, S. J.* Third edition: Burns & Oates, limited. 1890. New York Catholic Publication Society Company.

It is a good sign to see a third edition of the life of a Saint called for by the Catholic reader. The more so, as there have been several other lives of our Saint published. Father Tickell tells us that he has founded his history "upon the Memoirs of her own life written by Blessed Margaret Mary herself, at the wish of her director, Father Rolin, S. J., and on the life written by the Religious of Paray-le-Monial, her contemporaries." The Saint's life by Monsignor Languet is gathered from the same sources. Our author has made use of the various biographies of the Saint, written by Father Daniel, S. J., by Monsignor Bougaud, and the "Popular History of Blessed Margaret Mary," by Canon Cucherat. The result is a most serviceable though concise life of the foundress and promoter of Devotion to the Sacred Heart. The history of the devotion and an explanation of its distinctive character is given as the last chapter of the book. The only complaint we have to make is that it is so very brief; there is but the slightest mention of the opposition of Jansenism to the propagation of the devotion, and the simplest statement of the various stages of its presentation to the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome up to the time of its approval by the Holy See. In an appendix we have the decree of Pius IX., for the beatification of our Saint in 1864. All lovers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus will welcome the life of the favored servant of God who labored so faithfully whilst on earth in propagating this devotion which may well be styled the most prominent manifestation of the faith and piety of these latter times.

THE BLIND APOSTLE AND HEROINE OF CHARITY. Being the Third Series of "Bells of the Sanctuary." By *Kathleen O'Meara*, Author of "Queen by Right Divine," "Life of Bishop Grant," etc., etc. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates.

This volume is the last of the many beautiful and instructive writings, biographical and devotional of the cultivated and pious Kathleen O'Meara.

The "Blind Apostle" is the late Monseigneur Gaston de Segur, a saintly priest, whose name has become a household word in many lands, and whose life was one of heroic patience, zeal and piety under an affliction which would have crushed any soul that was not sustained by continual union with God.

He was of noble descent, began life in diplomacy, gave up all the

world to become a priest, was sent to Rome by Napoleon the Third in an office of great distinction, with a lofty career plainly open before him. One day, in a moment, one eye became absolutely sightless. The other began to fail, and soon he became totally blind. He had made an absolute submission of his will to God, and asked for nothing but patience. In the volume before us it is shown how he became the centre of immense spiritual influence, persevering in total blindness for twenty-six years, until he was called away by death, in preaching and hearing confessions of scholars, students, soldiers, working-men and the poor.

The Heroine of Charity described in this volume is Madame Legras, Foundress and first Novice Mistress of the Sisters of Charity, who was as heroic in devotion as she was wonderful in wisdom.

MARY IN THE EPISTLES; or, the Implicit Teachings of the Apostles Concerning the Blessed Virgin, Contained in their Writings. Illustrated from the Fathers and other Authors. With Introductory Chapters. By *Rev. Thomas Livius, C. S. S. R.* New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates.

This work is truly *multum in parvo*. Within the compass of a small volume the author has collected an immense amount of indirect and inferential proofs in the Epistles, to the truth of the doctrine of the Church respecting the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the place which she occupies in Catholic worship. The author's own comments and inferences are also sustained by numerous quotations from Church Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers.

The author devotes six brief preliminary chapters, respectively, to the "Fallacy of the Argument of Silence in the Epistles," to the "Little that is said about the Blessed Virgin in the Gospels," to the "Oral Teachings of the Apostles in their General Preaching and Catechetical Instructions," the "Reasons for the Silence of the Apostles on the Blessed Virgin in their Epistles," the "Implicit Teaching of the Apostles on the Blessed Virgin in their Epistles," and to the "Catholic View of the Blessed Virgin as an Ideal of all Christian Perfection." He then takes up each Epistle in succession, quoting the different passages in them which contain implicit testimonies, commenting on them and sustaining his comments with references to and brief quotations from the writings of Church Fathers, saints and theologians.

The volume closes with a list of the authors quoted or referred to, followed by an analytical index of all the subjects discussed in the work.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH FROM ITS FIRST ESTABLISHMENT TO OUR OWN TIMES. Designed for the use of Ecclesiastical Seminaries and Colleges. By *Rev. J. A. Birkhauser*, formerly Professor of Church History and Canon Law in the Provincial Seminary of St. Francis de Sales, near Milwaukee, Wis. Second edition. Revised and enlarged. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati. 1891.

This work, as we learn from the author's statements, has grown out of a course of lectures which, for several years, he delivered to the students in the Provincial Seminary of St. Francis in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee. It has been composed and published for the use of students in colleges and theological seminaries, and is intended to serve as an introduction to a fuller and more comprehensive study of Church History.

The Most Rev. Michael Heiss, Archbishop of Milwaukee, recently deceased, highly commended the work, declaring that, "after a careful perusal of the proof-sheets," he was "convinced that, owing to the singularly full and precise statement of the subject, the work will fill a long-felt want in our Catholic literature, and will be used with great

advantage as a text-book in our ecclesiastical seminaries. The frequent references to Patristic literature, which are found in this volume, will make our students familiar with a branch of theological science, which . . . has not received that attention which it rightly deserves." His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Most Rev. William Henry Elder, Archbishop of Cincinnati, unite with the late Most Rev. Archbishop of Milwaukee in this commendation.

THE SCIENCE OF THE SAINTS IN PRACTICE. By *John Baptist Pagani*, of the Institute of Charity. Second edition. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company; London, Burnes & Oates. 1891.

The design of this work is to set before its readers salutary reflections for every day in the year by placing before them some texts of Sacred Scripture or extracts from the writings of Saints, with suitable comments upon them. Each month is devoted to meditations on some particular Christian virtue. The two volumes which are before us (the whole work consists of three volumes) are arranged as follows: For January, the subject of "Union and Fraternal Charity" is selected; for February, that of "Humility;" for March, "Mortification;" for April, "Simplicity and Prudence;" for May, "Poverty and Chastity;" for June, "Obedience;" for July, "Mildness and Firmness;" for August, "Diligence and Edification." The different aspects these virtues assume, the reasons for practicing them, the different circumstances which especially call for their exercise, the difficulties in the way of practicing them, and the rich spiritual fruit that may be reaped by carefully and diligently cultivating them, are made the subject of separate special meditations for each day of the month. The instructions and reflections are lucid, highly suggestive, practical and edifying.

LETTERS OF ST. ALPHONSUS MARIA DE LIGUORI, DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.—Translated from the Italian. Edited by *Rev. Eugene Grimm, C.S.S.R.* The Centenary Edition. Part I., Vol. I. Benziger Brothers. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1891.

This is the eighteenth volume of the ascetical works of St. Alphonsus now being published by Benziger Brothers. In his letters, more than in anything else, a man reveals his true nature. It is in their letters especially we become acquainted with saintly souls. We have here the general correspondence of the saint with nuns and priests, novices and members of his own institute, people living in the world and superiors of his own religious houses, his relatives; in a word, with persons of every condition of life. There are 373 letters, beginning with the year 1730 and coming down to 1762, all written before the saint was consecrated bishop. This publication of all the works of St. Alphonsus in English has been a great and worthy memorial in honor of the great Doctor of the Church, and we hope the enterprising publishers have been rewarded by proper recognition for the immense outlay they must have incurred.

MONTH OF JUNE IN HONOR OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS. By *Rev. A. Van Sever*. Milwaukee: Hoffman Brothers.

This excellent little work consists of a number of short edifying readings and meditations arranged for every day of the month of June. Preceding them is a brief daily prayer to the Sacred Heart. An appendix contains a number of brief acts of devotion and ejaculatory petitions.

ACTS OF ENGLISH MARTYRS, HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED. By *John Hungerford Pollen, S. J.* With a Preface by John Morris, of the same Society. New York; Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1891.

A full and detailed notice of this admirable book has been prepared, but the limited space remaining when the reviewer had finished his task would not permit its insertion. It will appear in the next number of the REVIEW.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE CROWN OF THORNS; Or, The Little Breviary of the Holy Face. A Complete Manual of Devotion and Reparation to the Holy Face of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. From Approved and Original Sources, by the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. With an Introductory Notice by the *Right Rev. Mgr. Preston, D.D., LL.D., V.G.* New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

ORDO DIVINI OFFICII, Recitandi Missæque celebrandæ Juxta Rubricas emendatas Breviarii Missalisque Romani cum Votivis Officiis ex indulto tam pro Clero Sæculari Statuum Fœderatorum Officiis Generalibus hic Concessis utente quam pro Iis Quibus Kalendarium Clero Romano Proprium concessum est. Pro Anno 1891. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati.

STARS IN ST. DOMINIC'S CROWN: Being Lives of some of the Saints and Blessed of the Order of Friar Preachers. By *Thomas Austin Dyson*, Priest of the same Order, Author of "The Life of St. Thomas Aquinas," "Lives of Some of the Sons of St. Dominic," and "The Life of St. Pius the Fifth." New York and Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier & Co. 1890.

THE INTERIOR OF JESUS AND MARY. Translated from the French of the Rev. J. Grou, of the Society of Jesus. Edited, with a Biographical Sketch and Preface, by *Rev. S. H. Frisbee, S. J.* New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1891.

THE HEART OF ST. JANE FRANCÈS DE CHANTAL. Thoughts and Prayers Compiled from the French of the Sisters of the Divine Compassion With a Preface by the *Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas S. Preston, D.D., V.G.* New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1891.

THE LIFE OF OUR LORD. Prepared Chiefly in the Words of the Gospel, for Use in Schools. By *T. Murphy*, Master of the Practicing School, St. Mary's Training College. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.

GOLDEN SANDS. Fifth Series. Little Counsels for the Sanctification and Happiness of Daily Life. Translated from the French, by *Miss Ella McMahon*. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE GLORIOUS RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION OF JESUS CHRIST. Short Meditations from Easter to the Ascension. By *Richard F. Clarke, S. J.* New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE POWER OF THE MEMORARE. Illustrated by Examples. From the French of a Marist Father, by *Miss Ella McMahon*. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE LITTLE MONTH OF MAY. Translated from the French of the author of "Golden Sands," by *Miss Ella McMahon*. New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis: Benziger Brothers.

MANUAL OF THE SODALITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. Permissu Superiorum. Thirty-eighth Revised Edition. Baltimore: Published by John Murphy & Co.

ECHOES OF THE PAST: Poems, by *Mrs. Clara L. McIlvain*. Edited by her Daughter, Lottie McIlvain Moore. Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Co. 1890.

THE GREAT TRUTHS. Short Meditations for the Season of Advent. By *Richard F. Clarke, S. J.* New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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THE IDEA OF A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

THE Catholic Church in the United States, finding herself unable to accept as satisfactory the prevailing system of State education, has adopted the policy of instituting and supporting a distinct educational system of her own. It is not the purpose of the writer of this paper to set forth the reasons that have led her to do so. These reasons are obvious to Catholics; they have been expounded time and again with irrefutable logic to the non-Catholic world. If sound reasoning were candidly made arbiter instead of unreasoning prejudice, the vast body of outsiders would come to recognize that it is not mere sentiment nor unreasoning bigotry which induces millions of their fellow-citizens to pay twice over for the education of their children. But, for the time being, prejudice prevents them from giving a calm and impartial thought to the subject; the position of the Church is ignored or misrepresented, and it will probably take some time before the American sense of justice will be aroused to assert itself in this matter and find an equitable solution of the educational problem. Meanwhile, we believe it is our duty and best interest to look to our own system and to inquire whether some improvements may be desirable in them and feasible in practice.

A complete educational system may be compared to one of those noble edifices which Christian faith has erected all over the world to the honor and glory of God. The foundations and basement represent elementary education, the floor and walls of the main building represent secondary, high school, or college education, and the groined stone ceiling, the massive roof, the towers, min-

arets, statues, bas-reliefs, and other ornaments represent the liberal culture of university education. In the case of material edifices, it is often found expedient to content oneself for a time with building the basement only, and leave to another generation, or, perhaps, postpone indefinitely, the completion of the superstructure. So, too, with our educational edifice. The vast majority of American Catholics must, for the present at least, content themselves with the substructure of primary education. It is to be hoped that, with advancing years, ever-increasing numbers will be in a position to secure for themselves the benefits of higher education. The establishment of the Catholic University sets before our people a high ideal which all may admire and reverence, and to which many will, we trust, aspire. The founding of the free Catholic High School of Philadelphia is a most important step in the direction of introducing all classes of our people to the portals, at least, of higher education. This Catholic Institute will, we hope, find a counterpart at no distant date in every large city throughout the land. But, for the present, our chief concern is for our primary, or, as it is commonly called, parochial school system.

The education given in our parochial schools should be solid enough to form a worthy foundation for higher education, and broad, and deep, and complete enough to satisfy the needs of those who are supposed to find in it their full equipment for the practical work of life. Thus, a pupil of ordinary talent who has gone through the parochial school curriculum, ought to be able to take up easily the course of higher studies pursued in a seminary or college. And, on the other hand, if, as happens in most cases, he has not the opportunity of pursuing his studies further, what he has learned in the parochial school ought to enable him to fill any ordinary position in life with credit, and advantage to himself and to society. Further, he ought to have acquired in the parochial school the ambition to improve himself, if ever he gets the opportunity, and, in consequence, the ambition to procure for his children the higher education which he himself was unable to obtain.

This cannot be considered a too high ideal, especially in America. The public schools aim at it, and fairly attain it if we are to judge by the intelligence of the average American citizen who has received none but a common school education. The Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in their decrees concerning the education of youth, reiterated with marked approval the recommendation of the Congregation of the Holy Office, sent through the Propaganda on November 24, 1875, that the Catholic schools should, in teaching methods and results (*institutione ac disciplina*), come up to the standard of the public

schools. This recommendation is founded on justice and self-respect, as, indeed, the Fathers themselves elsewhere (*loc. cit.*, No. 200) intimate. Justice towards parents and children alike demands that the generosity and loyalty (*generosa devotio*) with which they support Catholic schools should be recompensed by an adequate supply of secular education. And the same reasons which have made the Church the mother of learning in all ages, demand that her schools, while excelling in the inculcation of Christian doctrine and morality, shall be second to none in useful acquirements and liberal culture.

Far be it from us to offer any general opinion one way or the other about the relative worth of the public and parochial schools. Our personal experience is that in some cases the parochial school is superior, in others inferior to its rival neighbor. But, be this as it may, it is certain that our parochial school system as a whole is laboring under disadvantages of method which incapacitate it from performing as fully and satisfactorily as it otherwise might, the high functions confided to it by the Church, by the confidence of Catholic parents, and, tacitly, at least, by the State.

If we specify "disadvantages of method" only, it must not be understood that we leave out of sight those *material* disadvantages of the slight pecuniary resources on which our parochial school system has to rely, as compared with the lavish supply of funds at the command of the public schools. We may be permitted to dismiss this part of the subject with just two remarks:

First. It may be safely assumed that the generosity of American Catholics, which holds a unique place in the annals of Christianity, will be spurred on to greater and entirely satisfactory efforts, once it is brought to recognize the importance of the matter, and once it finds itself in presence of the fact that the parochial schools are bound to be not only equal but superior to the public schools.

Secondly. We would remark that it has yet to be discovered, in the history of education, that ampleness of funds always implies excellence of teaching, that the most richly endowed institutions turn out the best scholars, that fat salaries can always secure the devotedness, tact, and the enthusiasm of the true teacher.

Again, when we draw attention to some of the "disadvantages of method" of our parochial schools, we disclaim any intention of implying that the "methods" by which the public schools are governed and regulated are perfect. Far from it. There is no country in the world where so much of the state's money is spent on education, and with such meagre results as in America. This is due in a great measure to the pernicious influence of politics and politicians, on the public school system. It is the ward politicians who select or dismiss at their pleasure, the teachers of

their ward schools, and that often, if not in all cases, for reasons that are but slightly connected with the interests of education. It is the same sapient body that has a controlling voice in choosing text-books, and in adopting new methods of teaching. It has been charged, with what truth we know not, that the change in text-books is often brought about by the corrupt canvassing of some enterprising bookseller; and the continuous changes that are being made in the methods of teaching are distinctly traceable to the anomalous position of the school directors. Incapable as a rule, of judging for themselves in educational matters, they are at the mercy of the plausible experimentalist. They run no pecuniary risk in experimenting, so flexibly vast are the resources at their command; and, thus, the very immensity of the State educational endowments is a source of weakness, inasmuch as it encourages irresponsible and unqualified persons to be ever ready to adopt crude views and theories which may have no merit but their newness.

Another great defect in the public school system, and one on which all educators are agreed, is the preponderating number and influence of lady teachers. It is pitiable to see whole generations of boys wronged by the claims set up by women's right to teach them, all through their school course. A lady may, undoubtedly, be the very best teacher for a boy up to a certain age, say that of twelve at the outside, but after that her mission for good ceases. For, as long as the distinction between the sexes ordained by the Author of nature lasts, a woman will not be the fit instrument to train a boy to manliness, no more than a man is, to train a girl to womanliness—except, perhaps, in the rare case of a particularly *masculine* woman or *effeminate* man. We have, of course to acknowledge that our parochial school system is subject to this same disadvantage of having an undue proportion of lady teachers. But, our lady teachers, being nearly all members of Religious sisterhoods, bring to the work of teaching, qualities which cannot be expected from the average secular lady teacher. Our Sisters take up the mission of educators, not for a few years only, but for a life-time. They concentrate on their work their own personal experience, gathered in the course of years, as well as the experience of the whole religious community to which they belong. Their very character is religious, their ascetic mode of life, their demure costume which reflects to the eyes of the Catholic children the beauty that is within—all these give our Sisters an authority and influence over boys of even advanced years which the men *lay* teachers could scarcely ever expect to acquire. Our Sisters stand toward all Catholic children *in loco parentis*, somewhat in the same manner as the Mother

of Jesus, their prototype, stood to the Apostles after the Ascension.

Still, while claiming all these advantages for our Sisters, we are none the less persuaded that, even in their case, it would be far preferable that they should cease to teach boys after a certain age.

We could easily go on enumerating defects in the public school system, but what we have said is sufficient to show that we are far from regarding it as perfect. Nay, we feel convinced that notwithstanding the immense pecuniary disadvantages under which our parochial schools lie, it would yet be possible to raise them to even a higher level than that attained by the public schools. We have teachers whose devotedness is equal to any sacrifice which improved methods may entail; we have a youth, fresh with the freshness of innocence and virtue, and in consequence brimful of talent; we have a Catholic people whose past sacrifices in the cause of religion are a guarantee that they will be ready to strain every nerve to second whatever laudable efforts are made to raise up from the dust their children.

We believe that the best *means* for directing all these resources to the great purpose of perpetuating our parochial school system are to be found in the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, to which we have previously referred entitled "*De viis ac mediis Scholas Parochiales quam maxime Promovendi.*" In previous decrees the Fathers had asserted the necessity of having a Catholic school attached to every parish, and they have burdened the consciences of pastor and people with the obligation of putting their views into effect. Then follow the decrees which we have at present under consideration about raising the standard of parochial schools. These decrees fairly cover the whole field of school organization and are worthy of our most attentive consideration.

First, as regards priests, it is ordained that a good part of their seminary training should be specially directed toward their future pastoral charge of a parochial school. They are to be imbued with the importance of Christian education. Then their studies in psychology, pedagogy and pastoral theology are to be directed with a special view towards the education of youth. Further they are to be trained in the methods of teaching so that they may be able to expound clearly and with effect, catechism and sacred history, the teaching of which is later on committed specially to their care. Priests in pastoral charge are enjoined to love their schools as the apple of their eye, to visit and inspect every part of them frequently—at least once a week,—to watch over the morals of the pupils, to stimulate their studiousness by suitable means,

to teach catechism and sacred history themselves or else to see that these subjects are efficiently taught by members of some religious congregation. They are to keep a close eye on the other studies pursued in the school, and bring them under the notice and favor of the people by means of public examinations to be held once or twice a year; they are to exert themselves to have books compiled by Catholic writers used in the schools; and, finally, they are recommended to do all this with pure motives, and to bear in mind, moreover, that neglect of their duty toward the schools will be a bar to all further promotion.

The decrees deal, in the next place, with the laity. These are to be impressed with the truth that the parochial school is an integral part of the parish; that its existence is not a matter of choice for the pastor, but a burden imposed upon him by the Church which he cannot carry without the help of the laity; that concern for its interests belongs not only to those of the parish who actually use it for the education of their children, but to all, and that it should have a place in the affectionate interest of all, second only to that of the Church itself, as being a conservatory of faith and morals, and a nursery of a rising generation which may prove to be a source of joy and consolation to every one. The laity are enjoined to contribute according to their means to the support of the parochial schools to such an extent that their exterior appearance and internal furnishing and appointments may be suitable; that the number of teachers may be increased in order that thereby the classes may be more numerous and the pupils be better classified. The laity are reminded that effective help of this kind on their part will insure the raising of our school standard, and, by way of encouragement, it is ordained that the laity shall have certain rights and privileges in regard to the management of the schools—these rights and privileges to be defined in detail in the statutes of each diocese, safeguarding, however, the ecclesiastical rights about admitting or dismissing teachers, as well as about discipline and studies.

The third portion of the decrees refers to teachers and the measures to be taken to secure their efficiency. The general principle is laid down that as the status of the school will chiefly depend on the fitness of the teachers, only such as are efficient ought to be put in charge of classes. Accordingly, it is decreed that henceforth none should be admitted to teach in a parochial school, except such as have been previously examined and shown themselves fit and capable. For the purpose of carrying into practical effect this examination of teachers, the several bishops are to appoint, within a year after the holding of the Council, one or more priests versed in educational matters, who are to form a

"Diocesan Commission of Examination of Teachers." This commission is charged in the most solemn manner with the duty of examining teachers. Detailed rules are laid down for its guidance. And no pastor is to engage as teacher any one who is not provided with a certificate from the Commission, excepting such as may have been already employed as teachers before the assembling of the Council. These regulations apply to all teachers whether lay or religious—the latter term to be taken as applying to members of diocesan congregations only. In a subsequent paragraph, special exemptive legislation is made for such Religious Congregations as are not diocesan, and for such as may have more particular agreements with the bishops. This paragraph has an inner history of its own which leads us to believe that it will be altogether eliminated from the decrees of the next Plenary Council.

It is decreed that in every diocese several "School Commissions" shall be constituted for the purpose of examining the schools, both in town and country. It is the duty of each Commission to visit and examine once or twice a year every school within its district, and to make an accurate report thereon to the President of the Central Diocesan Commission who is to submit the same to the Bishop.

To insure a sufficient supply of suitable teachers, the bishops are strongly urged to see that those Religious Congregations which are devoted to teaching should establish when necessary, normal schools wherein adequate training in pedagogy and kindred subjects may be given to the younger members.

The above decrees form the great charter of our parochial school system. They cover nearly the whole field of primary education; and all educationists will agree that, whilst they are sufficiently definite and categorical to secure efficiency, they are at the same time broad and comprehensive, and elastic enough to welcome any suggestions that may be made, with a view of attaining higher excellence. It will be seen by them that the Church appoints over each school a *Manager* whom as her immediate representative she makes responsible for its general working. The local pastor fills this office *ex officio*. The decrees mark out for him a line of duties sufficient to tax his zeal and energy, but they do not overburden him. He is supposed to have acquired in his Seminary course a general knowledge of the best methods of school management as well as of teaching, which will aid him to watch over the school with effect. He is made personally responsible for the Christian doctrine taught in the school, as well as for its morals and discipline; but he has only a general responsibility for the secular studies. This latter is a very wise provision in the

interests of the pastor, as well as of education. It would be too much to expect of any ordinary pastor the detailed, exact and fresh knowledge which should be possessed by the examiner of a school. Even though he may have been a very brilliant scholar in the days when he sat on the school bench, yet his course of studies has been since far removed from that of the parochial school; and his knowledge of elementary subjects, though solid, is only general; and if he has a taste for some particular subject, he may do great harm, by directing undue attention to it; for, of course, pupils and teachers to the detriment of general education will take special pains to be well made up in the favorite subject, proficiency in which will bring upon them encomiums from their pastor. A little experience we had recently, will illustrate this last point. A short time ago, we had occasion to visit an elementary school. The principal, who was a man pretty well advanced in years, showed us the several classes, and tried, naturally to impress us with the proficiency of the pupils. We noticed that, in carrying out his purpose, he confined his questioning almost exclusively to one subject—arithmetic; and to one particular portion of that subject,—percentage. The answering was, undoubtedly, very brilliant. We could not, however, help feeling that here was a principal who had a hobby about percentage; and teachers and pupils aware of its existence, prepared themselves to meet it to the probable neglect of other subjects. An examiner of an elementary, or, for that matter, any school, should be perfectly at home in the subjects taught, and in the very questions to be put. He should be so familiar with the practical teaching work as to know what may be expected from the average pupil, and what may not. Now who will pretend that the average pastor has an opportunity of equipping himself for the rôle of an efficient school examiner. Yet, detailed, close, thorough examination of each school, once or twice a year as provided for by the Council, is a matter of vital importance. It is a part of the parochial school system that cannot be left in abeyance.

The Church, in urging Catholic parents so strongly to patronize and support the parochial schools, enters into a quasi-contract that she will insure the efficiency of the secular teaching given in them. And it is not only in the eyes of Catholics, but also in the eyes of the State and of the world at large, that she assumes this responsibility. Now, she cannot make herself responsible for that of which she has no knowledge; and she can have no reliable knowledge of the educational standard of a given school except by means of examination and inspection. Hence, the Church cannot forego her right and duty in this matter. It may be urged by some that, once a suitable programme of studies is laid down, and

the school confided to reliable teachers, there need be no further anxiety about its working. To this it may be replied that no State would make itself responsible for such a system; and what the State in its worldly wisdom would not do, the Church too is bound not to do. External, independent examination and inspection of a school, serves both as an incentive and means of control. It serves as an incentive, inasmuch as the foreknowledge that their work will be submitted to a serious test, spurs on teachers and pupils to greater efforts. It serves, moreover, as a means of control over the teaching done in the school, and strengthens very much the hands of those who are responsible for its management. For, a well-ordered system of examination will at once detect defective teaching, and (in presence of public proof of inefficiency), it is far easier to have the incapable teacher removed than if such removal were demanded by the personal observations of the pastor only.

We cannot dismiss this part of the subject without referring to the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of suitable examiners, in a given diocese or locality. But few dioceses can afford to set apart even one priest for school examination work; and but few priests feel themselves called to devote their time to the routine and drudgery of such work. We believe that this and many other difficulties which lie in the way of our parochial school system could be obviated by inviting the more active and immediate co-operation of the laity. We believe that it would be found advantageous to give the laity a voice in the management and also in the examination of the schools. It is the laity that support the schools; it is for their interest that the schools have been established; it is they who reap the advantages or disadvantages arising from the success or failure of the Catholic school system. It follows from this that the laity ought to have a voice in its management. The Council has made provision for the representation of the laity of the parish in the management of the parish school. We think it would not be going beyond the spirit of the decree to give them a representation also in the several school Commissions of each diocese. The active presence of suitable laymen on the school Commissions would be a source of strength and usefulness. It would give their fellow-laymen increased confidence in the schools, and an increased willingness to support them.

It may be objected to this proposal that it would be too much to expect that members of Religious Communities who teach in the parochial schools, would submit to have their work inspected by the laity. We believe that this objection is, or certainly ought to be, groundless. For in other countries, notably in England, such teachers are year by year called upon to subject their work to the

close inspection of lay gentlemen who, in most cases, do not even belong to the Church. Teachers worthy the name will not shrink from having their work inspected by anybody, and especially by those most concerned—their patrons and supporters among the laity.

If our parochial schools were thus subjected to systematic and serious inspection and examination on lines laid down in a set and uniform programme of studies and system of instruction, we would have one great guarantee of their efficiency. Each school would be known by its fruits. Its educational results would be set down in black and white for the information of all interested. The report thereon made by competent and disinterested examiners would set forth its merits or defects. No school could afford to continue inefficient under the searching light of public opinion and enlightened criticism. The backward school would be spurred on to attain at least a respectable standard, and the advanced school would be encouraged to aim at the highest excellence. School would naturally be compared with school; wholesome emulation would be excited among teachers and pupils. Prizes could be offered for competition between the several schools of a diocese. Such prizes need not be of much material value, not costlier than the olive wreath which elicited such rivalry and emulation at the Pan-Hellenic festivals of old. The honor of being foremost, the disgrace of being hindmost in the educational race, would be sufficient incentive for every school to put forth its best efforts to obtain an honorable place among its competitors.

The guarantee of efficiency thus obtained with reference to the teaching in our parochial schools is not quite sufficient. Proper inspection and examination, as outlined above, give, it is true, a fairly good insight into and control over the working of a school. But a wise educational system will require that the teachers give adequate proof of their aptitude for educational work before they are permitted to exercise the art of education. The Plenary Council of Baltimore, in the decrees already cited, makes ample provisions for this important educational requirement. It insists on the principle that all teachers should, before being permitted to teach, present satisfactory certificates of competency. Here, again, the Church but provides an educational safeguard which worldly wisdom inspires every State to adopt. See how England, France, and Germany require absolutely that every teacher, whether in a State or a private school, shall have a proper certificate. See how the members of Religious Orders in those countries, so far from shirking this requirement, face it boldly and successfully, only too content to be thus afforded the opportunity of educating God's children for the glory, for the honor of the Church, and for the

lasting benefit of the people. The necessity of requiring that those who profess to educate shall give previous proofs of their fitness is clear on the surface. One of the keenest thinkers of antiquity—the celebrated Horace—complained that in his time every tyro in literature dabbled in poetry.

*Navim agere ignarus navis timet, abrotonum aegro
Non audet, nisi qui didicit, dare quod medicorum est,
Promittunt medici; Tractant fabrilis fabri.
Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.*

—*Epistolarum*, ii., 1, ll., 114-117.

(He who was never on board fears to steer a ship; none but a professional man dares to prescribe Southern wood for a patient; physicians undertake physicians' duty; artisans alone handle tools; but, learned and unlearned, we scribble verses all alike.)

With much more reason may the true educationist complain to-day that while all other professions are safeguarded by law and usage from the intrusions of quackery, the noble profession of education is often left open as a hunting ground for all comers, whilst it may be said of the educationist, with as much truth as of the poet, "*nascitur non fit*," yet a certain amount of training and of acquired knowledge is essential for every one who pretends to undertake the rôle of an educationist. This training ought to be acquired in a properly-appointed normal or training college, and the acquisition of it ought to be certified by an authoritative diploma. This system of certified teachers works admirably in other countries, for instance in England. There, such female Religious Congregations as undertake the work of education require as a condition, *sine qua non*, for entering the Community that the postulant shall present a teacher's certificate, in the absence of which she is relegated to the training college until such time as she obtains it. And thus, in England, the religious habit in the school room is synonymous not only with Catholicity but with competency to teach. This fact supplies to Catholic parents in England a very desirable safeguard and assurance, and the Fathers of the Plenary Council very wisely and properly insisted that the same be given to Catholic parents in the United States.

Another matter on which the Council laid much stress, is the obligation, incumbent on clergy and laity, to provide suitable school buildings and appointments. Some are inclined to think that there is among educationists a tendency to exaggerate on this point. Such persons look upon the handsome school structures erected by municipal or State authorities as woeful waste of public funds. They pretend that more modest buildings and less costly

appointments would suffice for children who are gathered, for the most part, from the alleys and by-ways of our cities, the shanties of our boroughs, and the farmhouses of our country. These and like notions are based on misconception of the true province of education, especially with regard to children. In their case education should aim not so much at imparting hard, dry knowledge, as at developing, in right directions, both mind and body. If the home surroundings of the child are narrow, cramped, dingy, slovenly, loathsome, so much the more need is there that the school counteract their pernicious effects by giving the child plenty of space to breathe, and objects of beauty to contemplate. If the child's home influence is depraving through ignorance, barbarism or vice, the school must seek to elevate him by instilling into him knowledge, culture, and morality. The example and principle of the teacher will do much to attain this threefold end, but the school building and appointments, the lofty ceiling and neat furniture, the books and maps and globes, the portraits of distinguished men and women, the views of great cities and historic scenes; the homely landscape which, perhaps, there will be no opportunity of ever seeing except in the school-room picture, the encaged bird by the window whose haunts in the woodlands will never be explored, but the memory of whose cheerful warblings will remain a joy forever, all these have a refining influence, the effect of which will be felt by the child and reflected in turn in its home surroundings. Of course, it requires large expenditure of money to effect all this.

But as we have hinted already, our generous laity will never be found backward in supplying funds, once they are convinced that their contributions will be judiciously devoted to an object so productive of the highest good as education. Relatively speaking, we would prefer to see a fine school rather than a fine church in a given parish; for, the adult who has the Faith and who is supposed to adore God in spirit and truth, regardless of the surroundings, does not need the encouragement of external forms so much as the child needs beautiful buildings and attractive appointments to sweeten the toil of study, to foster the growth of mind and body, to enkindle love and enthusiasm for high and noble ideals, and to arouse an honest pride in the school and the system under which it is being nurtured. The illustrious Cardinal Manning, on being offered, some years ago, large inducements to build a gigantic cathedral for his diocese, declined, asserting that as long as a single child of his flock walked the streets of London without suitable school accommodation he would not place a stone on the new Westminster. He has kept his word and he is right. For, more elevating than cathedral tower piercing the vault of heaven, more beautiful than groined ceiling and chiseled capitals, more

harmonious than organ peals, more resonant than many-tongued bells, richer and fresher than stained-glass windows—and, above all, more necessary than these is the elevating, the beautiful, harmonious, far-sounding, freshening, and mind-enriching influence of a well-conducted and well-equipped school. ¶

The measures outlined above, which are in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, would secure to our parochial school system the three great requisites for success, good schools, good teachers, and good teaching. The united efforts of bishops, priests, and people could render these measures entirely feasible. Several dioceses have already adopted them with marked success. It is to be hoped that before long every diocese in the United States will have its parochial school system organized in accordance with the decrees of the Council as well as the requirements of education. Then we shall have a Catholic primary school system comprehensive enough to satisfy the ordinary avocations of life, and solid enough to bear the superstructure of higher education. Nothing less than this befits the dignity of our olden Church, nothing less can satisfy the pressing needs, or the laudable aspirations of our people. We may look forward to the day when our parochial schools in every large centre will be supplemented by free high schools carried on under the same safe provisions to secure efficiency. We shall then have an educational system complete in every part, and fit to enter the lists with richly-endowed State schools. When that day comes, the vexed educational problem will solve itself. Our schools can neither be ignored nor decried. We shall be able to challenge the State to inspect them, and to weigh their educational results in the balance of open competition with State schools. We shall then be in a position to insist that if the public funds are to be devoted to educational purposes they shall be distributed equitably among all schools regardless of dogma, but proportionate to well-attested results. We shall be able to show that our schools, whilst a source of joy and pride and lasting benefit to the Church, are a source of strength and stability to the State.

PROOFS OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD DRAWN FROM THE METAPHYSICAL OR IDEAL ORDER.

Elementa Philosophiæ Christianæ, Auctore P. F. Alberto Lepidi, Ordinis
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THAT human reason is capable of demonstrating the existence of God is a dogma of Catholic faith. In his epistle to the Romans, St. Paul tells us that "the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made: His eternal power also and divinity."¹ The late Vatican Council treating of this same question gave utterance to the following explicit definition:

"If any one say that the one true God, our Creator and Lord, cannot be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason, through those things which have been made, let him be anathema."²

The same truth has been asserted by the best philosophers of all the ages. Plato, Aristotle and other eminent pagan writers, who were not only destitute of the light of faith, but were moreover reared in an atmosphere of Polytheism, constrained by the force of natural evidence, admitted the existence of one Supreme Being, the source and the cause of all other beings. The bright intellects of these great men beheld God reflected in nature. Their own personal existence, the material world around them, every animal, shrub and flower which it contained were to them so many irrefragable proofs of the existence of a necessary, infinite, eternal Entity. Unlike many of the pseudo-philosophers of our day, they failed to recognize a mark of intellectual superiority in the negation of the Being whose existence is necessarily presupposed to all use of reason.

The arguments which the ancients employed in establishing God's existence were of that class denominated by the logicians *a posteriori* arguments. The process of reasoning was from effect to cause. The existence of a finite thing, they reasoned, necessarily presupposes the existence of an infinite Being. The perfections in which creatures participate in a limited degree argue the existence of the plenitude of perfection, self-subsisting perfection, perfection without limit. Whatever begins to be must have a cause; and since there cannot be an indefinite series of causes which are themselves caused, it is necessary that there be a first cause which

¹ Chapter I., v. 20.

² Sess. 3, de Revelatione, Can. I.

has existence of itself. There can be no order without an intelligent ruler. Since, therefore, a truly marvellous harmony is found to prevail among all the various parts of the great known universe, there must be a Supreme Intelligence, an All-wise Law-giver, the Author and Executor of the great code of fixed laws which govern finite natures. These arguments, as is evident, are drawn from the physical order of things. They are of the species referred to by the Sacred Text and the Vatican Council. They establish the existence of God by reasoning from "the things that are made." The medium of demonstration is the actual concrete existence of contingent, finite, changeable beings. Merely possible beings, the abstract essences of things, which appertain exclusively to the ideal order, form no part of them. And as far as we can discover, nowhere in their writings do the philosophers of antiquity make use of the proofs of the existence of the Deity taken from the ideal or abstract order of things. Likewise St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest philosopher of the Christian era, in treating of the question confines himself exclusively to the species of argumentation referred to above. No one has ever set forth more clearly or more forcibly than he the demonstrations of the existence of God drawn from the various aspects of concrete, finite things. But in vain do we seek in his works for explicit reference to a proof furnished by the metaphysical order. It is true, indeed, that he frequently asserts the principles on which such proof is based; but he nowhere explicitly formulates from these principles an argument designed to establish the existence of a necessary Infinite Being.

In more modern times a very important place is given in the works of Catholic philosophers to an argument drawn from the purely metaphysical order.¹ The medium of demonstration in this case is the essence of finite things as represented in the state of abstraction by the human mind. The argument may be thus stated: The essences of things are necessary, eternal, and immutable. Though individual men are subject to vicissitudes, though they begin to be to-day and to-morrow perish from among the things that are; the essence of man is subject to no change; its reality had no beginning and can have no end. Likewise all abstract principles founded upon the nature of things are eternal, necessary, unchangeable truths. The essence of a circle consists in this: That it is a figure, every point of whose circumference is

¹ This is especially true of the work referred to at the beginning of this article. The great aim of Father Lepidi in his *Philosophia Christiana* is evidently to make it clear that all philosophy and all science is based upon the existing Infinite as upon its foundation, and that there can be no science, no philosophy for those who deny the actual existence of the Necessary and the Infinite.

equally distant from the centre. There has been no time in which a circle was aught else than this, and there can be none. It is so independently of time. We have the fullest certitude of this truth, that if a circle at any time exist, it must of necessity conform to the type expressed in the definition just given. No power can ever effect that a circle be anything else. The same is to be said of every metaphysical principle. Take, for example, the proposition: If two things are equal to a third thing they are equal to each other. Even were there no human intellect to conceive this proposition, even were there no three existing distinct realities to which it could be applied, and, therefore, even if it could not be realized or exemplified in the concrete, it would still be the expression of an objective truth; would still be a necessary, eternal, immutable law. As a warrant for all these assertions we have evidence of the very highest order. Our intellect represents essences and the principles founded on them as realities. We have an immediate, intuitive perception of all such truths, and to deny them or any one of them is to destroy man's intellectual nature. If the objectivity of the concepts of the mind is denied in such cases as these, it must be rejected in all cases. And reason, thus shorn of the power of representing realities, becomes a worthless faculty which can no longer constitute a real difference in nature between man and the brute.

Now it is clear that metaphysical essences, and consequently the principles on which they are the basis, have no actual existence in themselves. For in the first place they are abstracted by the mind from actual existence; and secondly, they are *universal*, that is to say, they can be predicated of many individuals, and it is absurd to suppose that an actually existing thing can be many at the same time. The opinion that ideal essences possess actual being has, indeed, had its defenders among the philosophers of past ages; but it has long since been abandoned as a gross absurdity. It is equally clear that such essences are not mere *nothings*. For, as has been said above, they are objects of the intellect which apprehends and understands them. A pure non-entity cannot be the object of the mind. Being and intelligibility are correlative, and nothing can be conceived by the mind which does not possess being either in itself or in something else which contains it. Since, therefore, these metaphysical essences and the laws which arise from them have no actual being in and of themselves; since, moreover, they have being in some way, and since eternity, necessity, and immutability really belong to them as properties, it follows as a legitimate consequence that there must be an actually existent Eternal, Necessary and Immutable Being of which they are but possible participations. They are, as it

were, founded on the actual essence of this Self-existent Being which contains within itself the types, and the exemplars, and the laws of all other things which exist or can exist, and which possesses, moreover, the power necessary to create; the power of communicating actual entity in various degrees of perfection to an indefinite number of finite possible things.

There is but little of the sensible element in this process of reasoning, and consequently its force or convincing power cannot be vividly felt by those who are not accustomed to deal in abstractions. It is, for all that, an apodictical demonstration. And those whose minds are wont to roam in the realms of metaphysics can discern and realize the necessary connection between conclusion and premises in the argumentation quite as readily as in any of the others which philosophers and theologians employ to establish the existence of the Infinite.

As to the classification of the argument just developed, some would doubtless call it a *posteriori* reasoning. For though the essences of things be not the effects of the Divine will, or of God's creative power, yet the essence of God may be said to be the cause of them, inasmuch as it is the foundation on which they are based. It seems to us, however, that this reasoning may more correctly be denominated a *simultaneo*. It is evidently nothing else than an analysis of our ideas of finite essences. All admit that they have no being in themselves, and that they exist only in the essence of God, of which they are possible participations. When, therefore, they are expressed by the human mind it is in truth the Divine reality as participable according to this or that mode, which is the object represented. Of course, we would not be understood as asserting that the human mind has an intuitive knowledge of God's essence as it is in itself. That is ontologistic and false. But we do claim that all metaphysical concepts represent under a created, analogical similitude or image the being of God as capable of being participated in by creatures. It is that and nothing else which the intellect manifests when it conceives the nature of man in the abstract or any other ideal essence. In all such conceptions the existence of God is implicitly asserted. A simple analysis, then, of our concepts of finite essences shows us the necessary existence of the Infinite Being.

There is but one serious objection that can be made against the proof laid down above, and though that one has already been to some extent anticipated in the foregoing remarks, we propose to give it here fuller consideration and to answer it more explicitly, realizing that this answer must affect very materially what we have yet to say concerning another metaphysical proof of the existence of God. It is the objection made by Kant and by subjectivists

generally. Metaphysical essences and abstract concepts of whatsoever nature, say they, are nothing else than subjective forms. They are the frame-work of our intellects, laws of our minds. They have, and can have, no corresponding objective reality. This being so, they cannot serve as a medium by which we may demonstrate the existence of something real. The reasoning employed above is logical, indeed, they continue, but since it is based on a false supposition, to wit, the objectivity of concepts which in truth, are merely subjective, it is utterly worthless and fails to effect the purpose for which its advocates employ it. From the premises there laid down we may logically deduce the *mental* or *conceptual* evidence of God—a Supreme Being in the ideal order—but by no means are we warranted in inferring from these premises the actual existence of an Infinite Being in the order of physical realities.

The objection here proposed embodies the fundamental principle which underlies the transcendental idealism of Kant and all the kindred pernicious systems of philosophy which are in vogue at the present day. If that principle be admitted, it is not alone the metaphysical proof of the existence of God that is destroyed; the admission of it involves the total destruction of human reason. There is and there can be no process of reasoning without the metaphysical element. And when it is asserted that this element is unreal, that it is entirely subjective, the basis of every science, the foundation of all knowledge, is annihilated by one fell blow. Man's intellect is thus made the victim of idle illusions; the sport of empty dreams. All the speculations of the philosophers are declared to be vain hallucinations. All our lofty ideals of goodness and beauty and truth are placed on a par with the maniac's ravings.

This *reductio ad absurdum* would preclude all possibility of the acceptance of the doctrine of the subjectivists by sensible unprejudiced men, even if no direct refutation of it could be offered. However, such a refutation readily suggests itself. Evidence is the criterion of truth; and we have the clearest, brightest evidence of the objective reality of our metaphysical conceptions. That same light which exhibits to us the existence of a concept in our minds manifests the essentially representative nature of such concept; tells us of the existence of a reality for the expression of which such concept was designed and instituted by nature. All men readily distinguish between the conception of *being* and that of *nothing*; between that of *real being* and that of *ens rationis* which is purely mental, as, for instance, a negation of the relation between subject and predicate in a proposition.

It may be urged that no explanation can be given as to the origin of these metaphysical concepts; that all *real* or *true* knowl-

edge, since it is a representation of a real object, must necessarily be produced by the action of such object upon our cognoscitive faculties; and since these ideal objects, according to admission made above, have no real existence in themselves, they cannot be capable of such action; cannot, therefore, beget in our minds an image which may represent them. Concrete sensible things can do this. They really act upon our senses, and of them and them alone we can have true and objective knowledge.

Our answer to this is, that the question as to the origin of our ideas of supersensible things is entirely irrelevant to the discussion of our present subject. That we possess them, is a fact of consciousness. We know that we have them. There can be no more doubt on that point than on the question of our own existence. How we have come by them is a question which cannot be discussed here. Philosophers entertain widely different views on that subject. But no matter how the question may be decided, no matter what solution may be offered, the *fact* must remain unimpaired, that we actually have in our minds, ideas representing metaphysical essences, and representing them as entirely independent of every created intellect in the matter of objective reality.

We enter now upon the consideration of another metaphysical proof of the existence of God; and though firmly convinced of the validity of the demonstration, we must confess that we are not without some misgivings as to the reception which it will meet with among the learned. The scholastics have always looked with disfavor upon the celebrated ontological argument of St. Anselm. That they are justified in refusing to accept that argument seems to us quite evident. The reasoning of the saint is defective because of the unwarranted transition from the ideal to the real order. The idea of actual existence is necessarily contained in the metaphysical concept of the most perfect being. As will be more fully explained further on, the argument of St. Anselm simply asserts this fact, but it fails to furnish sufficient reason why we should affirm that there is an objective reality outside the mind corresponding in every respect to the mental concept. Precisely the same is to be said of the argumentation employed by Descartes. It also is sophistical for the reason just assigned. In truth, it is not a new argument, substantially different from that of St. Anselm. It is the same reasoning proposed in a somewhat different form; and in this new form it falls quite as far short of effecting its purpose as it did in the hands of its original author. The failure of these illustrious philosophers to construct upon our conception of the Infinite a satisfactory proof of God's existence, very naturally causes men to look with distrust upon every similar attempt. Notwithstanding this well grounded and universal prejudice, we venture to

put forth an ontological proof of the existence of God, based upon the human conception of the Infinite, considering it as valid and as irrefragable as any one of the time-honored demonstrations employed by Theist philosophers.

It may be laid down as a principle, and it cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that the object, and the only object, of the human intellect is *ens, being*. *Non-entity, nothing*, cannot be manifested or represented; cannot be the object of a mind. That alone can be conceived which has entity in some sense. We say *in some sense* because we do not wish to exclude from the category of things which can be represented by the mind those purely mental beings which are called *entia rationis*. We can and we do conceive and reason about such things as *negation, privation*, relation of subject to predicate in a proposition, and many other similar things which cannot possess real existence. But when it is clearly understood in what sense or in what way we conceive these things, the truth of our principle becomes yet more manifest. Every one knows that there is no such thing as a negation existing in nature, either actually or potentially. Whatever is, is a positive something. The privation of sight, in itself, is not a real being, but rather the want, the absence of something real. Moreover, these objects of the mind cannot be represented or known by the mind in themselves. Their cognoscibility is in exact proportion to their entity. They can consequently be known only in conjunction with a real being. Thus, when we conceive blindness, we consider a real subject destitute of the power of seeing. It is thus evident that in such a conception we manifest two real entities, which by a mental process we separate from each other. But a privation or a negation as such is objectively a non-entity, and therefore as such cannot be an object of intellectual conception. Only a real being then can be *per se* manifested by the mind of man. And it is evident, consequently, that whatever the intellect conceives as real being must necessarily be a real thing; must exist either in itself or in the power of a cause which can bring it forth from nothing.

Now, consciousness tells us that we have an idea of the Infinite, an idea which represents the plenitude of being; the sum, as it were, of all perfection. That idea is not an agglomeration of the various concepts which manifest all the actual and possible finite things. Neither is it the idea of *ens* in general, as abstracted from particular modes of being. This latter is something vague, indeterminate, universal, which can be predicated of numberless entities. On the contrary, our idea of the Infinite has for its object a particular, individual, simple, all-perfect *Ens*, embracing and containing in itself every possible perfection; in a word, that object is *Ipsium Esse*. Such an idea every philosopher professes to have

when he undertakes to prove the existence of God even by the *a posteriori* method. He does not seek to establish the existence of a vague, indefinite thing, but of a determinate, concrete object.

It matters not whence this idea comes. It matters not that it is imperfect and finite. It matters not for the present whether it represents its object as it exists in itself or in some created similitude which is merely analogous to it. We are concerned just now with a fact only. And it is an undeniable fact that we possess an idea which respects as its object a supremely Perfect Being. If to this fact we apply the principle stated above, viz., that the mind can manifest nothing but *reality*, it becomes equally clear and undeniable that this Supreme and most Perfect Being is a reality—a real entity.

Now real beings, as was said above, are of two classes. They are either actually existent or merely possible. It is self-evident that the infinite cannot be a *possible* reality; for what cause could contain or produce it? It remains, therefore, that it is an actual reality, that it really exists in itself.

Deny this conclusion and, it seems to us the whole fabric of philosophy must totter and fall. No structure can stand when its foundation has been swept from beneath it. All philosophy, all reasoning—we repeat it again—is based upon this principle, that the intellect is a faculty whose nature it is to manifest *truth*; whose only object is being or reality. It is for the subversion of this principle that Hume and Kant and skeptics and subjectivists generally have labored. To that end, above all, have they directed their efforts. And if it be once granted by Catholic philosophers that the mind can manifest *nothing*, or that any one of its concepts may be destitute of an order to reality, then, it seems to us, they make an unconditional surrender and give over the field to their adversaries. Such a concession they would certainly make were they to deny the conclusion drawn from that principle and from our idea of the Infinite as from its premises; for, that conclusion is a legitimate and necessary inference and can be evaded only by a flat denial of the principle from which it is deduced.

Catholic philosophers are all willing to admit, are even firm in maintaining against Kant and his school, that our conceptions of finite beings in the ideal order manifest realities. They all readily grant and strenuously contend that even if no circle existed it would yet be a necessary, eternal, immutable truth that all the radii of a circle are equal; that even if there were no man in existence it would still be an unchangeable law that man is a rational animal; that he *can* exist, and that if he exist he must necessarily possess the nature and the properties of a rational animal. Of course, they cannot demonstrate these assertions. And yet in

laying them down as truths they are guilty of no unjustifiable assumptions. These truths are represented as objective by the mind. Their objectivity is manifested in the light of evidence. It is based on the clear and self-evident principle that the intellect is ordered by nature to the manifestation of truth or reality. No one of the scholastics would contend that in these cases there is an unjustifiable *transitus* from the ideal to the real order. All will concede that a sufficient reason for that transition is contained in the principle so often stated above. The mere fact that the intellect represents finite ideal things is the only reason for concluding that such things are, or may become, actual entities; that they either exist in themselves or else are contained in some cause which can produce them and make them to exist in the concrete. Why, then, may not this same principle be employed in the same way and for the same purpose and with the same effect when there is question of our idea of the Infinite?

It will, perhaps, be said that the argument here proposed differs not from that put forth by St. Anselm centuries ago; an argument which St. Thomas rejected as sophistical, and which, until this day has found no defender among the scholastic philosophers and theologians. We claim, however, that there is a most marked difference between the two processes of argumentation, and even at the risk of repeating something that has already been said, we propose to point out clearly in what that difference consists. In order to do this it will be necessary to state the Anselmic argument in substance. Its deficiency can then be seen more readily. It may be thus summed up: The greatest and best object which can be conceived possesses actual existence; for, that which exists actually is certainly greater than that which exists merely in thought. And since God is, according to all, an Infinite Being greater than which none can be conceived, it follows that he exists actually *in re*.¹

Now it is evident that in this argument there is assigned no reason for the transition from the subjective or ideal to the objective or real. It is asserted simply that the metaphysical concept of the most Perfect contains the metaphysical concept of existence. The conceptual definition of God is laid down: God is Supreme Perfection essentially existing. But we seek in vain for some motive, some *ratio sufficiens*, which leads us to conclude that this

¹ In the author's own words it runs thus: *Certe id quo majus cogitari nequit, non potest esse in intellectu solo; si enim vel in solo intellectu est, potest cogitari esse et in re, quod majus est. Si ergo id quo majus cogitari non potest est in solo intellectu, id ipsum quo majus cogitari non potest est quo majus cogitari potest. Sed certo hoc esse non potest. Existit ergo procul dubio aliquid quo majus cogitari non valet et in intellectu et in re.*

concept is realized in the concrete. No reference is made to such a principle as that which has been so strongly insisted upon here : the principle, namely, of the objectivity of the human concept, which, as it were, bridges over the chasm between the ideal and the real and thereby furnishes us a means of transit. Because St. Anselm introduced no such element into his argument, because he failed to show that whatever is *per se* the object of the mind necessarily pertains in some way to the real order or the order of realities, we maintain with all the scholastics that his reasoning was imperfect and defective. Precisely the same is to be said of the reason employed by Descartes. As we remarked above, it is not really different from the one which we have just discussed. Descartes but proposed the argument of St. Anselm under a new form, and failed to remedy the defect which vitiates it and renders it useless.

In order to bring out yet more clearly the idea for which we are contending, we proceed to formulate the objection which, having till now been employed with telling effect against Descartes and St. Anselm, may naturally suggest itself as militating with equal force against us in the position which we have taken in this article. It may be said that if this reasoning be correct and the argument here exposed be valid, the intellect of man is rendered incapable of error. Whatever it conceives must necessarily be ; consequently, from the very fact that we have a conception of any given object, no matter how grotesque, ridiculous and chimerical, it follows that such object must be assigned a place among realities. No other criterion of objective truth is required than the subjective conception —the psychological fact that an idea exists in an intellect. Now every one who enjoys the use of reason knows that this is false and absurd. We can represent in our minds a living man with a head of gold. The materialist conceives the human soul as a material substance. There is no limit to the number of chimeras which can be excogitated by the intellect and which can in no way exist in external nature. It is, therefore, illogical to infer from a mental concept the reality of the object which it represents. The "Infinite" which we conceive must then be regarded as a mere chimera or *ens rationis* until its actual existence shall have been demonstrated by the customary process of a *posteriori* reasoning.

Before attempting to answer this seeming difficulty we would call attention to the fact that the same objection may be brought against all those who claim objective reality in any sense whatsoever for our intellectual conceptions of abstract things. All the scholastics and sound philosophers in general proclaim that even if no concrete circle existed with which the ideal could be compared, it would yet be an immutable truth that a circle is just what we

now conceive it to be, and moreover, that a circle would be a possible entity, something capable of existing in nature. These things they could not demonstrate by *a posteriori* reasoning in the hypothesis. Of course, if a circle be supposed to exist in the concrete, its eternal possibility is self-evident—*ab actu ad posse valet consecutio*. When, however, it is assumed, as we are assuming, that no concrete example is to be had, such reasoning cannot be employed. Consequently, all the aforesaid philosophers would, in such an hypothesis, have to seek elsewhere the reason for the objective reality of such thought. They would be forced to show by reasoning from some other standpoint that an abstract circle is not an *ens rationis* or a chimera incapable of realization in nature.

We readily admit that in this they would have a very easy task; and the solution which they would be forced to give to the difficulty as proposed, is precisely the same as that which we offer when the same objection is brought against us to demonstrate the futility of our seeking to show the actual existence of God from the human mind's concept of an Infinite Being. It is absolutely false that there can be a concept or a mental representation of that which neither exists nor can exist. Whatever is represented by the mind as a real being *is* a real being either actual or possible. In this sense the assertion made above, "Whatever the mind conceives must necessarily be," is most certainly true. This has already been shown with sufficient clearness. All that remains now is to point out that the examples adduced in the objection, in nowise contradict the principle just enumerated. A rustic may tell us that he can conceive a square triangle, or a figure which, at the same time and viewed under the same aspect is square and triangular, but every one will know that he is mistaken; that he conceives no such thing; that he is ignorant of the nature of one or of both of these figures. Likewise, if any one say that he conceives a man with a golden head, we all know that he is in error. He is ignorant of the nature of man. If regard be had to conformation of parts only, he can certainly form an intellectual conception of a gold-headed object having the shape of a human being; but he can no more conceive a living rational animal with a head of gold than he can conceive a "triangular square." The materialist really has a conception of material substance as we all have, and such substance is, therefore, at least, a possible entity. He may also conceive the soul as the principle of life and operations in man, and this, too, is a reality. He can combine the two in one conception only through ignorance of the nature of one or of both. Chimeras of the class referred to cannot, therefore, be represented in the mind. And the reason is because they involve repugnance. They have and can have no entity; cannot, therefore, be conceived.

There is another class of chimerical beings which do not actually exist, and yet are possible things. A man with feet like to those of a horse, though a monstrosity, is capable of being produced by the creative power of God. A man having some sort of wings can be created and be made capable of flying. Such things are contained in the power of a cause. Though they have no being in themselves, no actual existence, they are potential entities and can, consequently, be objects of intellectual conception.

From the reply just given it is evident that we do not claim absolute infallibility for the human intellect. Men can and do err through ignorance, want of consideration, and failure to use properly the cognoscitive faculties which nature has given them, as for instance, the external senses. It is equally evident, however, that the intellect is *per se* infallible. And above all, it is evident that it is not essentially untrustworthy, as it most surely would be in the hypothesis that it can ever represent aught else than *reality*. And from all this it appears to us quite clear that the only way to elude the force of the argument, as stated above, is to deny that we have any idea of the Infinite at all, and such a denial is too clearly absurd to merit the slightest serious consideration.

A word now as to the position which St. Thomas occupied with relation to the proof here employed. The fact that the Angelic Doctor rejected the reasoning of St. Anselm as insufficient, in no way places him in opposition to the ontological argument as proposed in this paper. This is evident from the wide disparity which we have shown to exist between the two processes. As was remarked at the outset, St. Thomas did not explicitly state the metaphysical proof of God's existence which is based on the essences of finite things—on the eternity, necessity and immutability of the ideal order. All will confess, however, that he did lay down explicitly the great principle which underlies that method of argumentation. It is equally certain that he gave expression to the principles which constitute the foundation of the reasoning we have here employed. Indeed, the fundamental principle in both cases is precisely the same. No one can claim that possible finite things, as conceived by the intellect, necessarily demonstrate the actual existence of the Infinite, unless it first be admitted with St. Thomas that it is of the nature of the intellect that it manifest being—"ut rebus conformetur" [Qu. i., de Veritate, a 9]; and that "intelligibile est *res*" [contra Gent. Lib. I, c. 43, edit. Urcelli]. And it is in these very truths that we find the *ratio sufficiens* of deducing the actual existence of God from the idea of the Infinite which dwells in the human mind. It is true, St. Thomas denies that the existence of God can be proved *a priori*. But so do we. He says it cannot be proved by that

demonstration *quæ est per causam, et dicitur propter quid et est per priora simpliciter* [I^a. P. Qu. 2, a. 2]. In this we heartily concur. And it is not claimed that the argument developed above belongs to the species of demonstration which the Angel of the Schools describes in the words just quoted. Our ontological proof is rather an analysis of the idea of the Infinite, just as the one given further back, is an analysis of ideal finite things. For the same reason which was assigned above for the classification of the first, the second may also be termed a *demonstratio a simultaneo*.

In order that it may be more readily understood, we now sum up in a few words the metaphysical proof drawn from the idea of the Infinite: We have an idea of the Infinite. That is evident from our own consciousness. Every idea represents *ens* or being; either *ens rationis* or *ens reale*. If this principle be denied, we must all become subjectivists. It is clear that the object of our idea of the Infinite is no more an *ens rationis* than is the object of our abstract concept of *homo*. It must, therefore, represent a real being, *ens reale*. Now *ens reale* is of two kinds. It is either merely possible or actually existent. It is absurd to talk about the Infinite as merely possible, or as contained in the power of a cause. Therefore, the *ens reale* which is manifested in that idea is an actually existent being. Therefore, God exists.

FRANCIS DE MONTMORENCY-LAVAL, BISHOP OF
QUEBEC.

VIE DE MGR. DE LAVAL, Premier Evêque de Québec, et Apôtre du Canada, 1622-1708. Par l'Abbé Auguste Gosselin, Docteur des-Lettres de l'Université Laval. 2 vols. Quebec. 1890.

IF it be a good fortune for a biographer to happen upon a life so intensely and so widely interesting as that of the great American bishop, whose career is described in these two exhaustive volumes, the American reader will, on laying them down, say that the apostolic prelate was not a little fortunate in finding such a biographer. This work fills what has been hitherto felt by scholars as a great void in the early history of the Church in Canada.

The name of Francis de Montmorency-Laval is now made doubly dear, since the Holy See has just solemnly authorized the proceedings begun at Rome for the canonization of him whom the Abbé Gosselin styles "the Apostle of Canada."

Assuredly, the episcopal career which began on December 8, 1658, and ended at Quebec on May 6, 1708, was adorned by all the virtues of the apostle and the saint. The sweet odor of sanctity left behind by this illustrious man at his death, nearly two centuries ago, filled all Quebec and all Canada when we first touched their shores in 1832. This fragrance of an angelic life, and the fame won by deeds of immortal beneficence, have been increasing ever since. The institutions of learning which he created in the ancient capital of New France have blossomed, at length, like the century plant, into the great university which bears his name.

It is a wonderful, a fascinating, and a most edifying story of goodness, of self-sacrifice, of the sublime heroism inspired by religion, and of that all-sufficing creative power wielded by true sanctity, which the two volumes before us unfold.

I.

Francis de Montmorency-Laval was born in the village of Montigny-sur-Avre, in the diocese of Chartres, on April 30, 1622. Montigny was one of four estates or lordships belonging to his father, Hugh de Laval. Matthew de Montmorency, surnamed the Great, who died in 1230, had for his second wife Emma de Laval, the only child and heiress of the Baron Guy de Laval. From this union came Guy de Montmorency-Laval, the ancestor of the first

bishop of Quebec. His elder brother, Bouchard, whose mother was a daughter of the Count de Soissons, continued the line of the Montmorencys.

Francis was the third son of Hugh de Laval. The family was a deeply Christian one, both father and mother giving the most edifying examples of living faith and piety. Reared in such a home, Francis manifested from his childhood a decided love for the sanctuary. When in his ninth year, in October, 1630, he was sent to the Jesuit school of Laflèche, where he made great progress in letters as well as in piety. His two elder brothers having embraced a military career, Francis was destined to the Church, assumed the clerical dress and tonsure, as was the custom of the times and country, and was created by the Bishop of Evreux, a near maternal relative, a canon of his cathedral. Thenceforth, he was known as the Abbé de Montigny. From the college of Laflèche the young Abbé, having completed his classical course, passed to the Collège de Clermont, in Paris, also directed by the Jesuits. There he pursued his studies in philosophy and theology. About 1640, the celebrated Jesuit missionary, Alexander de Rhodes, arrived on a first visit to Paris, soliciting recruits for the distant missions of China and Tonkin. The appeals, conversations, and saintly life of Father de Rhodes, made a deep impression on Francis de Laval and his fellow-students. The young scion of the Montmorencys would have, at once, offered himself for the work of the apostolate in the far East. But deaths had just occurred in his own family which seemed likely to change totally his own career.

His father died in 1640; his oldest brother fell in the great battle of Fribourg, on August 3, 1644, and just a twelvemonth later, his other brother was killed in the battle of Nordlingen. These sad accidents made Francis de Laval the head of his family, and the mainstay of his widowed mother and her remaining children.

The advice of the Bishop of Evreux, and that of the Jesuits of the College of Clermont, induced Francis to forego, for a time at least, his purpose of becoming a priest. So he returned to Montigny, and regulated with great tact and practical wisdom the family estates. Just then, in July, 1646, the Bishop of Evreux died, and on his death-bed expressed his regret at having urged Francis to give up his vocation. He, therefore, made the young man promise that he would return to his calling, and the better to enable him to pursue it he appointed him Archdeacon of Evreux.

He at once renounced, in favor of his only remaining brother, John Louis, all his own claims to the family estates and honors, and, with his pious mother's consent and blessing, prepared to

receive holy orders. He also further qualified himself for the discharge of his duties as archdeacon by taking out his degrees in Canon Law in the University of Paris.

Providence, however, had chosen Francis de Laval for a wider field of labor than the diocese of Evreux. A second visit of Father de Rhodes to France, in 1652, led the archdeacon and several of his old college companions to place themselves at the disposal of the great missionary, offering to follow him to the remotest regions of Asia. De Rhodes and his companions proceeded at once to Rome, where Innocent X. greeted them most cordially. The names of Francis de Laval and of Messrs. Pallu and Picquet were submitted to the Holy See for the episcopal office and the dignity of Vicars-Apostolic in upper Asia; de Laval, in particular, to be Vicar-Apostolic of Tonkin. The proposition was favorably received by the Pope, and the whole project was referred by him to the cardinals. The thing was looked upon as settled. Francis de Laval, on December 7, 1653, signed in Rome a formal renunciation of his dignity of archdeacon, and held himself in readiness for his new and perilous mission.

Thereupon the court of Portugal, which claimed the prerogative of high patronage over all the churches of India and upper Asia, protested against the proposed appointment of the Vicars-Apostolic. And so the whole scheme was set aside for the moment. Meanwhile, Francis de Laval returned to France, and withdrew to a half-monastic retreat for fervent priests established at Caen by John de Bernières, one of the wealthy and saintly laymen so common in the France of the seventeenth century. He there devoted himself to the service of the poor and of the sick in the hospitals, practicing with ever-increasing fervor all those virtues of self denial and self-sacrifice which prepare apostolic men for their work among the Heathen. This house in Caen was called "The Hermitage," and was one adjoining the Ursuline Convent. Fervent priests and fervent laymen lived there together, encouraging each other by word and example to the pursuit of Christian perfection. Among them were men destined to be, in Canada, the zealous fellow-workers of the first bishop of Quebec. It was in the "Hermitage," at Caen, that the choice of the Holy See confirming the request of the young king, Louis XIV., and of Anne of Austria, the Queen Regent of France, found Francis de Laval, in the autumn of 1658. He was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of New France, with the title of Bishop of Petra.

This appointment raised in France quite a storm of opposition. The archbishops of Rouen, because the first priests sent to Canada had sailed from a port in their diocese, had taken it on themselves, without any reference to the Holy See, to claim exclusive spiritual

jurisdiction over the vast countries drained by the St. Lawrence and its affluents. The advice of the then Archbishop of Rouen had not been sought either by the French government or by the Court of Rome in the nomination or appointment of Mgr. de Laval. This was declared to be an abuse of the papal prerogative, and a violation of "the liberties" of the Gallican Church. So both the parliament of Rouen and that of Paris were appealed to by the indignant archbishop, and a solemn decree was thereupon issued forbidding any French bishop giving episcopal consecration to the Vicar-Apostolic elect.

The Papal Nuncio in Paris, however, Mgr. Piccolomini, took on himself to perform the rite; and so on December 8, 1658, in the beautiful abbey church of St. Germain des Prés, Francis de Laval was consecrated Bishop of Petra. On Easter Sunday, April 13, 1659, the missionary bishop, with four companions, two of them priests and two noble laymen eager for the apostleship, set sail from La Rochelle. Landing at Percé, on May 16th following, Mgr. de Laval had the happiness of solemnly confirming there one hundred and forty persons whom the devoted Jesuit missionaries had prepared for the sacrament. More than one-half of this number were French or of French parentage; the others were Indian converts. It was the first great joy which the young prelate's heart had tasted on that soil of the New World, so ardently looked forward to. He arrived at Quebec at sunset on June 16th, and landed the next morning amid the rejoicings of the mixed population of French colonists and native Indians. Quebec, then, counted only five hundred inhabitants, the total European population, of what was called New France, amounting to about 2200.

But it was on the conversion of the unnumbered Indian tribes that the Vicar-Apostolic had set his heart. To win these to Christ was the hope and the desire of his life thenceforth.

II.

He faced his gigantic work with the spirit of a Francis Xavier. On the vessel which bore him to the shores of New France, Mgr. de Laval imitated to the letter the humility and charity of the great apostle of India and Japan. His devotion to the sick and plague-stricken only increased with age. In the long voyages across the Atlantic, which, in after years, he had to undertake, he rendered the most touching services to his unfortunate fellow-travellers. It was of no account to him that the sick he thus ministered to, either did not appreciate his supernatural motives, or treated him with contemptuous ingratitude.

On his arrival in Quebec his eyes sought out the representatives of the various Indian tribes who had flocked thither to greet him.

The heart of the apostolic man went forth to them with an irresistible impulse. One young Christian Huron was dying in his tent. The bishop hastened to him; and, forgetful of everything but the immortal soul there waiting for our "Orient from on high," he and his interpreter prepared the dying man, and let in on his mind and heart, in fuller measure, the light of the gospel. Mgr. de Laval knelt by that death bed, washed with his own hands the feet he was about to anoint for the last journey, and then administered Extreme Unction. He gave the Indians precedence everywhere in the solemn religious ceremonies celebrated at his coming. They were placed first in the pro-cathedral in the ranks of those to be confirmed. And, to win back to the fold these stray sheep, he prepared for all the Indians present in Quebec a sumptuous banquet, in which, at his own expense, the proud but sensual natives partook of every delicacy most coveted by the Indian appetite.

In returning thanks to the Vicar-Apostolic, the chosen Huron orator called him *l'homme de la grande affaire*—"the man of the great concern." It was not a misnomer. Francis de Laval was devoted to but one concern during the entire half century Providence destined him to labor in Canada, the salvation of the Indian tribes, and, as the chief help toward that end, the sanctification of his clergy and the French colonists.

He had set his soul on treading firmly in the footsteps of St. Francis Xavier. In Quebec, as at Caen, he visited and comforted the sick and infirm, rendering them the lowliest services. Scarcely had he set foot in Quebec, than he hastened to the Hotel Dieu. The likeness which the sufferers there bore to the Son of God, drew him toward them with irresistible power. No entreaties, no representations were able to prevent him from taking up his lodging at the end of the sick ward, and to daily serve the patients in the humblest way.

"His heroic devotion to them¹ was a most eloquent sermon. One day, in this same Hotel Dieu of Quebec, some thirty Protestant patients, who had been admitted to the ward, were so touched by the charity of the man of God, that they abjured their errors, and were received into the Church.²

The descendant of the Montmorencys bore during the long crusade he had undertaken to spread the Holy Name, the same armor and weapons used by his admired patron, Xavier. His faithful valet, Houssard, who never quitted him during the last twenty years of his life, tells us, in his manuscript memoirs, that amid the cruel sufferings of all this period, and the preternatural activity displayed by the saintly prelate, he continually wore the

¹ At the time many were suffering from the awful "purple fever."

² Gosselin, ii., 591.

hair shirt to which he had been accustomed from the beginning of his priestly career. All through the last years of his life this excruciating hair shirt quitted him neither night nor day. "Then," says Frère Houssard, "the hair shirt which he took off with so much secrecy at night, lest I should see it, he was too weak to divest himself of. But whenever I dressed the cauterized sore on his arm, he took great care that I should not discover his secret."

He would never sleep on a soft bed. "When he saw that, in pity for his broken health, they put a soft mattress over his hard paillasse, the good bishop would wait till his valet had retired, and then take away the mattress. In the morning (and he always rose at 2 o'clock) he put the mattress back again." "His meals were to the last degree simple and frugal; I may indeed say without exaggeration, that his whole life was one long fast. He never breakfasted, and at night partook of a very slight collation." His long and fatiguing walks through the pathless Canadian forests, and the extremes of heat and cold, and of hardships of every description to which he joyously exposed himself, together with his habitual abstinence and other rigorous penitential austerities, brought on premature stomach disorders, heart failure, and running sores in both feet. These infirmities led him, when he had scarcely passed his sixtieth year to resign his see. It was an unfortunate step. For, with the exception of a few years, during which his successor was able to perform the laborious duties of administering so vast a diocese, Providence allowed the burthen of the episcopal functions to fall on Mgr. de Laval.

Nothing seemed capable of dismaying the indomitable old man, when the need of souls called for his active co-operation. Then neither the disabled feet, nor the ruined stomach prevented him from undertaking, in a frail bark canoe, even the long journey on water from Quebec to Montreal, or the painful tramp on foot to some nearer parish where Confirmation had to be given.

We have said that his austerities brought on a premature old age. Can anything be premature in the existence and life-labors of men who are only led by the Spirit of God? It did not take twenty years of the life of Francis de Montmorency Laval to fill both Old and New France with the fame of his heroic labors and and the sweet odor of his sanctity.

Such, then, was the man who, in June, 1659, came to govern and evangelize under the immediate authority of the Holy See the vast regions drained by the St. Lawrence, the Missouri and the Mississippi, and extending northward as far as Hudson's Bay. As his Vicariate-Apostolic and afterwards the Bishopric of Quebec,

¹ *Ibidem*, 604.

embraced in its jurisdiction all the regions of the North American continent dependent on the crown of France at the date of its erection, Bishop de Laval's pastoral care extended not only to the vast countries drained by the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, but to those watered by the Missouri, the Mississippi and their affluents. Impossible as it was for him to evangelize or visit in person these immense territories, his apostolic zeal urged or encouraged the Jesuit missionaries, the secular priests of his Quebec seminary, and the Sulpicians of Montreal, to plant missions around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on both sides of the mighty stream, on the shores of the great lakes, and along the headwaters of the Hudson. It was with his blessing that Marquette went forth on the apostolic errand which cost him his life. When successive fires had burned down his seminary at Quebec, the venerable prelate melted his last pieces of plate to make a ciborium and a monstrance for one of the Jesuit missions in our northwestern territory. The instructions which he drew up for the secular priests sent to help the Jesuits in their gigantic labors, are worthy of being graven on gold tablets for the instruction of all priests on the mission.

It may be truly said of him so justly styled "the Apostle of Canada," that through his spirit he lived and labored in every one of the holy men who scattered, from 1658 till 1708, the seeds of the gospel truths and virtues over so large a portion of our country.

It is, however, the labor bestowed by Mgr. de Laval in cultivating what we might call his "home field," the valley of the St. Lawrence from Cape Gaspé and the shores of Labrador to the confluence of the Ottawa with its mighty neighbor, that the descendant of the Montmorencys displayed his indomitable courage and pastoral zeal. This home-field is upward of six hundred miles in length. It is on record that Bishop de Laval visited every single settlement then existing along both shores of the St. Lawrence, from Tadoussac to the Lake of the Two Mountains, nine times while he was Vicar-Apostolic and Bishop of Quebec, and several times thereafter, in his old age, and while his successor was a prisoner in England!

We must not forget that all these pastoral visitations had to be made, for the most part, if not always, in a bark canoe, exposed to the extremes of heat and cold of a Canadian climate, to the continual torture in summer of mosquitoes and other poisonous insects, and to the no less continual risk of being overtaken by the savage Iroquois, who then terrorized the Canadian settlement.

In the autumn of 1659 Quebec was almost closely besieged by this ferocious enemy. Yet no sooner had the danger become less threatening than the intrepid Bishop set out with one of his priests

in a bark canoe, bearing with him for his episcopal insignia a simple rochet and camail with the plainest of mitres and a wooden crozier. . . . He, as his historian remarks, was one of those "golden bishops" (*Evêques d'or*) so praised in the early ages of the Church.

But wherever he was, at Quebec or Montreal, or while visiting some infant settlement in the forest, the holy man only distinguished himself from the missionaries around him by doing more work than any of them, or by taking on himself to perform what was more painful and fatiguing. There were but very few horses in the entire colony. In summer the Bishop and his companion had to tramp on foot through the forest. In winter he learned to use snow-shoes. In these first years of his apostolate he would start out to visit the distant sick, to baptize infants, or to give confirmation and the last sacraments to the dying, alone with a guide, carrying in a pack on his back, vestments, portable altar and sacred vessels. His charity for his flock was like a consuming flame. It communicated its divine ardor to the priests who beheld him at work; it kindled the hearts of his people. But it wasted rapidly the earthly vessel that contained it.

Francis de Laval stood six feet high; he was a man of majestic and commanding presence. But his noble features were lit up with that unearthly radiance which holiness of life and austerity impart to the countenance of men of God. It was of little use to warn the young Bishop, when he began his giant race of devotion and suffering that he was impairing his health. Who could prevent our Lord from spending His nights in vigil and prayer on the hill-tops, after His long days of wasting missionary labor in Galilee or Judea?

Whatever may be thought or said of the motives which animated the men who first entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and planted the white-lilied flag of France on the lordly heights of Quebec and Montreal, it is certain that, in the minds of the French sovereigns who were the founders of New France, there was the sincere and firm purpose that the colony should be a model one, thoroughly Christian, and thoroughly Catholic. The various companies organized for the purpose of opening up the country to civilization were, in the main, composed of men to whom pecuniary gain was only a very secondary object. The first governors sent from France were also chosen because of their distinguished virtue. And, to do them justice, they proved themselves to be true Christian men, as we may instance in the case of the pious De Montmagny, who welcomed the Venerable Marie de l'Incarnation, on August 1, 1639; and of the no less pious D'Argenson, who received Mgr. de Laval. The politico-religious principles which had

obtained so long in the kingdom of St. Louis, were one source of the moral mischief done to New France during the reigns of *Le Grand Monarque* and his immediate successor. The other causes were—the unscrupulous greed of gain among the French traders; the jealousy entertained by some of the Viceroys, and by most of their counsellors and subordinates, of all religious authority, and shared at home by such men as the great Minister Colbert; and finally, the unjustifiable dissensions which arose among the clergy themselves.

These we can only glance at in these pages. They are fully and impartially set forth in Dr. Gosselin's biography. How far, if at all, Mgr. de Laval is to be held accountable for the bitter and protracted quarrels that arose between himself and the Governor-General, we shall see further on. Certain it is, that to him, to his apostolic zeal and generosity, are to be chiefly traced, not only the flourishing condition of religion in Canada, but the erection of the magnificent institutions on which repose religion itself and the social prosperity of the country.

III.

Let us now examine the great bishop's invincible fortitude in protecting the Indian races against the inroads of their mortal enemy—ALCOHOLISM.

The first bishop of Quebec has been severely blamed by some writers for his energetic zeal in repressing the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. This, the historian and the statesman must ever hold to be one of the prelate's highest merits. Such, also, we may rest assured, will be the judgment of the Holy See, when it comes to form an estimate of the long battle of Francis de Laval with the unscrupulous traders and short-sighted economists of his day.

Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec, and the governors who came after him down to 1659, had been unanimous and energetic in forbidding and punishing the sale of alcoholic stimulants to the native tribes. In this they were sustained and encouraged by the kings of France. The royal edicts forbade this criminal traffic under the severest penalties.

We refrain from reproducing here the testimonies of the most illustrious Canadian contemporaries of Mgr. de Laval on this subject. The Venerable Mary of the Incarnation, saintly and experienced Jesuit missionaries, noblemen who had exercised the vice-regal functions in Canada, all alike agree in declaring that the great bane of the native races was the mad passion for alcohol.¹

¹ See Gosselin, i., pp. 282-285.

The traders in fur of that day knew, as well as do the conscienceless Indian agents in our western territories, that once an Indian has tasted bad brandy or bad whiskey, he becomes like a man possessed by an evil spirit. He will drink till he falls down like a log, or rages and raves about like a wild beast. It is in our days, as in those of the early Canadian colony, the poor native Indian will give everything he has in the world for a bottle of the maddening beverage. This was the weakness on which the French traders speculated. And it was from its fearful consequences that Francis de Laval and his clergy struggled to preserve the native races. Who will dare to say that their interference was not a mighty service done to God, to humanity, and to the country they sought to evangelize?

One of Bishop de Laval's contemporaries and trusted advisers in Canada, the great Jesuit missionary, Father Jerome Lalemant, thus speaks of the effects of alcoholic intoxication among the Indians about 1660:

"Satan has raised up against us a domestic foe more cruel than our public enemy; this is the mad passion of some Indians for the excessive use of liquors (*boissons*), and the criminal mania which impels some Frenchmen to sell them these liquors. The natives of America at first showed a horrible dislike for our wines; but now, when they have once had a taste of them, they become so passionately fond of them that they sell even their clothing, and their very children, in order to gratify their mad craving for drink.

"I am not willing to describe all the evils which such disorders cause in our infant Christian settlements. No ink is black enough to paint them in their true colors; one should dip one's pen in dragon's gall to convey an idea of the bitterness of soul they cause us."¹

In 1662 the Theologians of Sorbonne, in Paris, were consulted on the moral lawfulness of thus selling wine and brandy to the Indians. "Ordinarily," it is said in the paper submitted to the Sorbonne, "the Indians only buy these liquors from Europeans for the purpose of getting drunk. Hence great disorders and great crimes. They fight and kill each other; they attack the Europeans; in short they commit a thousand and a thousand sins."²

On March 8, 1675, Mgr. de Laval again consulted the Sorbonne. "Ever since the establishment of the French colony in Canada," he says, "a continuous experience has demonstrated that our savages will get drunk every time they get possession of

¹ Quoted by Abbé Gosselin, i., 283.

² *Ibidem*, ii., p. 678.

intoxicating drinks. And if we find some Iroquois who buy French brandy and keep it to take it home to their own country, it is simply because French brandy, being distilled from wine, is much stronger, much headier, and far more intoxicating than that which they can get from New Holland, which is only made from grain. And while this (French) brandy lasts, the entire Indian village is plunged in drunkenness, committing ever species of disorder and abomination. It is a living image of hell. . . .

"They are so inclined to get drunk, so bent on it, that they will not trade with our people for liquor, unless these have enough of it to make them all drunk. They will not buy wine or other liquors when they can get brandy, because this intoxicates them much more speedily or more powerfully. . . .

"Drunkenness, in every place where liquor is sold to the Indians, completely ruins the Christian religion, and whatever one might hope to introduce there of civilization. . . . Married and unmarried women drink as much as the men. Parents make their children drink. So long, therefore, as they have liquor, they live like brute beasts rather than human beings.

"Hence, they are reduced to beggary and destitution, having, most of the time, no means whatever for buying raiment or food for themselves and their children."¹

To this fearful picture, the bishop adds the scenes of murder and bloodshed caused by intoxication among a naturally ferocious and lawless race, as well as the hideous and unnatural immorality produced by habitual intoxication.

The Venerable Mary of the Incarnation, whose labors brought her into daily and hourly contact with the Canadian Indians and their children, confirms the testimony of so many witnesses: "Our Prelate," she says, "has done everything one could think of to put a stop to this traffic, which tends to destroy the Christian faith and religion in this country. He made use of all his usual gentleness to induce Frenchmen to give up this trade in liquor, so hurtful to the glory of God and to the salvation of our savages. The French make little of his remonstrances because they are supported by the strong arm of the civil power.

"The traders tell him that the use of these liquors is a lawful one. They are told, in answer, that in a new Christian settlement, and among uncivilized races, such use should not be permitted, because experience shows that it hinders the spread of the faith, and is destructive of the pure lives to be expected from newly converted peoples. But good reasons are as of little avail as gentleness with such folk.

¹ *Ibidem*, ii., 679, 680, 681.

"There have been other great disputes on this subject. At length, however, zeal for the divine honor has carried away our prelate, and obliged him to excommunicate all persons concerned in this traffic. They took no account of this, saying that the Church has no authority to deal with matters of this kind."¹

The horrible excesses produced by the unrestricted sale of wine and brandy to the Indian tribes, were one of the first crying evils with which Mgr. de Laval had to deal after his first arrival in Quebec. The royal edicts, as we have seen, forbade this criminal traffic, and the authority of the French governors had, up to 1659, been used to repress and punish it. Still, in spite of all this, the traders in furs, and others, found means to elude the vigilance of both magistrates and officers.

The new Vicar-Apostolic resolved to try the efficacy of spiritual penalties added to those imposed by the civil authority. After repeatedly consulting the Jesuit missionaries, the Sulpicians of Montreal, and the few secular priests he had on the mission, the bishop issued a pastoral letter, in which he forbade, under pain of excommunication incurred *ipso facto*, the selling of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. This was on May 5, 1660.

As the Vicar-Apostolic had only acted in all this with the unanimous advice of his clergy, so the clergy strictly enforced the prohibition, both from the pulpit and in the confessional.

This aroused a violent persecution against both clergy and bishop—a persecution which lasted long after the death of the latter. "His enemies pretended," says his early biographer, M. de Latour, "that men's consciences were oppressed; they inveighed against confessors and preachers; they assailed the moral character and conduct of these clergymen. The bishop himself was not more spared than any other."²

The young prelate, however, was not a person to quail before such attacks. As the numerous class of traders encouraged each other to make light of excommunications, Mgr. de Laval made an example of one of the most notorious offenders. A man, named Aigron-Lamothe having repeatedly incurred this penalty, and openly refusing to mend his life, the bishop excommunicated him by name, obliging all persons to shun him as one tainted with the foulest leprosy.

The Jesuit "Relation," of 1660, says that the excommunication put an effective stop to drunkenness among the Indians. The civil authorities upheld the bishop at first, and caused the existing legislation against the traffic in alcohol to be rigorously enforced. In

¹ Gosselin, i., Preface, pp. xxx., xxxi. The letters of Marie de l'Incarnation were published in Paris, in 1681. They are divided into 132 *Lettres Spirituelles*, and 89 *Lettres Historiques*.

² *Ibidem*.

1661 two notorious offenders in this respect were condemned to death, and another was whipped publicly.

The then Governor-General, however, D'Avaugour, was a cranky old soldier, a religious man in his way, but deeply prejudiced against Mgr. de Laval, whom he believed to be ambitious and filled with the desire of making the temporal authority entirely subordinate to that of the Church.

A Frenchwoman in Quebec was convicted of selling liquor to the Indians, and put in prison by the magistrate. Father Lalemant, Superior of the Jesuits, thereupon called upon the Governor and interceded for the prisoner. "What!" said the testy old martinet, "You people are the first to denounce this selling of liquor to the Indians, and now you won't let me punish the transgressors! Be it so. But I shall not be made a fool of by your contradictions. If this woman is not to be punished for this sin, then nobody shall be punished."¹

To be sure, the bishop, a few months before this incident occurred, had suspended for a time the enforcement of the spiritual penalties of excommunication; he had been led to believe that the evil was effectually cured.

But, as M. D'Avaugour now forbade all his subordinates to execute the laws against the sale of liquor to the Indians, the flood-gates of drunkenness were at once thrown open all over the colony. The liquor-sellers hastened to the Indian settlements, which became a chronic scene of drunken riotousness, murder, and debauchery; the catechumens whom the missionaries were instructing joined in this ungodly revelry, and gave up all thought of religion.

In spite of the zealous efforts of the Vicar-Apostolic and his clergy, the evil progressed so fearfully, that Mgr. de Laval resolved to return to France and to appeal in person to the king.

He succeeded. M. D'Avaugour was recalled. The French company to whom the colonization of Canada had been entrusted was asked to resign its charter. The crown took in hands the entire administration of the colony, and, at the request of the Vicar-Apostolic, the king promised to send a large military force to protect the French settlements from the perpetual inroads of the ferocious and victorious Iroquois.

Louis XIV. well understood the evil done to New France by the traffic in alcohol, and promised the bishop to enforce with renewed severity the royal edict forbidding it. But the Prime Minister, Colbert, was tainted with all the usual prejudices of French statesmen against the Church and her interference in sec-

¹ *Ibidem*, 297-298.

ular matters, even when these involved the welfare of religion and the dearest interests of souls.

Colbert believed, or feigned to believe, that the Church had no better reason in Canada than she had in France, or Spain, or Italy, to forbid the sale of wines or brandies. He looked upon the excommunication fulminated by Mgr. de Laval as an act of intolerable hardship to men's consciences, as well as unjustifiable interference with legitimate trade. All this, he thought, was simply an encroachment on the rights and duties of the State, which should be resisted to the utmost.¹

The sentiments of the all-powerful Minister were well known to the officials of New France, who could thus, in winking at the sale of liquors to the savages, or even in encouraging it for their own private interest, count on the sympathy of the man who really governed France and her colonies.

The King, on recalling D'Avaugour, did Mgr. De Laval the honor of asking him to choose a Governor for Canada. The good bishop, after repeatedly declining this perilous favor, at length named M. de Mézy, who had been his own companion and friend at the Hermitage of Caen. He firmly believed that the hearty co-operation of M. de Mézy would help toward extinguishing effectually the scandal of intemperance among the Indian tribes along the St. Lawrence.

But this same De Mézy soon became the good bishop's most violent enemy. "No sooner," says M. de Latour, "had their Governor arrived than the prevailing contagion seized on him. Whether he yielded to the solicitation of others, or whether he saw in it his own interest, he secretly favored the sale of liquor, which he had been ordered and had promised to suppress."²

But the men who most encouraged this abominable traffic, and whose influence in Canada was most hurtful to the spiritual welfare of the native tribes, were the *Intendant*, or Royal Treasurer, Talon, and the Viceroy Frontenac. Talon was the embodiment of that French species of statecraft which, under the fair pretext of fostering the "liberties" of the Gallican Church, has ever sought to hamper and enslave Catholicism in France. He would have bishops and priests bound to obey the secular magistrate as if they were the salaried servants of the State, and as if the Church herself were the creature of the secular power.

To neutralize the authority and influence of the bishop and of the Jesuits, Talon asks the minister to recall to France some of the latter, and to send out in their stead priests "authorized beforehand to administer the sacraments . . . ; else they would be of

¹ See Abbé Gosselin, ii.

² Gosselin i., 353.

no use, because if they did not conform their rule of practice to that of the existing clergy, the bishop would forbid their administering the sacraments!"¹ "Men should be sent out," he continues, "who would not put any constraint on consciences, or disturb them in any way."

Talon returned to France in 1667 and came back in 1670, bringing with him six religious, who would, as he and Colbert hoped, counteract the influence of the Jesuits. They gave Mgr. de Laval trouble enough. Nothing but the prelate's prudence, charity and episcopal firmness prevented the most scandalous divisions. Their presence in the colony, at least during the administration of Mgr. de Laval, was, in the eyes of such men as Talon and Frontenac, a tacit encouragement to the liquor dealers.

In 1668, during Frontenac's first administration, the Sovereign Council of New France issued an edict freely permitting all persons to sell intoxicating liquors to the Indians, *but strictly forbidding the Indians to get drunk on the same!* The reader needs not to be told what fearful mischief was caused by this piece of insane legislation.

In 1676 the evil had reached such a pitch that the Bishop sent one of his vicars-general to France to lay his complaints before Colbert, or the King in person. M. Duchesneau, who had succeeded Talon as Royal Treasurer, strenuously supported the bishop. "Evil examples were given in high places," says Dr. Gosselin. "The magistrates themselves, and even the governors, trafficked in this liquor business or encouraged it. M. Perot, Governor of Montreal (and a nephew of Talon), used his position to enrich himself by trading in liquor. He had a trading place opened on the island now bearing his name, where he made no scruple of violating the laws of his country. He went so far that Frontenac was forced to have him arrested and sent over to France."²

The fact is—and it is an eloquent one—that the Royal Treasurer, Duchesneau, in a letter to Colbert of April 28, 1677, accuses the Viceroy, Frontenac himself, of selling liquor to the Indians, and of trading off furs to the English, in violation of the royal edict!

And so the worldly, hard-hearted policy of the seventeenth century statesmen prevailed over the remonstrances of the apostolic men who were evangelizing Canada.

Our bitter and humiliating experience in dealing with the savage tribes of our own vast territory, will enable all fair-minded Americans to appreciate the battle of a life-time fought by Francis

¹ *Ibidem.*

² *Ibid.*, ii., 181, 182.

de Montmorency-Laval, against the sale of alcoholic liquors to the native population of New France.

IV.

The most glorious monument of the apostolic zeal and far-seeing wisdom of the first Bishop of Quebec, is the Seminary of Quebec, with its Preparatory College-School and Industrial School created at Saint Joachim by the statesmanlike forethought of this wonderful prelate.

We here in the United States have heard much in praise of that Seminary of Quebec, the fruitful parent of universities and colleges. But even the writer of these pages, though brought up from early boyhood within its walls, and ever cherishing a most grateful and most reverent memory of the place, could not, till he had read the work of Dr. Gosselin, have formed any adequate conception of the design from which it sprung. The ideal which Francis de Montmorency-Laval had before him, in founding his Seminary, is one well worthy the admiration of American Catholics.

"And here," says Dr. Gosselin, "one must not take the word *Seminary* in the narrow sense of a college, or of an ordinary classical school, or even of a house destined to train candidates for the priesthood, nor even in the broader sense of a great establishment imparting instruction of every grade, conferring university degrees, and diffusing its light all over the country. The Seminary of Quebec, as it was conceived by Mgr. de Laval, and as it issued from his hands, was all this, at least in germ and possibility; but it was more than this.

"It was an organized body embracing the entire secular clergy of the diocese, and aiming to be, as it were, the soul of the church of New France, imparting everywhere one and the same direction, the same movement, the same life, and realizing in our land the spiritual unity so ardently desired by Our Lord: 'That they may be one, as We also are.'"¹

"In the Prelate's conception, the Seminary of Quebec was to be the great nursery of his priests, the house in which their spirit was to be moulded, cultivated, and developed. It was to be the headquarters where he could find, at need, officers for the service of his vast diocese. It was also a house of retreat to which apostolic laborers could come to find rest after their toil, and to renew their spirit by mixing with their former masters, their friends, their fellow-soldiers. It was to be an arsenal, where should at all times be found the munitions and provisions needed by their warfare.

¹ St. John, xvii., ii.

"Every secular priest was to look upon the Seminary as his home. He should have the comfort, no matter how far from Quebec he labored, or how lost soever he seemed in the forests, to say to himself, as he thought of the Seminary from which he had gone forth: *Haec requies mea*;¹ there shall I find subsistence when food fails me; there shall I rest when sickness seizes me; there shall I go to die among my brethren, when I feel that the end of life hath come.

"What priests would leave old Europe, even though filled with zeal and fervor, to bury themselves in our wildernesses for years and years, enduring all sorts of privations, completely shut out from companionship with their kind, and with the prospect of having no refuge, no provision against sickness and old age? Mgr. de Laval understood that he needed a clergy trained, on the one hand, to the greatest self-sacrifice, but, on the other, made secure against the morrow, and placing their reliance on a powerful organization,—on a Seminary where priests would have all things in common, joys as well as sorrows, plenty as well as privation, merits, prayers, and sufferings."

"He conceived, therefore, a Seminary of which every secular priest should be a member:—his clergy were thus to be the seminary itself. In it men should live like true brothers, under the direction of the bishop or a superior. All private property should there be held in common, and each member of the community would put in practice the virtue of possessing nothing of his own. Every man there would be ever ready to do what should be deemed most necessary for the good of the Church, for the education of young clerics, or for the missionary ministrations.

"The Seminary would provide for the wants of all, in sickness as well as in health. It would furnish all that was necessary for public worship, for church edifices and the missions, thereby making up for the poverty of the infant colony. To the Seminary the missionaries should come back, from time to time, to renovate their souls by spiritual exercises. In illness and at the approach of death, they should ever find there a refuge, peace, and consolation."²

For the missionary work among the Indians, Mgr. de Laval had chosen the Jesuits. Being an old pupil of theirs, and admiring them exceedingly, he knew that he could have no reason to interfere with them in their labors, save only to support, defend, and encourage them. Their body was like a select corps in a great army, self-sufficing, with its own discipline and officers—and

¹ "This is my rest;" Psalm cxxxi., 14.

² *Vie de Mgr. de Laval*, i., pp. 361, and following.

obeying, like one man, the orders of the general-in-chief. How the Jesuits were to be recruited, or how they should subsist, were no subjects of care and anxiety for the bishop. In health or sickness, or old age, a religious order amply and tenderly provides for its members.

But how could Mgr. de Laval find for his secular clergy—for the seminary organization, which was to be composed of all of them, the material means of subsistence? He bethought him of the system of tithes in use in France. But how apply it to a poor missionary country? He decreed that tithes should be paid by all the colonial settlements to the Seminary of Quebec, inasmuch as the Seminary provided the secular clergy.

All this was submitted to the judgment of the Holy See by the Vicar Apostolic. "I have established," he writes, in 1664,¹ to Alexander VII, "in this Church of Canada, a seminary, in which are trained the young Canadian candidates for the priesthood. I have placed over it six priests who labor with zeal and success in so noble a work, and from this I hope, with the Divine blessing, abundant fruits of salvation. I have succeeded, after much toil and industry, in obtaining for this Seminary resources sufficient for its subsistence by attributing to it the revenues of the parishes, all of which I have united to the Seminary. The King has confirmed all this by his sovereign authority. . . .

"I have taken up my residence in the Seminary. There I have with me eight priests, whom I send out, as necessity demands, and at my own discretion, to attend to the various missions in my vicariate, or whom I occupy in other ecclesiastical ministrations."

As Dr. Gosselin remarks, the plan adopted for the evangelization of a new and vast country, and the means chosen for providing for the subsistence of a missionary clergy during the first phase of a colony so far removed from the mother country, were singularly akin to the organization formed in Germany by the Venerable Holzhauser among the secular clergy of the seventeenth century. This admirable association, so highly praised by Innocent XI., resembled the Apostolic Union of M. Victor le Beurrier, which has been honored by the warm approbation of Leo XIII., and by him recommended to all secular priests. The many devoted clergymen throughout the United States, and around us here in New York, who live in conformity with the blessed rules of this Union, will appreciate the God-inspired work of Francis de Montmorency-Laval in founding the Seminary of Quebec.

¹ *Informatio de Statu Ecclesie*, quoted by Gosselin, i., 373.

Two priests, who "alternately governed the Seminary of Quebec for more than half a century," stand forth by the side of its saintly founder, forming a trio of men as illustrious as can be claimed in its beginning by any church in America. These are M. Henri de Bernieres, and M. Ango de Maizerets. They, like the Vicar Apostolic himself, were inspired, impelled, animated by the twofold nobility of high birth and holiness of life. Another name from among those of this first glorious generation of the Canadian clergy must also be mentioned with these parents of the Church in New France; that is, the name of John Dudouyt. The memory of his priceless services can never die.

These and their companions lived with the bishop in a little house which the latter had purchased, and which stood on the site of what is now the rectory of the Metropolitan Church. There were laid, in poverty and absolute self-denial and self-sacrifice, the foundations of that grand and unique moral edifice, the Seminary of Quebec.

It was in 1663. "Nothing," M. de Latour tells us, "more eloquently sets forth the primitive Christian Church than this little flock of priests. Patrimonial property, simple ecclesiastical benefices, government pensions, presents or honorary stipends bestowed on them—everything was held in common."¹

"Our property was put in common with that of the bishop," says M. de Maizerets. "I never saw any distinction made among us of the rich man from the poor, nor any reference made to birth or personal rank; we regarded each other as brothers."²

And Dr. Gosselin remarks that this admirable union of souls among all the members of the Canadian clergy so struck the second Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de Saint-Valier, on his arrival in Quebec, that he forthwith wrote to France: "All the clergymen here, the canons, the rector of the parish, and the seminary, only form a single household, the holiness of which has won universal respect."³

It is to be observed, however, that the Bishop allowed his priests the most perfect liberty in this regard. "He contented himself with exhorting them to enter into *the inheritance of the child Jesus* (as he termed it), and with pointing out to them all the spiritual and temporal advantages they were to derive from so doing. One was obliged to solicit again and again the favor of being admitted, and to promise fidelity in fulfilling the requisite conditions—namely, the accounting to the Superior for all one's income, whether fixed or casual, and

¹ Quoted by Gosselin, i., 382.

² *Ibidem.*

³ *Ibidem*, 383.

the not giving up a benefice without the consent of the Seminary."¹

A characteristic of Mgr. de Laval was his ardent piety for our Incarnate Lord in His hidden life at Nazareth. The thirty years passed by Him in obscurity and dutiful obedience to Mary and Joseph were a preparation for His public mission. The infancy, boyhood and early manhood of our Great High Priest and Redeemer are the model on which our sacerdotal youth are to be trained and formed. The first Bishop of Quebec would have the men who educated his young Levites in a missionary country, and in a new world, practice all the virtues which shone in the parents of Jesus at Nazareth. The inheritance of the Divine Babe reared by Mary and Joseph was surpassingly rich in the eternal promises. The supernatural spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice, which was that of the Holy Family, was most needful in a seminary like that created by Mgr. de Laval, and among a clergy whose life, for many generations to come, must be one of apostolic poverty and suffering.

There was, therefore, a singular appropriateness in his placing his Seminary under the patronage of the Holy Family of Nazareth, and his preparatory College School, when founded later on, under that of the Child Jesus. They were consistent with themselves and their professions, these parents, under God, of religion in Canada.

The building of the material edifice which was to be both the Theological Seminary and the home of the secular clergy, was begun early in 1666. The pupils went daily across the adjoining square to the Jesuit College (founded in 1632) where they followed the courses in secular and sacred knowledge given by these accomplished masters.

The establishment of the *Petit Seminaire* or Preparatory School, dates from 1668, when Louis XIV. and his Minister, Colbert, pressed Mgr. de Laval to adopt a regular plan for educating the Indian children of both sexes "in accordance with French customs." These children were to dress after the French fashion, to speak the French language, and adopt French manners. The Ursulines received a number of girls, and had some beginning of success with them. The good bishop, who was under great personal obligations to the King, wished very much to gratify him. On October 9, 1668 the *Petit Seminaire de l'Enfant Jesus* was solemnly inaugurated by the side of the Seminary proper. There were eight French boys, with six Huron lads on whom the first "Frenchifying" experiment was to be attempted.

¹ *Ibid.*

The attempt failed most signally for both boys and girls. The bishop, from the beginning, foresaw and foretold it. The boys made off to the woods after a brief period of confinement and discipline, which to them was most intolerable hardship. As to the girls, the Venerable Marie de l' Incarnation writes: "Of a hundred of them who have passed through our hands, we have scarcely civilized one. We find in them a certain degree of mental docility; but, just at the moment we least suspect it, they climb over our fences and go off to the woods with their parents, where they find much more pleasure than in any of our French houses."¹

The Jesuits also made the experiment on some young Algonquins, and with a like result.

The *Petit Séminaire* thus founded, continued to prosper in spite of the desertion and withdrawal of the Indian pupils. The bishop watched over the twin Seminaries as over the apple of his eye. He purchased, between the Church of Notre Dame and the cliff overhanging the lower town, some sixteen acres of land, and on that part of it nearest to the Church soon arose, to the astonishment of the colonists, a spacious and imposing stone structure, which was opened to his college-boys on December 8th, 1677.

Down to 1730 the pupils of the *Petit Séminaire* or College received from the Seminary of Quebec free board, lodging, clothing, and school furniture. All this the bishop found means to provide for them, as he did for the Theological Seminary,—by what might well be regarded as a continuous miracle of Providence. Since 1730, parents have had to provide raiment and books. The Seminary inheriting the property of its generous founder, dispensed with a like generous hand the revenues the property afforded.

There arose, in course of time, for the accommodation of the theologians, professors, and of the secular priests in general, similar spacious and solid structures in stone. God was the bishop's treasurer, and He never failed to reward His servant's childlike faith in the divine liberality. Meanwhile the self-sacrificing prelate purchased from the crown or from individuals other property in the city and neighborhood, as well as the *Seigneuries* or lordships on land, which to this day support the Seminary of Quebec and its dependent offspring the *Petit Séminaire*, and the Laval University with all its schools of theology, law, and medicine. The priests who devote themselves to the work of education in Seminary, College, and University, still live like those who shared with the first Bishop of Quebec his life of unceasing and manifold toil, of voluntary poverty and heroic devotion to duty

¹ Gosselin, i., 562.

The spirit of unfaltering and joyous self-sacrifice which animated the descendant of the Montmorency and his associates, lives to this day among their latest successors. The writer of these lines was brought up,—a blessing for which he can never be sufficiently grateful—beneath the eyes of directors and masters who continued, in their own persons and conduct, all the priestly virtues and scholarly accomplishments, which surrounded Mgr. de Laval as with a triple halo. The venerable and loved figures of Jerome Demers, Antoine Parant, Louis and Leon Gingras, John Holmes, and,—last and greatest—Louis Jacques Casault, are unforgotten among the present brilliant generation of masters and pupils in the great schools of Quebec and Montreal. Cardinal Taschereau, who has been M. Casault's most efficient helpmate in creating the University, is the golden link in the chain which connects the present order of things in the seminary with its glorious past. He comes up before our mind's eye now as we first beheld him in 1832, when, doubly orphaned and a stranger, God's good providence brought us by the hand to Mgr. de Laval's *Petit Seminaire*. Who among the college generations of that day in Quebec, did not admire in Alexander Taschereau the varied and superior talents, the quiet and reserved disposition, and the studious habits, which promised so much and have, in the splendid reality, gone so far beyond their promise? He is only the natural fruit of the blessed tree planted by the saintly Bishop of Petra more than two centuries ago, the most honored son of that great mother of statesmen and churchmen, *the Seminary*.

We have mentioned the agricultural and industrial school established at Saint Joachim by Mgr. de Laval. We of the nineteenth century here in the United States must admire the practical and broad-minded spirit of the great bishop.

"Whenever," says Dr. Gosselin, "the Directors of the Seminary became assured that any one of their pupils was not called to be a priest, they immediately, with the consent of his parents, set such a pupil to learn farming, or some trade like that of a mason, a shoemaker, a tailor, wood carver, or carpenter, etc. For that purpose they sent him to the Model Farm, at Saint Joachim, situated at the foot of *Cap Tourmente*, the Cape of Storms.

"In this delightful spot Mgr. de Laval, whose far-seeing mind took in all the needs of the society around him, had established a sort of third Seminary, called also the Great Farm, where the sons of the peasant-folk were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, as well as all the mechanical trades, agriculture especially. The zealous prelate well knew the influence, in a new country, of heads of families reared in the practice of piety and possessing a certain education.

"The pupils' time, every day, was divided between religious exercises, short hours of study, field labor, or work at the different trades most needed in the colony.

"The 'Great Farm' thus became a nursery of excellent farmers and artisans, devotedly attached to the Seminary. From it went forth house servants, agriculturists, colonists who were chosen to develop the possessions of the Seminary itself. Many of the pupils so distinguished themselves that they were frequently employed as arbiters or referees by the Sovereign Council."¹

Before the death of Mgr. de Laval, the director under him of the Saint Joachim Farm and School raised the level of literary studies there, so as to enable him to train schoolmasters for the new parishes which were then springing up on every side. This was, if we mistake not, the first attempt at establishing a normal school in what is now English-speaking America.

V.

It was, as we have stated above, the blessed privilege of Mgr. de Laval to be surrounded in Canada, from his first arrival there, by men and women who were as earnest as himself in running the race of sanctity. We have mentioned the names of a few only of the priests of his seminary who strove to be in all things the worthy followers of such a model and master.

The Jesuits who, in that day, gave their labors and their lives to the twofold apostleship of education and the missions, have left names behind, which American Catholics in the twentieth century may see surrounded with the authorized halo of sanctity. Their existence was a continuous martyrdom.

And then we have among the religious communities of women the venerable and venerated names of Marie de l'Incarnation, Catherine de St. Augustin, Marguerite Bourgeois, and the saintly Indian maiden, Catherine Tehgakonita, the odor of whose supernatural virtues filled the New France of the seventeenth century.

In the sublime paths in which all these heroic souls trod, Francis de Laval was their guide. No height of holiness was reached by them which he had not scaled before them. The biography of Dr. Gosselin opens up to the reader such a rich record of glorious, spiritual performance as must edify and enchant all who believed our early North American Church to be barren in consummate sanctity.

But how surpassingly touching and beautiful is the narrative of the closing years of Mgr. de Laval's career of mingled laborious-

¹ Vol. i., 567.

ness and suffering. When, in 1706, the seminary which he had almost completely rebuilt after its first destruction by fire in 1701, was again burned to the ground, the venerable octogenarian was prostrated by illness. They carried him helpless from amid the flames to the college of the Jesuits across the Cathedral Square. His unconquerable spirit rose above this second crushing calamity. The seminary, like all else that he had created, he knew to be the work of God, and he trusted firmly and wholly in God's good providence to restore it. The priests around him were disheartened. No help was to be looked for in France, where the long and terrible war of succession had shorn the king of his prestige and utterly ruined the financial condition of the kingdom. Bishop de Saint Valier was still a prisoner in England. It was deemed necessary to close the schools and send the pupils back to their families. But Mgr. de Laval would not hear of it. The schools were kept open. Rising superior to all these calamities and to his own bodily ills, the aged prelate set about rebuilding once more. It had ever been his cherished custom to be present at all the solemn services in the cathedral. He now deemed it more than ever needful that he should be seen in his place in public and among his stricken flock. He caused himself to be carried or helped into the sanctuary at morning or afternoon service. And the loved voice of the man of God was there raised to inspire the people with the undying hope and trust in God which filled his own heart.

And they heard and treasured up his words and acted on them. The seminary rose again from its ruins.

No ordination was omitted; when he could not perform this solemn function in the cathedral, he did so in the little private oratory adjoining his own poor room. So was it with confirmation. This bright light of the Canadian Church only shone with more surpassing splendors amid the general gloom, and as the shadows gathered and darkened around his own pathway.

The winter of 1708, which was that of his own episcopal jubilee, was one of unheard of rigor in Quebec. The cold was terrific. No one then, however, had thought of heating the churches. The canons of the Quebec cathedral and their people never interrupted for a single day their most edifying custom of singing the morning and evening services. Lent and Holy Week came and the intense cold still held on. On Palm Sunday the venerable bishop persisted in remaining in church all through the long offices. His feet were much swollen; and the good Brother Houssard, his valet, threatened to ask the Superior of the seminary to interfere and advise the Bishop to remain away from church. He gave himself some rest until Holy Thursday, when the consecration of the Holy Oils must needs take place. Then, on

Good Friday, neither fatigue nor the intolerable cold could induce the man of God to stay away from the cathedral. His feet were frozen, one of his heels so badly that to relieve the inflammation which at once set in the surgeons cut open the gangrened part. Nothing could stop the progress of the evil. The sufferings of the heroic patient were most fearful from that moment till death relieved him.

"My God, my good God," he would cry out in his agony, "spare me! Take pity on me! . . . Yet not my will, but Thine be done!" And so night and day the long agony went on, while all who beheld the sufferer or heard the cries wrung from him by the extremity of pain could not withhold their tears.

The vital parts were at last attacked and the exhausted and numbed organs refused even the strength to cry out. Some of the beloved disciples and companions who surrounded the poor pallet of the dying apostle, pressed him to follow the example of the saintly men of old and address a farewell instruction to his dear ones. "Ah, they were saints," he replied, "and I am but a sinner."

He received the last sacraments with the most edifying fervor. He then caused the assistants to recite with him the Rosary of the Holy Family, a devotion which he had himself taught his people, and his gentle spirit passed away as the priest was repeating, in the concluding prayer, the words: *Ut a Te secundum cor Tuum inveniri mereamur*; "(Grant) that we be then found by Thee to be after Thine own heart." Surely we may well believe that the Master and Judge found him so.

It was the 6th of May, 1708, and half-past six o'clock in the morning.

The aim of his life had been to make of Canada one great Christian family from which should be excluded the vices, the discords and the elements of moral and social decay prevalent in the Europe of his time. More even than Count de Frontenac had merited the name of Saviour of Canada, did Francis de Montmorency Laval deserve to be called its Parent as well as its Apostle. The entire colony, in its length and breadth, mourned as for the death of a father.

During three days and nights the remains of the dead prelate lay in state in the cathedral. Night and day the multitude thronged to gaze upon the face they knew so well, to kiss the hands which had loaded them with blessings, which had given to the poor, literally, every object of any value, that remained in his cell-like apartment, and to bedew with their tears of grateful love the feet which had so often and so unweariedly borne to them, over river and lake and forest, the Peace, the Light which is God. Then

the cloistered communities, Ursulines and Hotel Dieu, besought the Vicars-General to have the remains of their beloved Father and benefactor carried in succession to their churches, so that they might look on his face once more. So to all the communities of both men and women he whom every voice now called *Saint* was carried in solemn procession. It was an extraordinary and moving spectacle. Then they laid the humble prelate to rest in the vaults of the cathedral. He would have no tablet placed to designate the spot where he was to be buried. Only, long before his death, he had solemnly stipulated that, wherever he chanced to die, his heart should be taken to his beloved seminary, and there be finally placed in the seminary chapel when this should be built.

In 1878 an accident led to the discovery of the casket containing all that was mortal of the Apostle of Canada. This time it was resolved to give effect to his oft-expressed wish to rest in death within the seminary, among the men who were heirs to all that he possessed in life, to his apostolic zeal and virtues. The bishops, the clergy, the people of all Canada, met in Quebec for this solemn translation. It was a spectacle such as the New World had never till then beheld. Again Francis de Montmorency Laval's remains were borne through the streets of the city, visiting in succession churches and religious communities. And again the popular soul was stirred, as at the time of his death and burial, to proclaim its firm belief in his sanctity. Thus twice most solemnly canonized by the people who had lived with him and worshipped him, and by the generation which had inherited their holiest convictions, Mgr. de Laval has been proclaimed Venerable by the Holy See. It is only the first step toward the final and infallible judgment of the Church in the cause of one, who deserves to be revered as the St. Charles Borromeo of America.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SEPULTURE.

IT is remarkable and it serves to illustrate the strength and universality of the original tradition of the immortality of the soul, of the continued existence of the *To Ego* in another world, and of the resurrection of the body; the *Non omnis moriar*: "I shall not wholly die," of the Roman laureate; that so much thought and care have at all times and among all people been given to prepare, in life, a resting-place after death. Some of the most beautiful productions, whether of heathen or of Christian poets, from the *Archytas* of Horace to the *Lycidas* of Milton, are founded upon the added misfortune after death of unburied mortal remains, from Gray's *Ode* on the Bards massacred by King Edward I., when he conquered Wales, to where

"Burgundy bequeathed his tombless host,
A bony heap, through ages to remain
Themselves their monument; the Stygian coast
Unsepulchred they roamed, and shrieked each wandering ghost."

Byron.

The early Christians always paid great attention to the decent interment of their brethren; and even in times of pestilence and of persecution this charitable office was faithfully performed. Indeed, their treatment of those who had gone before "with the sign of faith and rest in the sleep of peace," was one of the most salient points of contrast between them and their opponents. This is so true that Julian the apostate enumerates this pious solicitude for the burial of the dead, whether rich or poor, whether free or slave, as one of the chief means by which the Christian religion had become paramount in the empire.

The Roman Martyrology, on the 8th of December, commemorates the fact that Pope Saint Eutichian buried in different places, two hundred and forty-two martyrs with his own hands; and early documents tell us that the faithful of Lyons and of Vienna felt acutely and openly lamented their inability, on account of the severity of the then raging persecution, to give a religious resting-place to the bodies of all who perished in those parts of Gaul. A Christian named Nicander is also mentioned in the Martyrology, on the 15th of March, as having suffered martyrdom in Egypt for collecting the relics of the saints in order to give an honorable sepulture to their remains. The Church historian, Eusebius, has recorded the Tobias-like example of Saint Dionysius, of Alexan-

dria, during a malignant plague which was ravaging lower Egypt, to show how, under such conditions, the charitable care of Christians extended itself to the labor of burying the dead as a corporal work of mercy. The ancient Greeks, who were the most cultivated people of the West, followed a universal practice—so different from the customs of the East—of incinerating the dead. This usage passed toward the decline of the Republic along with Greek philosophy and letters into favor with the wealthier Romans, and suddenly became so common that nothing was left of statesman or hero after death but, in the words of a mournful poet:

“Two handfuls of white dust, shut in an urn of brass!”

Both the traditions of the East and the example of our divine Lord moved the early Christians to revolt against such a usage, although it was perfectly well understood that no variation in the mode of disposing of the body after death could affect its resurrection. Cremation, however, was objected to as harmonizing less with a humble submission to the primeval curse contained in Genesis: “In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread, till thou return to the earth out of which thou was taken;” and as at least *suggesting* a denial of that truth which was so precious to those who without it would have been, as St. Paul teaches, “most miserable of all men.” The conservative spirit which has always characterized the Church, and it is interesting to remember this in our age, when it is attempted to revive and to popularize cremation, was never better expressed than by one of her noblest apologists, Minucius Felix, in the second century: “Nor, as you may believe, do we fear for the resurrection, no matter how our bodies are disposed of; nevertheless, we follow the original and the better custom of burial in the ground” (*Octavius*, 34). This abhorrence of the Christians was so universal and so well known that it was common for their persecutors to insult their remains and outrage the feelings of their surviving brethren by burning their bodies after martyrdom. It is therefore certain that the early Christians always professed respect for these bodies which, when alive, had been the temples of the Holy Ghost, and that, whenever practicable, they assured them decent burial after death. Thus we read of St. Torpes, martyr, that, as he was being led to execution, he managed, having been an officer of the imperial household, to be allowed to pass before the dwelling of a friend, named Andronicus, in order to speak to him privately, and begged him to see that his body received proper burial, and told him that God would surely reward him for the kindness. St. Victor, another martyr, and his wife, St. Corona, asked the Roman magistrate, before they died, to permit their

remains to be buried in the place which, according to custom with people of their condition, they had long since provided for themselves. St. Eustratius, martyr, at Sebaste, in Asia Minor, made a will before dying in which he directed that his body should be brought back to his native country—the ancients were very expert at embalming and Tertullian mentions the practice as common among the more opulent Christians—and even requested the Bishop of Sebaste to accompany it in person. St. Fortunatus, martyr, in Egypt, gave twenty pieces of gold to the executioner before being beheaded, as a bribe not to burn his body, but to give it up to his friends who would bury it in the earth decently. St. Sabinus, martyr, likewise in Egypt, who was condemned to be cast into a river with a great stone attached to him to make him sink, recommended to his weeping brethren to try to recover his body and to bury it *along with the stone*. These examples, drawn from different and far-distant parts of the Roman world, show us how universal this sentiment of religious sepulture was among the early Christians.

Almost all ancient writers of the Church describe one or more of the rites of Christian burial; and thus, by comparing and collating these scattered passages, we can gather a sufficiently accurate knowledge of what these were. To begin with, the body was always, when possible, laid out in a distinctive and funeral dress, so that by the outward vesture, which was new and rich according to the means of the deceased, a change was suggested, as if to express symbolically the idea of St. Paul to the Corinthians: "This corruption must put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality." Eusebius has recorded in his "Life of Constantine" (iv., 66) that the Emperor was buried in a purple robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head. The body of the martyr Marinus was clothed in a beautiful white tunic, and was laid to rest with great pomp, in evident allusion to the text of the Apocalypse: "He that shall overcome, shall thus be clothed in white garments." Very often the bodies of Christians were buried in white linen winding-sheets, as was observed by the Egyptians and the Hebrews; but with this superadded idea attached both to the color and to the material,—for the lives of the early Christians were saturated with symbolism,—that the *color* typified the innocence of the soul, whose body alone could expect to rise to *glory*, and the *material*, the patiently borne tribulations of this life, those particularly which were inflicted "for justice's sake," because, as an old mystical author observes, linen is not produced except the flax or hemp be previously subjected to a severe process of pulling and tearing. For, as the Apostle tells his disciple, Timothy, "All who will live piously in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution"

(II. Tim., iii., 12). Sometimes the body, after it had been properly prepared, was exposed to public view, or, as we would now say, it lay in state. Thus, St. Peter of Alexandria, bishop of that patriarchal see, and martyr, was vested after death in all his pontifical robes, and seated, just as though still living, upon the chair of Mark the Evangelist, founder of that Church. During the fourth and fifth centuries there was often so much ostentation displayed in dressing out the bodies of the faithful in their robes of state, insignia of rank and other vanities, that Saints Basil and John Chrysostom raised their eloquent voices against such an abuse. The precious stuffs and ornaments used upon them, in these cases, gave occasion, it was objected, to thieves and robbers to violate the tombs and profane the bodies of the dead, in order to possess themselves of the treasures buried there.

Before the dead were removed from their homes, prayers and psalmody were recited, while lighted lamps hung suspended around the bodies, not altogether nor primarily to dispel the possible darkness, but to typify faith in Him who is the true Light of this World. The number of lights lit on these occasions were at an early period limited or extended—with a symbolical sense—according to the state of life or the offices filled by the deceased. For instance, around the catafalque erected in St. Peter's for the Pope's body, "A thousand candles of yellow wax and twenty enormous torches in golden candelabra burn day and night," during nine days, as if to figure that a thousand dioceses, all the episcopal sees of the world, mourn their chief pastor, and that twenty, in particular, are the dread articles of scrutiny to be flashed from the splendor of the divine countenance on him who, as Vicar of Christ, "hath set his tabernacle in the sun" (Ps. xviii., 6). St. Augustine, describing the death of his mother, St. Monica, at Ostia, says, in his "Confessions" (lib. 9): "Evodius opened the psalter, and began to intone a psalm, to whom we all responded, choir-like, in alternate verses." The custom of ringing a bell while a person was dying or immediately after death, or while the body was being transported to its burial-place, is a pious ancient custom. It is called in old English sometimes the knell and sometimes the passing-bell. In Rome and other towns of Italy this bell is tolled with strict attention, denoting by the number and kind of strokes the sex, the age and the condition of the person. The original purpose of this custom was to acquaint the faithful with the death of one of their brethren, and implore prayers for his soul. The custom of distinguishing the quality of the deceased by a peculiar way of tolling the passing-bell, was already established in the thirteenth century. How strong was the faith in purgatory, and how pious in old Catholic times people were toward

the dead, is shown in many ways. At Rome, for centuries the great bell of St. Mary Major rings out one hour after sundown for prayers for the dead. It is called the *Ave Maria de Morti*, or Angelus of the Dead. In many cities of France, as late as the last century, it was customary for a man dressed in a white garment, on which tears, death's-heads and cross-bones were embroidered, to go walking slowly through the streets, after night-fall, ringing a hand-bell and calling out in a sing-song tone :

“Reveillez vous, gens qui dormez,
Priez Dieu pour les trépassés.”

During the first three centuries of the Church, which were years of almost continual persecution, naturally there could not be much, if anything, of funeral pomp among the Christians, because the bodies of the dead were hurried off to the subterranean cemeteries, called catacombs, as soon and as privately as possible ; although *there* the last rites of religion were generally performed, because in the privacy and often absolute secrecy (to outsiders) of these places, there was little danger of molestation. As soon, however, as peace had been given to the Church, under Constantine the Great, obsequies were performed with a certain settled order ; and there were ministers in the Church bearing different names at different periods, *Parabolani*, *Leticarii*, *Fossores*, *Decani*, who were officially charged with the burial of the plague-stricken and the poor. The attendance of the clergy at funerals must have begun at an early period, for St. Gregory of Nyssa (372-395) has recorded the presence of deacons and priests at the holy death and burial of his sister, Macrina, surnamed the Younger, whose life he wrote. His words are : “ The crowd of people around her bier was so great and so eager to behold such a touching and extraordinary spectacle, that it was not easy to make a passage for us. On either side there walked no small number of deacons and ministers who all kept a certain order in the procession and carried lighted torches in their hands.” During this carrying of the body psalms were sung, and at the place of sepulture other ecclesiastical offices were performed and, especially, the Holy Sacrifice was offered for the dead. If there had been something eminent in the deceased either by reason of his virtue or his rank and station, whether in the Church or the State, a funeral oration was generally pronounced over the body before its final putting away, and several such discourses have been preserved among the writings of the Fathers. Thus Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, pronounced one over his friend and patron, the Emperor Constantine ; St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, over the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian and over his own brother, Satyr. The sermon preached over the

body of Satyr was followed up, seven days after, by another upon the hope of a future life, which is a very early testimony to the existence of that with which we are all acquainted, the prayer in the missal and the rite of absolution in the ritual, on the seventh day after burial. Sts. John Chrysostom and Jerome mention the custom approvingly of giving alms at funerals for the relief of the souls of the dead. It was from such a custom that originated those old foundations, called in England bead-houses, in which the inmates known as beads-men or beads-women, prayed daily for the souls of benefactors; and also of the pious practices, still maintained in a few of the ancient Catholic families in Great Britain, of distributing to all comers, on the day of the funeral, a *Dole* (as it is properly called) of loaves or coin or both, in number equal to the years of the deceased. For a most interesting chapter on this whole subject among the Anglo-Saxons and early Normans in England, we would refer to the third volume of the learned Dr. Rock's "Church of Our Fathers." Anniversaries of the dead were religiously kept in very ancient times, with distribution of alms, decoration of the grave, a funeral banquet and, or rather before everything, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass offered up for the soul of the deceased. The custom of spreading flowers over the graves or of hanging garlands at the tombs of the faithful departed was very ancient among Christians and is mentioned without reproof by St. Jerome and St. Ambrose. In French these garlands are called *immortelles*, and are neither more nor less than the legitimate modern expression of a custom at least sixteen hundred years old, and a silent profession of faith in the immortality of the soul and of hope in the resurrection of the body to enjoy the delights of Paradise, which was symbolized by flowers set in a garden. In ages of persecution, it was customary to bury with martyrs a little bottle or phial containing some of their blood or some instrument of their torture. With ordinary Christians, medals, crosses, copies of the Gospels were interred; and the tombs of children have been many times found to contain their playthings. In the fifth century, the Sacred Host was sometimes laid on the breasts of bishops and interred with them. Simple priests and monks received only an unction of chrism on their breasts. But this custom was forbidden by the Council of Auxerre, in France, in the next century. Yet, notwithstanding the repeated prohibitions of councils, the Sacred Host used to be left in the tomb with the body of one who had not been able, through no fault of his own, to receive the Viaticum before his death. This abuse was not entirely eradicated before the eighth century. In the thirteenth century it was customary to deposit a little cup of holy water in the coffin of the deceased and to burn incense around it, which is the origin of the comparatively

modern rite of sprinkling and incensing the grave when the funeral reaches the cemetery. But the custom of sprinkling and incensing the body dates from many centuries earlier as we know from ancient writings, and as may be seen in the ancient frescoes in St. Clement's basilica at Rome, which were discovered a few years ago. We learn from the work of Durandus, Bishop of Mende, in the thirteenth century, that it was customary to make three halts or stoppages in carrying the body from the house to the church or to the place of interment, and to give what are called "the absolutions" over the body. The origin of this rite is said by Decorde to be found in the merciful loosening from censures and excommunication which was accorded to those who, being bound by them, had not been able, although giving signs of repentance, to receive before death the canonical absolution itself. The beautiful prayer, response or dirge, called the *Libera*, which is a portion of this part of the Office for the Dead, was composed in the twelfth century by Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris, and was quickly adopted by Rome with some slight verbal modifications to make it conform more closely to the words of Scripture.

The early Christians in Rome, at least, and in the cities of the West subject to Roman municipal law (the people of the West, we may remark, being mostly barbarians, without a written code of laws, were consequently compelled to receive the Roman jurisprudence, whereas in the East, which was highly civilized, the Roman conquest made few changes in manners and customs), did not bury their dead within the city walls, agreeably to the tenth law of the Twelve Tables, which says: "Neither burn nor bury a dead body within the city." But they always carefully avoided the necessity of interring their dead with the heathen dead; and a curious as well as most ancient inscription, given by the learned Muratori in his great collection, illustrates this intense desire to rest after this life in the company of our brethren in the faith, nor have our mortal remains mingle with those of pagans. This inscription, which was discovered at Florence by Muratori, shows us a certain Jucundus, who, having become a Christian, sells to another man his right of sepulture, literally his right to jars,—*jus ollarum*,—to understand which it must be remembered that in ancient Rome, while the lower sort of slaves were promiscuously thrown into deep pits dug on the Esquiline hill, and the free-born classes were buried in separate family tombs entirely above ground, the better sort of slaves, and a middle class called freedmen,—*libertini*,—because emancipated from slavery, almost always united together in voluntary communities as one large family, and erected an immense burying-place, something like a great square shaft of brick or masonry, plastered on the inside, and covered with scroll-paint-

ing, sunk deep into the ground, with innumerable holes cut into the sides at equal distances all around, above and below each other, and into these niches were set sometimes plain, round, earthenware jars, sometimes highly ornamented marble or stone receptacles, each with a cover; the cover on those of the more durable material resembling a roof, as the rest resembled the front of a house. These receptacles contained the ashes of the dead whose bodies had been cremated according to the universal custom in later Rome. Inscriptions giving the name, employment during life, and other notices of the deceased, are written or engraved on the receptacles themselves, or on the available space of the walls. From the pigeon-hole-like appearance of these little mural openings,—the jar or miniature house seeming like a nest,—and the general resemblance to a dove-cot, these sort of burial-places were called *columbaria*. It might be asked, in view of the fact that in this inscription cinerary urns are mentioned,—note the plural,—what could the owner have wanted with more than one urn for his own ashes? The answer is, that a freedman who was head of a family used to possess sometimes several or a large number, a whole row or section, of these jars or urns in the same columbarium, for himself, his wife and his children. The beginning and important part of the inscription is as follows: *Faustus. Antonia. Drusi. Jus. Emit. Jucundi. Christiani. Oll.*; that is, “Faustus, the slave (or perhaps the freedman) of Antonia, wife of Drusus, bought of Jucundus, the Christian, his right of urns.” Let us take note, at once, of the great antiquity of this commercial transaction which brings us back—as we judge with absolute certainty from the noble names of Antonia and of Drusus, to the reign of the Emperor Claudius, if not even a little earlier, and which would fix it near the year 45, or during the Apostolic preaching of St. Peter in Rome. We think, too, with the erudite French antiquary, Abbe Martigny, that it is probably the earliest mention yet brought to light of the name of “Christian” upon a mortuary inscription. Not only do we find the burial-places of the ancient Romans all extra-mural, but every other city of the Peninsula had its necropolis or its isolated tombs in the same condition. The Jews and the Greeks also buried their dead outside of the towns. The places of early Christian sepulture were called by different names in different ages, the most general and generic one being cemetery, from the Greek *koimeteria*, dormitories or sleeping-places. Among the Cretans, the wayside unfurnished establishments or station-houses, built and maintained by public authority for the accommodation of travellers to pass the night in, like the Khans in the East, were called cemeteries. The Christians, as we learn explicitly from St. Denis of Alexandria, who died in the year 265, did not call death by the Greek word, but by one

meaning slumber or sleep. In Christian Latin inscriptions of even a much earlier date, the dead were said to sleep, or some other expression was used which deprived death of part of its terrors in the hope of an awakening; thus the frequent terms *dormire*, *requiescere*, *deponi*. The expression of sleep used for death was taken by the Christians from the Sacred Writings, where it occurs both in the Old and the New Testament. There were two distinct kinds of places of sepulture among the early Christians, those underground and called *Catacombs*,—which were not at all confined to Rome, although the name originated at Rome,—and those above ground and in the open air, called by the classical names of *Monumentum*, *Memoria*, *Cella*, *Hypogeum*, *Area*, etc. The subterranean cemeteries were excavated by the early Christians for the express purpose of burying their dead in safety and together. The custom of burying here, lasted for a considerable period after any necessity of doing so existed. It was then done out of pure devotion. From St. Augustine's "Treatise on the Care of the Dead," and from many inscriptions found in Italy, France and elsewhere, it is known that the faithful desired to have their last resting-places beside or at least near the tombs of martyrs and confessors in hope of a powerful intercession, whence such common forms, especially in the fourth century, as *Positus ad martyres*, *Ad sanctos*.

In an epigram written by St. Gregory of Nazianzen, on the death of his mother, we read that she was buried beside the bodies of martyrs, and a direct appeal is made to them by this holy Doctor to extend their protection over her. Sometimes, however, this honor of posthumous association was refused through a sentiment of profound humility, as when Pope St. Damasus says of himself, in the metrical inscription which he set up in the venerable papal crypt in the catacomb of St. Calixtus: "I, Damasus, acknowledge that I wished to lay my bones here, but I feared to disturb the sacred dust of the saints." This was in the third quarter of the fourth century. We ought not to allow these underground cemeteries, although so interesting in themselves and so replete with information, expressed symbolically or in so many terms about the faith and discipline of the primitive Church, to monopolize our interest in early Christian sepulture; for the burial-places built by noble and wealthy Christians above ground and, outwardly at least, in precisely the same circumstances as those of their heathen fellow-subjects, are also noteworthy for their inscriptions, which throw a flood of light on the manners and customs of the period, and especially on the long misunderstood and only recently begun-to-be-studied relations of the Christian community towards the State during the age of persecutions. There were many localities where the nature of the soil did not permit of excavating under-

ground cemeteries or catacombs, and others where local tradition has perpetuated the continual absence, for some reason or another, of such a mode of burial. That this must have been the case at Carthage (in Africa) at an early period, is clear from the testimony of Tertullian that in the year 203 the rioting populace demanded the overturning of the Christian burial-places, and St. Cyprian, bishop of the city, and martyr, was buried, in the year 258, in the *Area* or overground family tomb of the procurator, Macrobius Candidus. Ruinart tells us in his "Genuine Acts of the Martyrs" that in the next year other martyrs were buried in an *area*, the name or the owner of which is not given. Let us here remark—as illustrating the charitable feelings of the early Christians toward one another without regard to accidents of birth or fortune, and as being in accord with the sublime sentiment expressed by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians (III., 27, 28): "For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek; *there is neither bond nor free*"—that although many slaves and many freedmen were members of the Church in the very earliest ages, yet it is extremely rare to find in Christian burial-places the least allusion to, or the slightest indication of, their servile origin. And again, as manifesting from the very earliest period the equalizing tendencies of the Church, we would go further and say of those purer ages,—purer, not in doctrine, which is unchangeable and irreformable, but in the morals of men, which are better or worse at one time than at another,—the democratic influences of the Catholic religion, that titles of dignity and honor (not mere designations of official position, although these may, in some cases, have afterwards degenerated into titular vanities) are so extremely rare as to be almost absolutely wanting in the funeral inscriptions of the early Christians. Yet, as if to show that, in their opinion, the only true nobility came from the new birth of baptism, and that to be "children of the saints" was the higher boast, one only species of epigraphic pride is found perpetuated among them on the tombs of those who, not themselves converts, but born of Christian parents, could boast of a Christian ancestry; *Fidelis ex Fidelibus*: "A Christian sprung from Christians." This was evidently a formula devised to challenge the haughty claim of Roman patricians, so often put forward on their monuments; *Consul ex consulibus*: "A consul born of consuls." The laudatory grandiloquence of the heathen inscriptions on one side of the long gallery leading up to the Vatican museum, and the humble simplicity of the Christian ones, which are set up on the opposite wall, is very remarkable. *Si parva cum magnis componere licet*, it reminds the tourist from the North of a somewhat similar contrast when, turning from the magnificent marble

and the pompous eulogy of John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, in Westminster Abbey, he looks up at the plain little tablet, over which a mother's heart has bled, so touchingly inscribed, "Jane Lister: dear childe." Nothing more. And, while on this subject of funeral inscriptions, let us note that in an ancient Jewish catacomb, discovered while we were in Rome, there are singular proofs of what is so well expressed in French by *opposition sourde* to the Christian religion; for as Tertullian said in the third century, "From the days of the Apostles the synagogue has been a source of persecution." The inscriptions recovered there have been set up *in situ*, and our dear friend and teacher, the late Father Garrucci, who published an account of this Hebrew cemetery, has pointed out a peculiarity in the inscriptions, many of which are of Greek and Latin proselytes, which shows the minuteness of Jewish opposition to the early Christians; namely, that although they used the Hellenic form ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ,—"In peace,"—yet whenever they employed the Latin language, instead of giving the Greek equivalent they rendered it by *ex bonis*, with the evident intention of avoiding the well-known and peculiarly Christian acclamation, *In Pace*.

The custom of burying their dead outside of the walls of towns and cities was followed by the Christians up to about the time of Constantine. This prince and first Christian emperor gave a contrary example by selecting, with the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities, a place of sepulture in the vestibule of the Basilica of the Holy Apostles, which he had erected at Constantinople. There are other examples of intramural burial both in the East and West in the same century, although it became common and, we might say, the rule, only in the fifth century. One great reason for so radical a change was the repeated incursions of the barbarians who filled up the catacombs, rifled and overturned the tombs and whatever other monuments stood outside of the cities, within whose walls alone the inhabitants felt a little secure. The long and double line of ruined tombs along that queen of roads, the *Via Appia*, leading out of Rome, is an example of the devastations of the barbarians. The earlier exceptions to extramural burial were made only in favor of persons renowned for piety or of eminent rank. Thus St. Gregory of Nazianzen commemorates the burial of Livia, wife of Amphilochius, in the temple of the martyrs; and in the same locality were buried this great bishop's mother, brother and nephew. In this same fourth century, St. Ephraim, the Syrian, desired in his will, through a spirit of humble self-abasement, not to be buried in any part of the house of God; but on the other hand, the celebrated friend of St. Jerome, the Roman matron, Paula, was buried at Jerusalem in the church and beside the sepulchre of Christ, as St. Jerome narrates in his 27th

letter. St. John Chrysostom tells us in one of his Homilies (the 26th, on the II. Ep. to the Corinthians), that the Emperors Theodosius and Honorius followed the example of Constantine; although so many persons now sought a resting-place for their mortal remains in the churches, that the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian (364-375), had been obliged to try to repress such an abuse by insisting on the full observance of the law which forbade intramural burials. These burials were at first granted as great privileges, principally to bishops, priests and consecrated virgins; and if to persons of other conditions, it was only by reason of their being notable benefactors or powerful protectors of the Church. Thus, St. John Chrysostom was buried, says the historian, Socrates, in the Church of the Apostles, at Constantinople, and St. Ambrose selected for himself, during life, a place underneath the altar of the basilica, since called Ambrosian, which he had erected. Innumerable examples now appear of bishops and priests being buried under those altars on which, in life, they had religiously offered the Perpetual Sacrifice. St. Hilary of Poitiers (France), who died about the year 367, insisted that the bodies of heretics and heathens should not be buried in the company of the saints, which is an explicit testimony to the ancient discipline of the Church, which is still in vigor, but which is so unjustly opposed by the strong arm of the law—might assuming to make right in some countries where those who hated, reviled and persecuted the Church and died outside of her communion are forced, after death, into her consecrated ground. Pope Pelagius II. (A. D., 578) protested very strongly against any general custom of burial within or even around the churches, because it was often a matter of sheer vanity and of trying to get into good society. Many Councils in Spain, France and Germany tried to stop burials in these holy places; but finally, in the sixth century, in Italy and, later on, in all countries, burials around the churches or in the porches, vestibules and cloisters, but not yet within the churches, became universal.

In the first ages the Church was at the expense of burying the dead, and as late as the time of St. Ambrose, towards the end of the fourth century, it was allowed to dispose of the sacred vessels of the altar, in cases of extreme necessity, in order to raise funds for burying the dead decently. Yet it is certain that, even in the very beginning, when Christians had all things in common, wealthy people, unwilling to put the community to any charge, used to procure for themselves while living a sepulchre for self, family, and sometimes friends; and Boldetti has given an inscription in which certain parents inscribed on a tomb that their son had purchased it for himself with his honest labor. Sometimes a tomb was given as a present to another, somewhat as the celebrated traveller and

missionary in China, Father Huc, told us that one of the most acceptable gifts which children could make to their parent—betokening a high degree of filial piety—was an elegant coffin. Father Lupi has preserved an inscription to this effect: “*Hunc locum donavit M. Orbius Helius amicus Karissimus.*” Probably the commonest manner of acquiring a particular burial place was by ordering it of a *Fossor* or grave-digger, and paying for it. When the era of peace dawned upon the Church, only the poor and friendless were buried at the expense of the Christian community. The great respect of Christians for their dead was expressed in a variety of formulas and sometimes of anathemas, which are met quite often on epitaphs of the earliest centuries. Father Lupi tells us that from his own observations, he is certain that about the time of the first Christian emperors there were some Christians who did not scruple to open the tombs of others in order to bury their own dead therein. There were even people so wicked as to rifle the tombs of the precious objects—especially personal ornaments of silver and gold—which were often interred with the deceased. Sometimes, as Cancelli, the great antiquary, assures us, the very marble slabs closing the berth-like graves in the catacombs or encasing the brick cores of over-ground tombs were stripped off and sold or burned to make lime, whence the satiric line on such degenerate people:

“*Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquunt.*”

With the advance of centuries we are struck by a severer and more dreadful form of imprecation against the sacrilegious violators of the dead (heathen did not count; the mausoleum of Hadrian, at *Castel Sant Angelo*, is still a fortress, and the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, on the Appian Way, was long a stronghold of the Gætani). Hence the subject of anathemas is a special and very curious department of the study of inscriptions. Bosius gives us this one against any would-be violator: “May he die miserably and stay unburied. May he lie and never rise again. May his part be with Judas. Let this happen to any one who shall violate my tomb.” In the environs of Lyons this one was found: “If any one shall remove my bones from this grave, let my curse be upon him.” Gazzera, in his “Inscriptions of Piedmont,” has preserved the following: “If any one shall attempt to profane this sepulchre, may he incur the anger of God and be accurst.” These rather violent imprecations and denunciations are of a comparatively late period, being especially common in the sixth century, when the barbarians were guilty of unheard-of outrages against the dead. At an earlier age, although we remark the same jealous care not

to have one's dead bones disturbed, it is expressed in more moderate language, as, for instance, this one dating from the fifth century, which De Rossi produces as the oldest known inscription embodying such a precaution in favor of one's tomb: "I adjure you, in the name of Christ, do no injury to me, neither to my tomb."

It is not superstition, but very commendable, to treat a grave with decency. It would seem to spring from an instinctive regard for the rights and feelings of others. It is not sentiment only, but a strong sense of an appeal to our better nature, that makes the pilgrim to Stratford Church, for instance, bend over, almost tearfully, to read the lines:

"Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear
To dig the dust enclosed here:
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones."

.WINDTHORST.

THIS time a year ago, we tried to give the readers of the CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW a rapid sketch of the history of the "Centre Party," of its origin and its combats, of its hopes and of its victories. We passed in review many celebrated names dear to the hearts of the Catholics of Germany and of the entire world. One name, however, necessarily stood out from all the others; one name of more than ordinary renown in that extraordinary band; one name whose impress was on every page of that history so fruitful of suggestive instruction—the name of Windthorst. We followed this intrepid Maccabee from the beginning of his glorious career, and we have seen him grasp in hands trained to war the banner of that noble phalanx, which death had snatched from the immortal Mallinckrodt. We watched him as he marched at the head of his chosen band, everywhere and in all things a shining example of a courage that knew not defeat, of a prudence that was without peer, of a devotion that stood the test of every proof. With deepest admiration have we followed every turn of that war of the Titans, in which he was pitted against the most powerful statesmen of modern times. With sentiments of sincerest sympathy have we joined with Germany and the Catholic world in bestowing on its well beloved champion unmistakable proofs of hearty thankfulness and most unswerving devotion. Finally, from beyond the sea we saluted with respectful joy the unstained banner which the grand old man carried so valiantly, and we wished as a Catholic and a patriot that God would spare for many years to the church of Germany the best deserving of her sons, to the Fatherland the foremost of her citizens, to the Catholic people the most incomparable of her chieftains.

Two months later we had the good fortune to be able to express in person to this extraordinary man our sentiments of respect and veneration. It was at Coblenz at the annual Congress of German Catholics, toward the end of August, 1890. Thousands of Catholics were gathered there with their Bishops and their representatives. In a moment, a wave of excitement swept through the hall; "Windthorst, Windthorst," was the cry and every man rose to his feet. When "His Little Excellency" appeared at the rear of the assembly the enthusiasm of every heart found vent in rousing cheers. The old man advanced slowly, leaning on the arm of a friend; but his way was almost impeded, for the enthu-

siasm of the crowd seemed to forget his almost total blindness and his delicate constitution consequent on his eighty years.

It was an unique spectacle—an occasion at once full of grandeur and of consolation; a sight never to be forgotten by those who were so fortunate as to be witnesses of it. Certainly popular manifestations are neither rare nor difficult to obtain in the new world or in the old. The “*aura popularis*” has its caprices and its enthusiasm for those who know how to manage it with skill. But here there was nothing factitious, nothing of the artificial, nothing merely transitory. The applause was not given to a general distributing amongst his soldiers the spoils of war, nor to an emperor or a king prodigal of his favors, nor to a minister disposing of the treasures or the decorations of his sovereign; nor yet to a representative promising fat offices to his constituents. It was the meeting of two great souls, the soul of a whole people beating as one, with the soul of the tireless defender of its liberties, nay of the most precious of liberties—the liberty of the Faith. The most brilliant of his parliamentary triumphs were not to be compared with these spontaneous ovations, inspired by the deepest gratitude, by admiration the most sincere and by devotion the most disinterested.

Soon the president of the congress, Baron von Buol advanced to the tribune and announced: “*Seine Excellenz, Herr Staatsminister, Dr. Windthorst, hat das wort.*” “His Excellency, the Minister of State, Dr. Windthorst, has the floor.” The applause began again and only ended when the orator himself with his usual modesty and good nature requested silence. For near two hours an audience of from four to five thousand persons hung upon his lips. Frenzied applause broke out at the conclusion of almost every sentence. These manifestations of sympathy had a special reason and significance. Fears had been already expressed at this date with regard to Windthorst’s health. It was anxiously debated whether it would be possible for him to honor the Congress with his presence. The inquiries which were heard on all sides touching his health had something particularly tender and touching in them. It was really the affection of children who were in danger of losing a beloved father. But Coblenz seemed to allay all these fears and to set all uneasiness at rest. Hearing our Windthorst speak in a voice so clear and full, with all the energy and marvellous talent which were his characteristics, we said with thankful hearts that that piercing eye would not be closed so soon and that vigorous soul would sustain for many a year that body weakened by so many labors. But there was one in that assembly who did not share in our hopes. It was Windthorst himself. It was believed that he had finished his discourse and the applause broke out

afresh—then he began in a voice marked with strong emotion the following significant words : “ Gentlemen, I know not if I shall be able ever again to assist at one of our yearly Congresses. God alone knows ; my life is in His hands. *If He does not deign to grant me the favor to be in your midst again, I pray you that you will keep my memory green in your hearts and that your prayers will follow me.*”

These words caused deep emotion in the whole assembly. The orator on retiring seemed to hide the tears wrung from him by this sad presentiment and by the expression of popular feeling. Tears stood in many eyes but at the same time, in struggle against the impression produced by words so sad, many did violence to themselves and cried out : “ *Unser Windthorst darf noch nicht sterben ! Gott wird ihn uns noch lange erhalten !* ” “ Our Windthorst must not die yet ! God will preserve him still longer to us.” But the predominating sentiment was one of filial sorrow which found vent in the silent promise made in a thousand hearts : “ No, beloved and venerated leader, we will never forget thee and our prayer shall never cease in thy behalf.”

After this memorable occasion, we had the honor of shaking hands for the last time with the man who on that day, more than ever before, concentrated in himself all the interest and hopes of Catholic Germany. That great soul sympathized with every noble cause. Catholic in full force of the term he was interested in the religious matters of every land. He spoke to us enthusiastically of the glorious Centenary Celebration at Baltimore, of our beloved University, of his desire to see the day “ When Germany would be so free as to allow Catholics to found a like institution ; ” then he added, “ Salute for me the brave Catholics of free America ; they too, I hope, will pray for me.”

II.

It is said that death has something peculiarly humiliating for those who during life have been classed among “ great men.” It is easy to understand that nothing can be more humiliating than that inexorable command ! So far and no farther ! “ *Ingrederemur universæ terræ !* ” “ Enter the way of all flesh.” But there is a greatness which can triumph over even the authority of this despotism ; it is the greatness founded on true humility ; the grandeur of the soul that at the foot of the Cross hears the freedom-giving words : *O mors ero mors tua !* “ O death I shall be thy death ! ” Windthorst possessed this true greatness and that is why his death teaches us such a consoling and instructive lesson. Let us go into the unpretentious little room in the Jacobstrasse, Berlin, where the hero is fighting his last battle. His

death will show itself to us as the worthy crowning of his life, and at the same time will bring into a stronger light the true reason of his high achievements and the signal virtues that distinguished him as a citizen and as a Christian.

We do not intend to insist on that extraordinary power with which his intellect seemed to fight the rebellion of a body which appeared to refuse its services before its time. Certainly we could not read without deepest sadness that the inexorable disease could not stifle the noble thoughts which filled this vigorous soul. Certainly the sight of Windthorst speaking during the paroxysms of the fever—speaking at the top of his voice, as if he were in the tribune—for the precious souls of the children which he saw menaced by a vexatious law; the spectacle of this master of parliamentary oratory, in a supreme effort of his eloquence, beseeching the Government to allow the exiled religious to take their place in the bloody fight between society and socialism; the sight of this the most illustrious citizen of the empire giving for the last time, on his death-bed, a striking proof of his fidelity to his sovereign and thus confounding by the most eloquent of protestations, the accusations of his most terrible adversary; the sight, in fine, of this the most venerated of party leaders, urging with his dying voice on his beloved "Centre" the conservation of that union which he had always maintained intact and unassailable—certainly, we say, all these things show us the dying splendors of a powerful genius, the noblest aspirations of a soul deeply penetrated with its sublime mission and its sacred duties. It is not this, however, that has attracted our attention or has led us to speak of the death of Windthorst. What particularly touched and edified us was precisely the Christian simplicity of that death, the perfect resignation and the humble faith which all its circumstances showed forth. Here is the simple narrative as we take it from a German paper: "As soon as the sickness assumed a serious form, Windthorst asked for a priest. He confessed his sins to the minister of God and received the holy Viaticum. The piety which he manifested in these solemn moments was really that of a child. Abandoning himself entirely to God he repeated in tones of most complete resignation the simple words:

*Jesus dir leb' ich,
Jesus dir sterb' ich,
Jesus dein bin ich im Leben und im Tode.*

Jesus, for Thee I live,
Jesus, for Thee I die,
Jesus, Thine am I in life and in death.

These prayers were on his lips during all the lucid intervals of

his sickness. At the end, with the words: "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," his great soul went to meet its God."

This simple recital is more eloquent in praise of this great man and especially of his great soul than the most flattering obituaries, than all the wreaths from emperor and people, that were laid upon his bier, than the royal pomp which the admiration of a noble sovereign and the love of a whole city—nay, of a whole people, lavished on the funeral of the man who during his life sought no other honor than that of serving his country and his God. We shall say more; this his death-bed shows us the true explanation of all the honors showered on his tomb and of all the success which he gained in his life. *Ecce quomodo justus moritur*: "Behold how the just man dieth." Windthorst was a man of faith. That faith was his strength and his consolation in his last hours because it was the support of all his life and because he lived by faith. It is this life of faith and in the faith which gives us the secret of the sublime mission given by God to this providential man and of the remarkable way in which he carried it out. On the other hand the world would never have witnessed the moving spectacle of the honor bestowed on the memory of the deputy of Meppen, by a grief not only national but even international, if all, friends and adversaries, emperor and ministers, deputies and citizens, the learned and the unlearned, had not honored in him a man of character; if all had not recognized in him the sincerity of that faith, which adorns the most beautiful qualities, which adds lustre even to the most striking talents and which gains the most wonderful victories. For this reason we do not intend to repeat here the description of these qualities, of these talents, and of these victories which are written forever in letters of gold on the page of history. The true history of a man is the history of the motives which inspired his actions. *Omnis gloria ejus ab intus*. "All his glory is from within." It is from this standpoint that we shall consider our hero.

III.

M. Stern, a Jewish writer, both impartial and judicious, has lately written the following memorable words: "We must not stop at the surface of things when judging of a man's greatness. Windthorst is celebrated everywhere as a master of parliamentary strategy, and this is but simple justice. But his qualities as a politician, eminent as they were, do not give sufficient explanation of the universal and cordial sympathy manifested towards this fighter. His political adversaries had for him more than the admiration which his talents exacted; they held him in positive

veneration, and the reasons for this lie deeper still. The respect manifested towards Windthorst had for its object in the first place, *the man of character*, the man thoroughly good, noble and disinterested, the intrepid champion who forced men to esteem him because he fought from conviction. Each one may have his own opinion of what Windthorst called the liberty of the Church, but one fact remains undeniable, that in an epoch when material interests everywhere ruled politics, he fought for an end which was truly ideal. While a system of policy based on brute force and on the empty applause of its servile adherents, seemed to celebrate its triumphs, Windthorst fought with intellectual arms alone, animated as he was and penetrated with unshaken faith in the victorious power of the idea of justice. We cannot imagine a greater contrast than that which existed between the chief actors in this struggle of giants. On the one side we see the most powerful of statesmen in his cuirassier's uniform, whose tall stature and the clanking of whose spurs threw his partisans into a species of extasy; on the other side, a man of small stature, bent, almost blind, whose walk was as circumspect as his speeches and his political actions, and still in spite of his insignificant person this tenacious parliamentary diplomat was by far the stronger man; and always working on a well thought-out plan, he finally checkmated the great hero of modern politics. As a man of character, he could be polished towards his adversaries, and never did he cast at any one the insulting phrase, "*Sie imponiren mir nicht.*" "You cannot impose on me." But in reality he was one of the few who did "impose" upon Bismarck, even when at the zenith of his power.

In fact, we find this "conviction," that is to say, this religious conviction, this Catholic conviction, in all the phases of his well filled life. A man of faith, and consequently a man of duty, a man filled wholly and entirely with the mission which Divine Providence had assigned him and with the responsibility consequent on that mission; this it was that made Windthorst, the "Pearl of Meppen," not only as an orator or party chief, but also as a Christian. In everything, moral superiority was for him the inspiration and guide of intellectual superiority. He is ours, entirely ours! that is why the Catholics of Germany, and the Catholics of the whole world are justly proud of him.

Windthorst, a man of work! A book both interesting and full of instruction could be written on this subject. But we must content ourselves with a few remarks. God, who had His designs upon him, had richly endowed him. A generous heart, a soul ardent and passionate in pursuit of the great and beautiful, a mind broad and penetrating, naturally inclined to the right, and with a

native propensity for the true—such were the gifts which admirably seconded the Christian education which he received from his parents on the farm at Westercappel, near Osnabrück. While engaged in the study of the humanities and at the University, these precious qualities were not, as too often happens, turned from their true goal by the sallies of youth. Even from the days of early temptation and first combats, religion took him upon her wings and soared to heights whence he looked with wholesome repugnance on all the frivolity of pleasure. According to the unanimous testimony of his former teachers and fellow-students, he was remarkable, not only for his distinguished talents, but also for “exemplary conduct,” as the certificates of that time express it. Notably did he signalize himself by determined, persevering and orderly work, by disinterested labor, and—as even then he knew how to make sacrifices—by the renunciation of many, even legitimate, enjoyments.

*Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
Abstinuit venere et vino.*

One of his former professors has given in a few words a faithful portrait of him which depicts his exterior unfavored by the gifts of nature, his penetrating mind and the depth of his feelings. “*Ein grundgescheidter Kopf von ungemeiner Sehkraft, und trotz seines häßlichen Wesens von rührender Pietät.*”

We do not mean that Windthorst was ever attracted to that *austere* virtue to which some believe themselves called. Good humor and a jovial vein were, on the contrary, his striking characteristics. His virtue was *lovable*, and that is one of the secrets of his great influence. This pearl was in his case set off by that polish of heart and mind which had nothing worldly about it, nothing egoistical, nothing far fetched, always thoughtful, always at one's service, never stooping to anything low. Up to the last days of his life, this social virtue made him the centre of attraction of every meeting—in families or elsewhere, and the Catholic students of the German Universities, whether they wore “colors” or went without them (*mit farben und ohne farben*), will specially regret the “honorary member” who enlivened their young hearts with his witty speeches, who did not disdain to wear the kepi and the other insignia of his dignity as “Alter Herr” or “Philister” or “Ehrenmitglied;” who would “command” a “salamander” with an art which would have made the heart of a “bemoostes Haupt” of a score of “Semesters” wild with jealousy. He loved to recall to their minds the words of the wise man: “*Animus gaudens aetatem floridam facit; Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa.*” (Prov. xvii., 22).

"A joyful mind maketh age flourishing; A sorrowful spirit drieth up the bones." He could improvise most charmingly on a certain sadness which enervates, on an interesting melancholy which breaks young hearts. But never did his words want the serious note. "*Ridendo dicere verum*," "Joking to speak the truth," was one of his many accomplishments. He never lost the opportunity of reminding his "Commilitonen" that true gayety is the privilege of the virtuous, or of those who work hard; that excess is the bane of relaxation, and that "Frühschoppen" should never be the consequence of too prolonged a vigil, and that it was by far more suitable for the days of vacation than for the days of the "Vorlesungen" (lectures).

We may well say that love of work was a real and noble passion in this extraordinary man. There is no exaggeration that the motto of St. Paul, *Impendam et superimpendam*, "I will spend and be spent myself," was also his motto, and that he faithfully lived up to it in the lay apostolate to which Providence had called him. An eye-witness, M. Nienkämper, of Berlin, one of the foremost journalists of Germany, speaks thus on this subject. After Windthorst's death he devoted a few touching lines to the memory of the departed chief in which he described the punctuality and scrupulous regularity with which Windthorst put into practice the advice of the Holy Ghost: "*Particula boni doni non te prætereat*." "Let not a particle of the good gift overpass thee." We see Windthorst arriving punctually in Berlin on the opening of the Reichstag and of the Landtag, attending all the meetings, giving the deepest attention to every delicate and difficult question, presiding over the most important committees, devoting his evenings, and even parts of the night, in granting interviews as well to the most distinguished statesmen as to the most humble citizen, giving orders or advice orally or through his secretary to all parts of the country. "I am certain," says M. Nienkämper, "that our Windthorst would be alive yet if the long parliamentary sessions of these later times had not killed him. . . . The repose so necessary to him was denied him altogether. . . . There was not in him, however, the slightest trace of temerity or too great confidence in himself; he knew well that his health was seriously threatened. He believed, however, that he was bound not to spare himself. He did his duty to the end, and left the rest to God. It may be objected, why did not the doctors or his friends warn him? That is easily said; but how could you force a conscientious general to lie on a sofa smoking a cigar while his troops must carry an important position of the enemy? . . . Thus it was that our Windthorst was faithful even unto death. He was a true hero, whom the approach of death itself could not turn for a moment from doing his duty.

And what was still more beautiful in his character, this heroism was entirely unalloyed by any trace of vanity or of pride. . . . He did not hide from himself the difficulties or dangers of a situation. . . . he saw them, in fact, better than any one else; in very truth he worked 'in fear and trembling,' but at the same time with unshakable confidence in that God whose cause he was convinced he was sustaining. It was thus that the 'little hero' triumphed over the 'big hero,' drunken with success and with pride. . . . But if Windthorst was living to-day, he would say in his modesty and simplicity: 'It was the goodness of our cause which accomplished all; I had the Catholic people behind me; besides, never forget, that God knows how to bring about all He wills by means of the weakest instruments.' "

"Yes, beloved chief," exclaims M. Nienkämper, "you have been always the *servant* of the cause of God and of His Church. In that title we find the secret of your numberless good deeds and of your great success; the secret of your unassuming bravery, and of the irresistible influence which you exercised over us all; the secret of your unbounded devotion and of your wonderful calm, even in the midst of the most perplexing cases. And thus it was, in fine, that you became the David of right against the Goliath of wrong!"

IV.

The decisive, and, we may say, the most critical epoch in the life of Windthorst fell in the year 1866. The King of Hanover, the faithful ally of Austria, was defeated in the battle of Langensalza; the kingdom was annexed to Prussia. Windthorst, formerly a deputy to the Hanoverian Chamber, and King George's Minister of Justice, held at this time a high position in the Court. The annexation of the kingdom appeared to end his career. Another, however, more brilliant and more lucrative, opened up before him. Prussia received with open arms those of her new subjects who offered her their services. The three men she regarded most favorably were those who were called later on "*die drei feinen Köpfe*," "the three soreheads" of Hanover: Bennigsen, Miquel, Windthorst. They were characterized as follows: "The first is very able, the second is still abler, and the third is abler than the other two put together." Bennigsen and Miquel hastened to adore the rising sun, and were soon basking in the rays of public favor.¹ What is Windthorst to do? Why not follow their example? Why, surpassing them as you do in oratorical and administrative ability, why mourn for the breaking of a royal crown

¹ Miquel is now Minister of Finance and Bennigsen, President of the province of Hanover, is anxiously awaiting a portfolio.

—for a cause which is entirely lost? Would you bury your talents in sterile silence, in useless protestations? You are not rich; think of your family. Berlin has many resources; they are open to you. Your two sons must have a career; it will be a brilliant one if you so desire. Bismarck, who knows what a man is, will very soon find you the position you want. Away, therefore, with useless regrets. Grasp the opportunity. The king is dead! long live the king!

These "invitations" were not purely internal temptations; they were formally made in the study of the ex-legal adviser of the crown of Hanover.¹ But those who made these overtures were deceived in their man. They thought they had to do with a "*Streber*" and they found themselves dealing with a man of character. Such a man does not change masters as he changes his coat. Never will he approve what he believes to be unjust; never will he approve the forcible dethronement of his king to whom he has sworn allegiance! This determination will close every career to him. It matters little! *Victrix causa diis placuit, victa Catoni!* And this resolution will stand unshaken before the most seductive promises as well as before the most haughty threats.

"Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum,
Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides."

What, then, is Windthorst to do? Must he retire into his corner alone? No. He is a man of character, and he is also a Christian by conviction. He is conscious of the duties which Providence has placed upon him. The cause of justice and of religion needs defenders in Berlin; patriotism demands that he consecrate his abilities to the good of his country. He will therefore go to Berlin, sent by the confidence of his Catholic fellow-citizens. He will take his seat in the Chamber—in both chambers (Landtag and Reichstag), but he will be found in the midst of those who seek not their own interests; he will place himself at the side of Mallinckrodt, Reichensperger, Schorlemer, and soon he himself will carry the glorious flag which bears on one side the inscription, "*Lasciate ogni speranza voi che c' entrate*," "no hope of advancement for you"; on the contrary, abuse, insult and calumny; and on the other side, the noble words, "*Für Wahrheit, Freiheit und Recht!*" "For Truth, for Liberty and for Right!"

We shall say nothing of the war waged by the "man of iron" on the deputy of Meppen. God has avenged the faithful servant of faith and fatherland. He who once could not hurl abuse enough

¹ A Liberal paper wrote after Windthorst's death: "We are sorry only for one thing, that is, they did not *succeed in gaining over* this man in 1866."

on the man he stigmatized as a "Guelf," "Particularist," "enemy of the empire and of the emperor"; to-day, the glory of this "Guelf" disturbs his sleep in his involuntary retreat in the Sachsenwald, where he exhibits to the world the sad spectacle of a man of talent and success, as great as his character is little; a man without true dignity, without true loyalty in his disgrace. And, while an emperor bows respectfully before the bier of Windthorst, Bismarck has the baseness to insult, in his newspaper, the memory of the greatest and the noblest of his adversaries, one of whose chief titles to fame is, that he was great in misfortune, and never abused his superiority, to wound, much less to insult, the least of his enemies.

V.

Great in misfortune, great in the days of trial and persecution, this is the more admirable because it is the most heroic virtue of the man of faith. It was only after Windthorst's death that people knew to what a high degree he merited this title to the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity. During the first years, of his parliamentary career in Berlin he lost one after the other, three of his four children, in the flower of their youth,—his two sons and one daughter. The father's heart was broken; the Christian's strength was his support in the hour of trial. These terrible blows were to this man of faith another warning to consecrate himself more and more to his duty. Let us hear his own words, which Mr. Stern cites with well merited admiration:

"If heaven had left me my sons I should never have been able to fill my position in political life. For I am not at all rich and my position necessitates many expenses. . . . And then you know I do not like to live at another's cost; I must be thoroughly independent of all; that is why I do not accept anything from any one I believe that a God governs this world and I strive to serve Him You may say perhaps that I am a survival of the old world—that I am out of fashion—but let me add that this faith has been my sole happiness and my only stay."

On the 15th of May of this year, the day after the death of their leader, the Centre held the saddest meeting in its history. The soldiers mourned their general, the children their father. The Nestor of the party, Mr. Peter Reichensperger, a man eighty-four years old, stood up, and with a voice broken with emotion, expressed the grief of all and added: "I have fought longer by the side of our dead leader than any of you; and, if I were to sum up his whole life in a word, I would say, that it has been the life of a *glorious martyrdom*."

These words of the venerable veteran of the Centre Party tell us more of the public life, and especially of the private life of

Windthorst than the most detailed exposition could do. They bring before our minds the Christian hero, who, when overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his children, blessed the chastening hand of God; the loving and beloved husband and father, renouncing for ten months of the year the comforts and pleasures of the domestic hearth because his duty called him to the combat; the faithful servant, saddened by the violent dethronement of his king; the eminent statesman roughly cut short in one of the most honorable of careers; the great parliamentarian who for twenty years was the object of the blackest calumnies, of the most implacable hate, of the most unworthy persecution; the devoted Catholic who felt in his own heart the cruel stabs aimed at the heart of his Holy Mother, the Church; the party leader who had to maintain in perfect union, at the price of personal sacrifices known only to God, elements most widely differing in character and in political aspirations; the intrepid general whom nothing could dismay, whom nothing could defeat, neither the violence of hostile attack nor the cowardice nor temerity of his own soldiers. In a word Windthorst whether as private citizen, public leader, or son of the Church, was a martyr of devotion to his country and to his religion, in the cause of "truth, of liberty and of justice." All other glories fade before this. It is the only one which is meritorious and therefore the only one which is imperishable; for his true crown, his real reward is with Him who alone is the Eternal Truth, Perfect Liberty, and Immutable Justice.

WINDTHORSTIO.

I.

MEMORIÆ . ET . NOMINI
 LUDOVICI . WINDTHORSTII
 DOMO . OSTERCAPPELLIO . IN . HANNOVERA
 A . FIDE . IMMOTA . PRUDENTIA . SINGULARI
 DISERTI . PECTORIS . FACUNDIA
 EXIMIUM . DECU ;
 DUXIT
 CIVIUM . SUORUM . PRÆSIDIUM . ET . DELICIUM
 DIVINA . JURA . TEMPORUM . ACERBITATE . PESSUMDATA
 ASSEBUIT . VINDICAVIT
 RELIGIONIS . ET . LIBERTATIS . HOSTES
 PROFLIGAVIT . FREGIT
 QUA . SOL . PROMIT . QUA . CONDIT . DIEM
 CHRISTIANUM . NOMEN
 EVEXIT
 DECESSIT . BEROLINI . LEONIS . XIII . P . M .
 GUILIELMI . II . GERM . IMP . BONORUMQUE . OMNIUM
 LORE . HONESTATUS,
 PRID . ID . MART . A . MDCCCLXXXXI
 A . N . LXXIX . M . II . D . III,
 AMERICA . CATHOLICA
 LAUDES . ET . LACRUMAS

II.

PRÆCLARAM . JURIS . SCIENTIAM
 MULTIGENA . ERUDITIONE
 EXORNAVIT
 NEGLIGENS . HONORUM . ET . VOLUPTATUM
 OMNE . TEMPUS
 REI . CATHOLICÆ . PROVEHENDÆ
 TRANSMISIT

III.

WINDTHORSTIO
 NEMO . IN . IICENDO . FORTIOR
 NEMO . NOBILIOR
 CUI . UNICE . CURÆ . FUIT
 RELIGIO . ET . PATRIA

IV.

PRO . " VERITATE . LIBERTATE . JUSTITIA " .
 ACERRIME . IN . COMITIIS
 DEPRÆLIANTI
 TRIPLEX . AES . CIRCA . PECTUS
 EJUS . JUDICIUM
 NEC . FLECTI . GRATIA . NEC . PERFRINGI . POTENTIA
 NEC . ADULTERARI . PECUNIA
 POTUIT

V.

COELESTI . FRETUS . PRÆSIDIO
 TENACI . POPULI . FIDE
 SUFFULTUS
 HOSTIS . POTENTISSIMI¹
 IRAM . ET . FUOREM . RISIT
 ANIMUMQUE . ET . OPES
 A . MINIS . A . STRAGE . AC . IPSO . FERRO
 DUXIT

VI.

PERCUSSIS . PASTORIBUS
 CIVITATIS . DEI
 VIGIL . CUSTODIA . MUROS . SERVAVIT
 ANIMO . ASSIUE . EXCUBANS
 NE . QUID . DETRIMENTI
 RES . CHRISTIANA . CAPERET²

¹ Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor.

² Windthorst's extraordinary quickness of action and diplomatic foresight gave rise to the saying: "His Little Excellency rises very early." And when through the wisdom and dexterity of the leader of the Centre party, the blows aimed by Bismarck for the destruction of that party fell harmless, men would say: "Again the little fellow got up very early; no one can get ahead of him."

VII.

MARIA.

MAGNA . DEI . PARENS
SPES . ET . TUTELA . CHRISTIANI . NOMINIS
TE . SUPPLICI . POSCIMUS . PRECE
UT . CÆLI . SEDIBUS . INSERAS
LUDOVICUM . WINDTHORSTIUM
QUI . TE . AUSPICE . REM . CATHOLICAM
MIRIFICE . AUCTAVIT
PECUNIAM . SIBI . OBLATAM
SACRIS . ÆDIBUS . TUO . NOMINI . STRUENDIS
ADDICTAM . VOLUIT
TUAMQUE . AD . ARAM
EX . DIUTINO . LABORE
IN . PACE . CHRISTI . QUIESCIT ¹

¹ On the occasion of the golden jubilee of his marriage the Catholics of Germany presented Windthorst with a purse of 100,000 marks. He refused the gift, but asked that it be devoted to the erection of a church dedicated to the Blessed Mother of God, in the Protestant city of Hanover. During his lifetime he had collected faithfully for this his darling church. It will be his loveliest memorial. His body is buried within its walls.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII.

TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, ALL PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES,
ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD, IN GRACE
AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE

VENERABLE BRETHREN, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BLESSING.

IT is not surprising that the spirit of revolutionary change, which has so long been predominant in the nations of the world, should have passed beyond politics and made its influence felt in the cognate field of practical economy. The elements of a conflict are unmistakable; the growth of industry, and the surprising discoveries of science; the changed relations of masters and workmen; the enormous fortunes of individuals, and the poverty of the masses; the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population; and, finally, a general moral deterioration. The momentous seriousness of the present state of things just now fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men discuss it; practical men propose schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and sovereign princes, all are occupied with it—and there is nothing which has a deeper hold on public attention.

Therefore, Venerable Brethren, as on former occasions, when it seemed opportune to refute false teaching, We have addressed you in the interests of the Church and of the common weal, and have issued Letters on Political Power, on Human Liberty, on the Christian Constitution of the State, and on similar subjects, so now We have thought it useful to speak on the **CONDITION OF LABOR**. It is a matter on which We have touched once or twice already. But in this Letter the responsibility of the Apostolic office urges Us to treat the question expressly and at length, in order that there may be no mistake as to the principles which truth and justice dictate for its settlement. The discussion is not easy, nor is it free from danger. It is not easy to define the relative rights and the mutual duties of the wealthy and of the poor, of capital and of labor. And the danger lies in this, that crafty agitators constantly make use of these disputes to pervert men's judgments and to stir up the people to sedition.

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But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workmen's Guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that Working Men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious Usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is, nevertheless, under a different form but with the same guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.

To remedy these evils the *Socialists*, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. They hold that, by thus transferring property from private persons to the community, the present evil state of things will be set to rights, because each citizen will then have his equal share of whatever there is to enjoy. But their proposals are so clearly futile for all practical purposes, that if they were carried out the working man himself would be among the first to suffer. Moreover, they are emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring the State into a sphere that is not its own, and cause complete confusion in the community.

It is surely undeniable, that when a man engages in remunerative labor, the very reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and to hold it as his own private possession. If one man hires out to another his strength or his industry, he does this for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for food and living; he thereby expressly proposes to acquire a full and real right, not only to the remuneration, but also to the disposal of that remuneration as he pleases. Thus, if he lives sparingly, saves money, and invests his savings, for greater security, in land, the land in such a case is only his wages in another form; and, consequently, a working man's little estate thus purchased should be as completely at his own disposal as the wages he receives for his labor. But it is precisely in this power of disposal that ownership consists, whether the property be land or movable goods. The *Socialists*, therefore, in endeavoring to transfer the possessions of

individuals to the community, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, for they deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thus of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life.

What is of still greater importance, however, is that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation. For the brute has no power of self-direction, but is governed by two chief instincts, which keep his powers alert, move him to use his strength, and determine him to action without the power of choice. These instincts are self-preservation and the propagation of the species. Both can attain their purpose by means of things which are close at hand; beyond their surroundings the brute creation cannot go, for they are moved to action by sensibility alone, and by the things which sense perceives. But with man it is different indeed. He possesses, on the one hand, the full perfection of animal nature, and therefore he enjoys, at least as much as the rest of the animal race, the fruition of the things of the body. But animality, however perfect, is far from being the whole of humanity, and is indeed humanity's humble handmaid, made to serve and obey. It is the mind or the reason, which is the chief thing in us who are human beings; it is this which makes a human being human, and distinguishes him essentially and completely from the brute. And on this account—viz., that man alone among animals possesses reason—it must be within his right to have things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living beings have them, but in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things which perish in the using, but also those which, though used, remain for use in the future.

This becomes still more clearly evident if we consider man's nature a little more deeply. For man, comprehending by the power of his reason things innumerable, and joining the future with the present—being, moreover, the master of his own acts—governs himself by the foresight of his counsel, under the eternal law and the power of God Whose Providence governs all things. Wherefore it is in his power to exercise his choice, not only on things which regard his present welfare, but also on those which will be for his advantage in time to come. Hence man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the earth itself; for of the products of the earth he can make provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur; satisfied to-day, they demand new supplies to-morrow. Nature, therefore, owes to man a

storehouse that shall never fail, the daily supply of his daily wants. And this he finds only in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth.

Nor must we, at this stage, have recourse to the State. Man is older than the State; and he holds the right of providing for the life of his body prior to the formation of any State. And to say that God has given the earth to the use and enjoyment of the universal human race, is not to deny that there can be private property. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general; not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they please, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples. Moreover the earth, though divided among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all; for there is no one who does not live on what the land brings forth. Those who do not possess the soil, contribute their labor; so that it may be truly said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor on one's own land, or from some laborious industry which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth.

Here, again, we have another proof that private ownership is according to nature's law. For that which is required for the preservation of life, and for life's well-being, is produced in great abundance by the earth, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and lavished upon it his care and skill. Now, when man thus spends the industry of his mind and the strength of his body in procuring the fruits of nature, by that act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates—that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his own personality; and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his own, and should have a right to keep it without molestation.

These arguments are so strong and convincing that it seems surprising that certain obsolete opinions should now be revived in opposition to what is here laid down. We are told that it is right for private persons to have the use of the soil and the fruits of their land, but that it is unjust for any one to possess as owner either the land on which he has built or the estate which he has cultivated. But those who assert this do not perceive that they are robbing man of what his own labor has produced. For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill, utterly changes its condition; it was wild before, it is now fruitful; it was barren, and now it brings forth in abundance. That which has thus altered and improved it, becomes so truly part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that

the fruit of a man's sweat and labor should be enjoyed by another? As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labor should belong to him who has labored.

With reason, therefore, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients who have maintained the opposite view, has found in the study of nature, and in the law of Nature herself, the foundations of the division of property, and has consecrated by the practice of all ages the principle of private ownership, as being pre-eminently in conformity with human nature, and as conducing in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquillity of human life. The same principle is confirmed and enforced by the civil laws—laws which, as long as they are just, derive their binding force from the law of nature. The authority of the Divine Law adds its sanction, forbidding us in the gravest terms even to covet that which is another's:—*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife ; nor his house, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything which is his.*¹

The rights here spoken of, belonging to each individual man, are seen in a much stronger light if they are considered in relation to man's social and domestic obligations.

In choosing a state of life, it is indisputable that all are at full liberty either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity, or to enter into the bonds of marriage. No human law can abolish the natural and primitive right of marriage, or in any way limit the chief and principal purpose of marriage, ordained by God's authority from the beginning. *Increase and multiply.* Thus we have the family ; the "society" of a man's own household ; a society limited indeed in numbers, but a true "society," anterior to every kind of State or nation, with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the commonwealth.

That right of property, therefore, which has been proved to belong naturally to individual persons, must also belong to a man in his capacity of head of a family ; nay, such a person must possess this right so much the more clearly in proportion as his position multiplies his duties. For it is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessities for those whom he has begotten ; and, similarly, nature dictates that a man's children, who carry on, as it were, and continue his own personality, should be provided by him with all that is needful to enable them honorably to keep themselves from want and misery in the uncertainties of this mortal life. Now in no other way can a father effect this except by the ownership of profitable property, which he can transmit to his children by inheritance. A family, no less

¹ Deuteronomy, v., 21.

² Genesis, i., 28.

than a State, is, as We have said, a true society, governed by a power within itself, that is to say, by the father. Wherefore, provided the limits be not transgressed which are prescribed by the very purposes for which it exists, the Family has at least equal rights with the State in the choice and pursuit of those things which are needful to its preservation and its just liberty.

We say, at least equal rights; for, since the domestic household is anterior both in idea and in fact to the gathering of men into a commonwealth, the former must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the latter, and which rest more immediately on nature. If the citizens of a State—that is to say, the Families—on entering into association and fellowship, experienced, at the hands of the State, hindrance instead of help, and found their rights attacked instead of being protected, such association were rather to be repudiated than sought after.

The idea, then, that the civil government should, at its own discretion, penetrate and pervade the family and the household, is a great and pernicious mistake. True, if a family finds itself in great difficulty, utterly friendless, and without prospect of help, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid; for each family is a part of the commonwealth. In like manner, if within the walls of the household there occur grave disturbance of mutual rights, the public power must interfere to force each party to give the other what is due; for this is not to rob citizens of their rights, but justly and properly to safeguard and strengthen them. But the rulers of the State must go no further: Nature bids them stop here. Paternal authority can neither be abolished by the State, nor absorbed; for it has the same source as human life itself. "The child belongs to the father," and is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality; and, to speak with strictness, the child takes its place in civil society not in its own right, but in its quality as a member of the family in which it is begotten. And it is for the very reason that "the child belongs to the father" that, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, "before it attains the use of free-will it is in the power and care of its parents."¹ The Socialists, therefore, in setting aside the parent and introducing the providence of the State, act *against natural justice*, and threaten the very existence of family life.

And such interference is not only unjust, but is quite certain to harass and disturb all classes of citizens and to subject them to odious and intolerable slavery. It would open the door to envy, to evil speaking, and to quarrelling; the sources of wealth would themselves run dry, for no one would have any interest in exerting

¹ St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, 2a 2æ Q. x. Art. 12.

his talents or his industry; and that ideal equality of which so much is said would in reality be the leveling down of all to the same condition of misery and dishonor.

Thus it is clear that the main tenet of *Socialism*, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected; for it would injure those whom it is intended to benefit; it would be contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and it would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth. Our first and most fundamental principle, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property. This laid down, We go on to show where we must find the remedy that we seek.

We approach the subject with confidence, and in the exercise of the rights which belong to Us. For no practical solution of this question will ever be found without the assistance of Religion and of the Church. It is We who are the chief guardian of Religion and the chief dispenser of what belongs to the Church, and We must not by silence neglect the duty which lies upon Us. Doubtless this most serious question demands the attention and the efforts of others besides Ourselves—of the Rulers of States, of employers of labor, of the wealthy, and of the working population themselves for whom We plead. But We affirm without hesitation, that all the striving of men will be vain if they leave out the Church. It is the Church that proclaims from the Gospel those teachings by which the conflict can be put an end to, or at the least made far less bitter; the Church uses its efforts not only to enlighten the mind, but to direct by its precepts the life and conduct of man; the Church improves and ameliorates the condition of the working man by numerous useful organizations; does its best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavoring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes; and acts on the decided view that for these purposes recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the help of the law and of State authority.

Let it be laid down, in the first place, that humanity must remain as it is. It is impossible to reduce human society to a level. The *Socialists* may do their utmost, but all striving against nature is vain. There naturally exists among mankind innumerable differences of the most important kind; people differ in capability, in diligence, in health, and in strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of inequality in condition. Such inequality is far from being disadvantageous either to individuals or to the community; social and public life can only go on by the help of various kinds of capacity and the playing of many parts; and each man,

as a rule, chooses his part which peculiarly suits his case. As regards bodily labor, even had man never fallen from *the state of innocence*, he would not have been wholly unoccupied; but that which would then have been his free choice and his delight became afterwards compulsory, and the painful expiation of his sin. *Cursed be the earth in thy work; in thy labor thou shalt eat of it all the days of thy life.*¹ In like manner, the other pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on this earth; for the consequences of sin are bitter and hard to bear, and they must be with man as long as life lasts. To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity; let men try as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it. If any there are who pretend differently—who hold out to a hard-pressed people freedom from pain and trouble, undisturbed repose, and constant enjoyment—they cheat the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only make the evil worse than before. There is nothing more useful than to look at the world as it really is—and at the same time to look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles.

The great mistake that is made in the matter now under consideration is, to possess oneself of the idea that class is naturally hostile to class; that rich and poor are intended by nature to live at war with one another. So irrational and so false is this view, that the exact contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a State it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other; capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness and good order; perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and outrage. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in making it impossible, the efficacy of Christianity is marvellous and manifold. First of all, there is nothing more powerful than Religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of justice. Thus Religion teaches the laboring man and the workman to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made; never to injure capital, nor to outrage the person of an employer; never to employ violence in representing his own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises, and raise

¹ Genesis, iii., 17.

foolish hopes which usually end in disaster, and in repentance when too late. Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work-people are not their slaves; that they must respect in every man his dignity as a man and as a Christian; that labor is nothing to be ashamed of, if we listen to right reason and to Christian philosophy, but is an honorable employment, enabling a man to sustain his life in an upright and creditable way; and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power. Thus, again, Religion teaches that, as among the workman's concerns are Religion herself and things spiritual and mental, the employer is bound to see that the workman has time for the duties of piety; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions; and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family, or to squander his wages. Then, again, the employer must never tax his work-people beyond their strength, nor employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age. His great and principal obligation is to give to every one that which is just. Doubtless, before we can decide whether wages are adequate, many things have to be considered; but rich men and masters should remember this—that to exercise pressure for the sake of gain, upon the indigent and destitute, and to make one's profit out of the needs of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. *Behold, the hire of the laborers . . . which by fraud hath been kept back by you, crieth: and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.*¹ Finally, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workman's earnings, either by force, by fraud, or by usurious dealing; and with the more reason because the poor man is weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should be sacred in proportion to their scantiness.

Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed, would not strife die out and cease?

But the Church, with Jesus Christ for its Master and Guide, aims higher still. It lays down precepts yet more perfect, and tries to bind class to class in friendliness and good understanding. The things of this earth cannot be understood or valued rightly without taking into consideration the life to come, the life that will last forever. Exclude the idea of futurity, and the very notion of what is good and right would perish; nay, the whole system of the universe would become a dark and unfathomable mystery. The great truth which we learn from Nature herself, is also the grand Christian

¹ St. James, v., 4.

dogma on which Religion rests as on its base—that when we have done with this present life then we shall really begin to live. God has not created us for the perishable and transitory things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting; He has given us this world as a place of exile, and not as our true country. Money, and the other things which men call good and desirable—we may have them in abundance, or we may want them altogether; as far as eternal happiness is concerned, it is no matter; the only thing that is important, is to use them aright. Jesus Christ, when He redeemed us with *plentiful redemption*, took not away the pains and sorrows which in such large proportion make up the texture of our mortal life; He transformed them into motives of virtue and occasions of merit; and no man can hope for eternal reward unless he follow in the bloodstained footprints of his Saviour. *If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him.*¹ His labors and His sufferings, accepted by His own free will, have marvellously sweetened all suffering and all labor. And not only by His example, but by His grace and by the hope of everlasting recompense, He has made pain and grief more easy to endure; *for that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory.*²

Therefore, those whom fortune favors are warned that freedom from sorrow, and abundance of earthly riches, are no guarantee of the beatitude that shall never end, but rather the contrary;³ that the rich should tremble at the threatenings of Jesus Christ—threatenings so strange in the mouth of Our Lord;⁴ and that a most strict account must be given to the Supreme Judge for all that we possess. The chiefest and most excellent rule for the right use of money is one which the heathen philosophers indicated, but which the church has traced out clearly, and has not only made known to men's minds, but has impressed upon their lives. It rests on the principle that it is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another to have a right to use money as one pleases. Private ownership, as we have seen, is the natural right of man; and to exercise that right, especially as members of society, is not only lawful, but absolutely necessary. *It is lawful*, says St. Thomas of Aquin, *for a man to hold private property; and it is also necessary for the carrying on of human life.*⁵ But if the question be asked, How must one's possessions be used? the Church replies, without hesitation, in the words of the same holy Doctor: *Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so*

¹ 2 Timothy, ii., 12.

² 2 Corinthians, iv., 17.

³ St. Matthew, xix., 23, 24.

⁴ St. Luke, vi., 24, 25.

⁵ 2a 2æ Q., lxvi., Art. 2.

as to share them without difficulty when others are in need. Whence the Apostle saith, *Command the rich of this world . . . to give with ease, to communicate.*¹ True, no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own necessities and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life; *for no one ought to live unbecomingly.*² But when necessity has been supplied, and one's condition fairly considered, it is a duty to give to the indigent out of that which is over. *That which remaineth, give alms.*³ It is a duty, not of justice (except in extreme cases), but of Christian charity—a duty which is not enforced by human law. But the laws and judgments of men must give place to the laws and judgments of Christ the true God, Who in many ways urges on His followers the practice of almsgiving—*It is more blessed to give than to receive*; ⁴ and Who will count a kindness done or refused to the poor as done or refused to Himself—as long as you did it to one of *My least brethren, you did it to Me.*⁵ Thus, to sum up what has been said: Whoever has received from the Divine bounty a large share of blessings, whether they be external and corporeal or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature, and, at the same time, that he may employ them, as the minister of God's Providence, for the benefit of others. *He that hath a talent*, says St. Gregory the Great, *let him see that he hide it not; he that hath abundance, let him arouse himself to mercy and generosity; he that hath art and skill, let him do his best to share the use and the utility thereof with his neighbor.*⁶

As for those who do not possess the gifts of fortune, they are taught by the Church that, in God's sight poverty is no disgrace, and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in seeking one's bread by labor. This is strengthened by what we see in Christ Himself, Who, *whereas He was rich, for our sakes became poor*; and Who, being the Son of God, and God Himself, chose to seem and to be considered the son of a carpenter—nay, did not disdain to spend a great part of His life as a carpenter Himself. *Is not this the carpenter, the Son of Mary?*⁷ From the contemplation of this Divine example it is easy to understand that the true dignity and excellence of man lies in his moral qualities, that is, in virtue; that virtue is the common inheritance of all, equally within reach of high and low, rich and poor; and that virtue, and virtue alone, wherever found, will be followed by the rewards of everlasting happiness. Nay, God Himself seems to incline more to those

¹ *Ibid.*, Q., lxxv., Art. 2.² *Ibid.*, Q., xxxii., Art. 6.³ St. Luke, xi., 41.⁴ Acts, xx., 35.⁵ St. Matthew, xxv., 40.⁶ St. Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evangel.*, n. 7.⁷ St. Mark vi., 3.

who suffer evil; for Jesus Christ calls the poor blessed;¹ He lovingly invites those in labor and grief to come to Him for solace; and He displays the tenderest charity to the lowly and the oppressed. These reflections cannot fail to keep down the pride of those who are well off, and to cheer the spirit of the afflicted; to incline the former to generosity and the latter to tranquil resignation. Thus the separation which pride would make tends to disappear, nor will it be difficult to make rich and poor join hands in friendly concord.

But, if Christian precepts prevail, the two classes will not only be united in the bonds of friendship, but also in those of brotherly love. For they will understand and feel that all men are the children of the common Father, that is, of God; that all have the same last end, which is God Himself, who alone can make either men or angels absolutely and perfectly happy; that all and each are redeemed by Jesus Christ and raised to the dignity of children of God, and are thus united in brotherly ties both with each other and with Jesus Christ, *the firstborn among many brethren*; that the blessings of nature and the gifts of grace belong in common to the whole human race, and that to all, except to those who are unworthy, is promised the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. *If sons, heirs also; heirs indeed of God, and co-heirs of Christ.*²

Such is the scheme of duties and rights which is put forth to the world by the Gospel. Would it not seem that strife must quickly cease were society penetrated with ideas like these?

But the Church, not content with pointing out the remedy, also applies it. For the Church does its utmost to teach and to train men, and to educate them; and by means of its Bishops and clergy it diffuses its salutary teachings far and wide. It strives to influence the mind, the heart, so that all may willingly yield themselves to be formed and guided by the commandments of God. It is precisely in this fundamental and principal matter, on which everything depends, that the Church has the power peculiar to itself. The agencies which it employs are given it for the very purpose of reaching the hearts of men, by Jesus Christ Himself, and derive their efficiency from God. They alone can touch the innermost heart and conscience, and bring men to act from a motive of duty, to resist their passions and appetites, to love God and their fellow-men with a love that is unique and supreme, and courageously to break down every barrier which stands in the way of a virtuous life.

¹ St. Matthew, v., 3: "*Blessed are the poor in spirit.*"

² *Ibid.*, xi., 28: "*Come to Me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you.*"

³ Romans, viii., 17.

On this subject We need only recall for one moment the examples written down in history. Of these things there cannot be the shadow of doubt: for instance, that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity; that in the strength of that renewal the human race was lifted up to better things—nay, that it was brought back from death to life, and to so excellent a life that nothing more perfect had been known before, or will come to pass in the ages that have yet to be. Of this beneficent transformation, Jesus Christ was at once the first cause and the final purpose; as from Him all came, so to Him all was to be referred. For when, by the light of the Gospel message, the human race came to know the grand mystery of the Incarnation of the Word and the redemption of man, the life of Jesus Christ, God and Man, penetrated every race and nation, and impregnated them with His faith, His precepts, and His laws. And if Society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life and Christian institutions. When a society is perishing, the true advice to give to those who would restore it is, to recall it to the principles from which it sprung; for the purpose and perfection of an association is to aim at and to attain that for which it was formed; and its operation should be put in motion and inspired by the end and object which originally gave it its being. So that to fall away from its primal constitution is disease; to go back to it is recovery. And this may be asserted with the utmost truth both of the State in general and of that body of its citizens—by far the greater number—who sustain life by labor.

Neither must it be supposed that the solicitude of the Church is so occupied with the spiritual concerns of its children as to neglect their interests temporal and earthly. Its desire is that the poor, for example, should rise above poverty and wretchedness, and should better their condition in life; and for this it strives. By the very fact that it calls men to virtue and forms them to its practice, it promotes this in no slight degree. Christian morality, when it is adequately and completely practised, conduces of itself to temporal prosperity, for it merits the blessing of that God who is the source of all blessings; it powerfully restrains the lust of possession and the lust of pleasure—twin plagues, which too often make a man without self-restraint miserable in the midst of abundance;¹ it makes men supply by economy for the want of means, teaching them to be content with frugal living, and keeping them out of the reach of those vices which eat up not merely small incomes, but large fortunes, and dissipate many a goodly inheritance.

Moreover, the Church intervenes directly in the interest of the

¹ "The root of all evils is cupidity."—1 Tim., vi., 10.

poor, by setting on foot and keeping up many things which it sees to be efficacious in the relief of poverty. Here again it has always succeeded so well that it has even extorted the praise of its enemies. Such was the ardor of brotherly love among the earliest Christians that numbers of those who were better off deprived themselves of their possessions in order to relieve their brethren; whence *neither was there any one needy among them*.¹ To the order of Deacons, instituted for that very purpose, was committed by the Apostles the charge of the daily distributions; and the Apostle Paul, though burdened with the solicitude of all the churches, hesitated not to undertake laborious journeys in order to carry the alms of the Faithful to the poorer Christians. Tertullian calls these contributions, given voluntarily by Christians in their assemblies, *deposits of piety*; because to cite his words, they were employed *in feeding the needy, in burying them, in the support of boys and girls destitute of means and deprived of their parents, in the care of the aged, and in the relief of the shipwrecked*.²

Thus by degrees came into existence the patrimony which the Church has guarded with religious care as the inheritance of the poor. Nay, to spare them the shame of begging, the common Mother of rich and poor has exerted herself to gather together funds for the support of the needy. The Church has stirred up everywhere the heroism of charity, and has established Congregations of Religious and many other useful institutions for help and mercy, so that there might be hardly any kind of suffering which was not visited and relieved. At the present day there are many who, like the heathen of old, blame and condemn the Church for this beautiful charity. They would substitute in its place a system of State-organized relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity. Charity, as a virtue, belongs to the Church; for it is no virtue unless it is drawn from the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ; and he who turns his back on the Church cannot be near to Christ.

It cannot, however, be doubted that to attain the purpose of which We treat, not only the Church, but all human means must conspire. All who are concerned in the matter must be of one mind and must act together. It is in this, as in the Providence which governs the world; results do not happen save where all the causes co-operate.

Let us now, therefore, inquire what part the State should play in the work of remedy and relief.

By the State, we here understand, not the particular form of government which prevails in this or that nation, but the State as

¹ Acts iv., 34.

² *Apologia Secunda*, xxxix.

rightly understood; that is to say, any government conformable in its institutions to right reason and natural law, and to those dictates of the Divine Wisdom which We have expounded in the Encyclical on the Christian Constitution of the State. The first duty, therefore, of the rulers of the State should be to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, shall be such as to produce of themselves public well-being and private prosperity. This is the proper office of wise statesmanship and the work of the heads of the State. Now a State chiefly prospers and flourishes by morality, by well-regulated family life, by respect for religion and justice, by the moderation and equal distribution of public burdens, by the progress of the arts and of trade, by the abundant yield of the land—by everything which makes the citizens better and happier. Here, then, it is in the power of a ruler to benefit every order of the State, and amongst the rest to promote in the highest degree the interests of the poor; and this by virtue of his office, and without being exposed to any suspicion of undue interference—for it is the province of the commonwealth to consult for the common good. And the more that is done for the working population by the general laws of the country, the less need will there be to seek for particular means to relieve them.

There is another and a deeper consideration which must not be lost sight of. To the State the interests of all are equal, whether high or low. The poor are members of the national community equally with the rich; they are real component parts, living parts, which make up, through the family, the living body; and it need hardly be said that they are by far the majority. It would be irrational to neglect one portion of the citizens and to favor another; and therefore the public administration must duly and solicitously provide for the welfare and the comfort of the working people, or else that law of justice will be violated which ordains that each shall have his due. To cite the wise words of St. Thomas of Aquin: *As the part and the whole are in a certain sense identical the part may in some sense claim what belongs to the whole.*¹ Among the many and grave duties of rulers who would do their best for the people, the first and chief is to act with strict justice—with that justice which is called in the Schools *distributive*—towards each and every class.

But although all citizens, without exception, can and ought to contribute to that common good in which individuals share so profitably to themselves, yet it is not to be supposed that all can contribute in the same way and to the same extent. No matter

¹ 2a 2ae Q. LXI. Art. 1 ad 2.

what changes may be made in forms of government, there will always be differences and inequalities of condition in the State: Society cannot exist or be conceived without them. Some there must be who dedicate themselves to the work of the commonwealth, who make the laws, who administer justice, whose advice and authority govern the nation in times of peace, and defend it in war. Such men clearly occupy the foremost place in the State, and should be held in the foremost estimation, for their work touches most nearly and effectively the general interests of the community. Those who labor at a trade or calling do not promote the general welfare in such a fashion as this; but they do in the most important way benefit the nation, though less directly. We have insisted that, since it is the end of Society to make men better, the chief good that Society can be possessed of is Virtue. Nevertheless, in all well-constituted States it is a by no means unimportant matter to provide those bodily and external commodities, *the use of which is necessary to virtuous action*.¹ And in the provision of material well-being, the labor of the poor—the exercise of their skill and the employment of their strength in the culture of the land and the workshops of trade—is most efficacious and altogether indispensable. Indeed, their co-operation in this respect is so important that it may be truly said that it is only by the labor of the working man that States grow rich. Justice, therefore, demands that the interests of the poorer population be carefully watched over by the Administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits they create—that being housed, clothed, and enabled to support life, they may find their existence less hard and more endurable. It follows that whatever shall appear to be conducive to the well-being of those who work, should receive favorable consideration. Let it not be feared that solicitude of this kind will injure any interest; on the contrary, it will be to the advantage of all; for it cannot but be good for the commonwealth to secure from misery those on whom it so largely depends.

We have said that the State must not absorb the individual or the family; both should be allowed free and untrammelled action as far as is consistent with the common good and the interests of others. Nevertheless, rulers should anxiously safeguard the community and all its parts; the community, because the conservation of the community is so emphatically the business of the supreme power, that the safety of the commonwealth is not only the first law, but it is a Government's whole reason of existence; and the

¹ St. Thomas of Aquin. *De Regimine Principum*, I, cap. 15.

parts, because both philosophy and the Gospel agree in laying down that the object of the administration of the State should be, not the advantage of the ruler, but the benefit of those over whom he rules. The gift of authority is from God, and is, as it were, a participation of the highest of all sovereignties ; and it should be exercised as the power of God is exercised—with a fatherly solicitude which not only guides the whole, but reaches to details as well.

Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them. Now, among the interests of the public, as of private individuals, are these : that peace and good order should be maintained ; that family life should be carried on in accordance with God's laws and those of nature ; that Religion should be revered and obeyed ; that a high standard of morality should prevail in public and private life ; that the sanctity of justice should be respected, and that no one should injure another with impunity ; that the members of the commonwealth should grow up to man's estate strong and robust, and capable, if need be, of guarding and defending their country. If by a strike or other combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace ; or if circumstances were such that among the laboring population the ties of family life were relaxed ; if Religion were found to suffer through the workmen not having time and opportunity to practice it ; if in workshops and factories there were danger to morals through the mixing of the sexes or from any occasion of evil ; or if employers laid burdens upon the workmen which were unjust, or degraded them with conditions that were repugnant to their dignity as human beings ; finally, if health were endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to sex or age—in these cases there can be no question that, within certain limits, it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law. The limits must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference—the principle being this, that the law must not undertake more, or go farther, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the danger.

Rights must be religiously respected wherever they are found ; and it is the duty of the public authority to prevent and punish injury, and to protect each one in the possession of his own. Still, when there is question of protecting the rights of individuals, the poor and helpless have a claim to special consideration. The richer population have many ways of protecting themselves, and stand less in need of help from the State ; those who are badly off have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly

rely upon the assistance of the State. And it is for this reason that wage-earners, who are undoubtedly among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth. Here, however, it will be advisable to advert expressly to one or two of the more important details. It must be borne in mind that the chief thing to be secured is the safe-guarding, by legal enactment and policy, of private property. Most of all is it essential in these times of covetous greed, to keep the multitude within the line of duty; for if all may justly strive to better their condition, yet neither justice nor the common good allows any one to seize that which belongs to another, or, under the pretext of futile and ridiculous equality, to lay hands on other people's fortunes. It is most true, that by far the larger part of the people who work prefer to improve themselves by honest labor rather than by doing wrong to others. But there are not a few who are imbued with bad principles and are anxious for revolutionary change, and whose great purpose it is to stir up tumult and bring about a policy of violence. The authority of the State should intervene to put restraint upon these disturbers, to save the workmen from their seditious arts, and to protect lawful owners from spoliation.

When work-people have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labor are too long, or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient. The grave inconvenience of this not uncommon occurrence should be obviated by public remedial measures; for such paralysis of labor not only affects the masters and their work-people, but is extremely injurious to trade, and to the general interests of the public; moreover, on such occasions, violence and disorder are generally not far off. and thus it frequently happens that the public peace is threatened. The laws should be beforehand, and prevent these troubles from arising; they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which lead to conflicts between masters and those whom they employ.

But if the owners of property must be made secure, the workman, too, has property and possessions in which he must be protected; and, first of all, there are his spiritual and mental interests. Life on earth, however good and desirable in itself, is not the final purpose for which man is created; it is only the way and the means to that attainment of truth, and that practice of goodness, in which the full life of the soul consists. It is the soul which is made after the image and likeness of God; it is in the soul that sovereignty resides, in virtue of which man is commanded to rule the creatures below him, and to use all the earth and the ocean for his profit and advantage. *Fill the earth and subdue it; and rule*

over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures which move upon the earth.¹ In this respect all men are equal; there is no difference between rich and poor, master and servant, ruler and ruled, *for the same is Lord over all.*² No man may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats *with reverence*, nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation for the eternal life of Heaven. Nay, more; a man has here no power over himself. To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right; he cannot give up his soul to servitude, for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God, most sacred and inviolable.

From this follows the obligation of the cessation of work and labor on Sundays and certain festivals. This rest from labor is not to be understood as mere idleness; much less must it be an occasion of spending money and of vicious excess, as many would desire it to be, but it should be rest from labor consecrated by religion. Repose united with religious observance disposes man to forget for a while the business of this daily life, and to turn his thoughts to heavenly things and to the worship which he so strictly owes to the Eternal Deity. It is this, above all, which is the reason and motive of the Sunday rest; a rest sanctioned by God's great law of the ancient covenant: *Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath Day,*³ and taught to the world by His own mysterious "rest" after the creation of man; *He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done.*⁴

If we now turn to things exterior and corporeal, the first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of grasping speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for making money. It is neither justice nor humanity so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies. Man's powers, like his general nature, are limited, and beyond these limits he cannot go. His strength is developed and increased by use and exercise, but only on condition of due intermission and proper rest. Daily labor, therefore, must be so regulated that it may not be protracted during longer hours than strength admits. How many and how long the intervals of rest should be, will depend on the nature of the work, on circumstances of time and place, and on the health and strength of the workman. Those who labor in mines and quarries, and in work within the bowels of the earth, should have shorter hours in proportion as their labor is more severe and more trying to health.

¹ Genesis i., 28.

² Romans x., 12.

³ Exod. xx., 8.

⁴ Genesis ii., 2.

Then again, the season of the year must be taken into account; for not unfrequently a kind of labor is easy at one time which at another is intolerable or very difficult. Finally, work which is suitable for a strong man cannot reasonably be required from a woman or a child. And, in regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature. For just as rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so too early an experience of life's hard work blights the young promise of a child's powers, and makes any real education impossible. Women, again, are not suited to certain trades; for a woman is by nature fitted for home-work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty and to promote the good bringing up of children and the well-being of the family. As a general principle it may be laid down, that a workman ought to have leisure and rest in proportion to the wear and tear of his strength; for the waste of strength must be repaired by the cessation of work.

In all agreements between masters and work-people, there is always the condition, expressed or understood, that there be allowed proper rest for soul and body. To agree in any other sense would be against what is right and just; for it can never be right or just to require on the one side, or to promise on the other, the giving up of those duties which a man owes to his God and to himself.

We now approach a subject of very great importance, and one on which, if extremes are to be avoided, right ideas are absolutely necessary. Wages, we are told, are fixed by free consent; and therefore the employer, when he pays what was agreed upon, has done his part and is not called upon for anything further. The only way, it is said, in which injustice could happen would be if the master refused to pay the whole of the wages, or the workman would not complete the work undertaken; when this happens the State should intervene, to see that each obtains his own—but not under any other circumstances.

This mode of reasoning is by no means convincing to a fair-minded man, for there are important considerations which it leaves out of view altogether. To labor is to exert one's self for the sake of procuring what is necessary for the purposes of life, and most of all for self-preservation. *In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread.*¹ Therefore a man's labor has two notes or characters. First of all, it is *personal*; for the exertion of individual power belongs to the individual who puts it forth, employing this power for that personal profit for which it was given. Secondly, man's labor is *necessary*; for without the results of labor a man cannot live; and

¹ Genesis iii., 19.

self-conservation is a law of Nature, which it is wrong to disobey. Now if we were to consider labor merely so far as it is *personal*, doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatever; for in the same way as he is free to work or not, so he is free to accept a small remuneration or even none at all. But this is a mere abstract supposition; the labor of the working man is not only his personal attribute, but it is *necessary*; and this makes all the difference. The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work and wages.

Let it be granted, then, that, as a rule, workman and employer, should make free agreements, and in particular should freely agree as to wages; nevertheless, there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or a contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice. In these and similar questions, however—such as, for example, the hours of labor in different trades, the sanitary precautions to be observed in factories and workshops, etc.—in order to supersede undue interference on the part of the State, especially as circumstances, times, and localities differ so widely, it is advisable that recourse be had to Societies or Boards such as We shall mention presently, or to some other method of sa'e-guarding the interests of wage-earners; the State to be asked for approval and protection.

If a workman's wages be sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife, and his children in reasonable comfort, he will not find it difficult, if he is a sensible man, to study economy; and he will not fail, by cutting down expenses, to put by a little property; nature and reason would urge him to this. We have seen that this great labor question cannot be solved except by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable. The law, therefore, should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many of the people as possible to become owners.

Many excellent results will follow from this; and first of all, property will certainly become more equitably divided. For the effect of civil change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely different castes. On the one side there is the party which holds the power because it holds the wealth; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade, which manipulates for its

own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, and always ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged over, and the two orders will be brought nearer together. Another consequence will be the greater — abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which is their own; nay, they learn to love the very soil which yields in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of good things for themselves and those that are dear to them. It is evident how such a spirit of willing labor would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community. And a third advantage would arise from this: men would cling to the country in which they were born; for no one would exchange his country for a foreign land if his own afforded him the means of living a tolerable and happy life. These three important benefits, however, can only be expected on the condition that a man's means be not drained and exhausted by excessive taxation. The right to possess private property is from nature, not from man; and the State has only the right to regulate its use in the interest of the public good, but by no means to abolish it altogether. The State is therefore unjust and cruel if, in the name of taxation, it deprives the private owner of more than is just.

In the last place—employers and workmen may themselves effect much in the matter of which we treat, by means of those institutions and organizations which afford opportune assistance to those in need, and which draw the two orders more closely together. Among these may be enumerated: Societies for mutual help; various foundations established by private persons for providing for the workman, and for his widow, or his orphans, in sudden calamity, in sickness, and in the event of death; and what are called “patronages” or institutions for the care of boys and girls, for young people and also for those of more mature age.

The most important of all are Workmen's Associations; for these virtually include all the rest. History attests what excellent results were effected by the Artificers' Guilds of a former day. They were the means not only of many advantages to the workmen, but in no small degree of the advancement of art, as numerous monuments remain to prove. Such associations should be adapted to the requirements of the age in which we live—an age of greater instruction, of different customs, and of more numerous requirements in daily life. It is gratifying to know that there are

actually in existence: not a few Societies of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone or of workmen and employers together; but it were greatly to be desired that they should multiply and become more effective. We have spoken of them more than once; but it will be well to explain here how much they are needed, to show that they exist by their own right, and to enter into their organization and their work.

The experience of his own weakness urges man to call in help from without. We read in pages of Holy Writ: *It is better that two should be together than one; for they have the advantage of their society. If one fall he shall be supported by the other. Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth he hath none to lift him up. And further: A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city.*² It is this natural impulse which unites men in civil society; and it is this also which makes them band themselves together in association of citizen with citizen; associations which, it is true, cannot be called societies in the complete sense of the word, but which are societies nevertheless.

These lesser societies and the society which constitutes the State differ in many things, because their immediate purpose and end is different. Civil society exists for the common good, and therefore is concerned with the interests of all in general, and with individual interests in their due place and proportion. Hence it is called *public* society, because by its means, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, *Men communicate with one another in the setting up of a commonwealth.*³ But the societies which are formed in the bosom of the State are called *private*, and justly so, because their immediate purpose is the private advantage of the associates. *Now a private society*, says St. Thomas again, *is one which is formed for the purpose of carrying out private business; as when two or three enter into a partnership with the view of trading in conjunction.*⁴ Particular societies, then, although they exist within the State, and are each a part of the State, nevertheless cannot be prohibited by the State absolutely and as such. For to enter into "society" of this kind is the natural right of man; and the State must protect natural rights, not destroy them; and if it forbids its citizens to form associations, it contradicts the very principle of its own existence; for both they and it exist in virtue of the same principle, viz., the natural propensity of man to live in society.

There are times, no doubt, when it is right that the law should interfere to prevent association; as when men join together for

¹ Ecclesiastes iv., 9, 10.

² Proverbs xviii., 19.

³ *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, Cap. II.

⁴ *Ibid.*

purposes which are evidently bad, unjust, or dangerous to the State. In such cases the public authority may justly forbid the formation of associations, and may dissolve them when they already exist. But every precaution should be taken not to violate the rights of individuals and not to make unreasonable regulations under the pretence of public benefit. For laws only bind when they are in accordance with right reason, and therefore with the eternal law of God.¹

And here we are reminded of the Confraternities, Societies, and Religious Orders, which have arisen by the Church's authority and the piety of the Christian people. The annals of every nation down to our own times testify to what they have done for the human race. It is indisputable, on grounds of reason alone, that such associations, being perfectly blameless in their objects, have the sanction of the law of nature. On their religious side, they rightly claim to be responsible to the Church alone. The administrators of the State, therefore, have no rights over them, nor can they claim any share in their management; on the contrary, it is the State's duty to respect and cherish them, and, if necessary, to defend them from attack. It is notorious that a very different course has been followed, more especially in our own times. In many places the State has laid violent hands on these Communities, and committed manifold injustice against them; it has placed them under the civil law, taken away their rights as corporate bodies, and robbed them of their property. In such property the Church had her rights, each member of the body had his or her rights, and there were also the rights of those who had founded or endowed them for a definite purpose, and of those for whose benefit and assistance they existed. Wherefore We cannot refrain from complaining of such spoliation as unjust and fraught with evil results; and with the more reason because, at the very time when the law proclaims that association is free to all, We see that Catholic societies, however peaceable and useful, are hindered in every way, whilst the utmost freedom is given to men whose objects are at once hurtful to Religion and dangerous to the State.

Associations of every kind, and especially those of working men, are now far more common than formerly. In regard to many of these there is no need at present to inquire whence they spring, what are their objects, or what means they use. But there is a good deal of evidence which goes to prove that many of these societies are in the hands of invisible leaders, and are managed on principles

¹ *Human law is law only in virtue of its accordance with right reason; and thus it is manifest that it flows from the eternal law. And in so far as it deviates from right reason it is called an unjust law; in such case it is not law at all, but rather a species of violence.*—St. Thomas of Aquin, *Summa Theologica*, 1a 2^{ae} Q. xciii. Art. iii.

far from compatible with Christianity and the public well-being; and that they do their best to get into their hands the whole field of labor, and to force workmen either to join them or to starve. Under these circumstances Christian workmen must do one of two things; either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril, or form associations among themselves—unite their forces and courageously shake off the yoke of an unjust and intolerable oppression. No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme danger will hesitate to say that the second alternative must by all means be adopted.

Those Catholics are worthy of all praise—and there are not a few—who, understanding what the times require, have, by various enterprises and experiments, endeavored to better the condition of the working people without any sacrifice of principle. They have taken up the cause of the working man, and have striven to make both families and individuals better off; to infuse the spirit of justice into the mutual relation of employer and employed; to keep before the eyes of both classes the precepts of duty and the laws of the Gospel—that Gospel which, by inculcating self-restraint, keeps men within the bounds of moderation, and tends to establish harmony among the divergent interests and various classes which compose the State. It is with such ends in view that We see men of eminence meeting together for discussion, for the promotion of united action, and for practical work. Others, again, strive to unite working people of various kinds into associations, help them with their advice and their means, and enable them to obtain honest and profitable work. The Bishops, on their part, bestow their ready good-will and support; and with their approval and guidance many members of the clergy, both secular and regular, labor assiduously on behalf of the spiritual and mental interests of the members of Associations. And there are not wanting Catholics possessed of affluence, who have, as it were, cast in their lot with the wage-earners, and who have spent large sums in founding and widely spreading Benefit and Insurance Societies, by means of which the working man may without difficulty acquire by his labor not only many present advantages, but also the certainty of honorable support in time to come. How much this multiplied and earnest activity has benefited the community at large is too well known to require Us to dwell upon it. We find in it the grounds of the most cheering hope for the future; provided that the associations we have described continue to grow and spread, and are well and wisely administered. Let the State watch over these societies of citizens united together in the exercise of their right; but let it not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization; for things move and live by the

soul within them, and they may be killed by the grasp of a hand from without.

In order that an association may be carried on with unity of purpose and harmony of action, its organization and government must be firm and wise. All such societies, being free to exist, have the further right to adopt such rules and organization as may best conduce to the attainment of their objects. We do not deem it possible to enter into definite details on the subject of organization: this must depend on national character, on practice and experience, on the nature and scope of the work to be done, on the magnitude of the various trades and employments, and on other circumstances of fact and of time—all of which must be carefully weighed.

Speaking summarily, we may lay it down as a general and perpetual law, that workmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind, and property. It is clear that they must pay special and principal attention to piety and morality, and that their internal discipline must be directed precisely by these considerations; otherwise they entirely lose their special character, and come to be very little better than those societies which take no account of Religion at all. What advantage can it be to a Workman to obtain by means of a Society all that he requires, and to endanger his soul for want of spiritual food? *What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?*¹ This, as our Lord teaches, is the note or character that distinguishes the Christian from the heathen. *After all these things do the heathens seek. . . . Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.*² Let our associations, then, look first and before all to God; let religious instruction have therein a foremost place, each one being carefully taught what is his duty to God, what to believe, what to hope for, and how to work out his salvation; and let all be warned and fortified with especial solicitude against wrong opinions and false teaching. Let the working man be urged and led to the worship of God, to the earnest practice of religion, and, among other things, to the sanctification of Sundays and festivals. Let him learn to reverence and love Holy Church, the common mother of us all; and so to obey the precepts and to frequent the sacraments of the church, those sacraments being the means ordained by God for obtaining forgiveness of sin and for leading a holy life.

¹ St. Matthew, xvi., 26.

² St. Matthew, vi., 32, 33.

The foundations of the organization being laid in religion we next go on to determine the relations of the members one to another, in order that they may live together in concord and go on prosperously and successfully. The offices and charges of the society should be distributed for the good of the society itself, and in such manner that difference in degree or position should not interfere with unanimity and good-will. Office-bearers should be appointed with prudence and discretion, and each one's charge should be carefully marked out; thus no member will suffer wrong. Let the common funds be administered with the strictest honesty, in such way that a member receive assistance in proportion to his necessities. The rights and duties of employers should be the subject of careful consideration as compared with the rights and duties of the employed. If it should happen that either a master or a workman deemed himself injured, nothing would be more desirable than that there should be a committee composed of honest and capable men of the Association itself, whose duty it should be, by the laws of the Association, to decide the dispute. Among the purposes of a Society should be to try to arrange for a continuous supply of work at all times and seasons; and to create a fund from which the members may be helped in their necessities, not only in case of accident, but also in sickness, old age, and misfortune.

Such rules and regulations, if obeyed willingly by all, will sufficiently ensure the well-being of poor people; whilst such Mutual Associations among Catholics are certain to be productive, in no small degree, of prosperity to the State. It is not rash to conjecture the future from the past. Age gives way to age, but the events of one century are wonderfully like those of another; for they are directed by the Providence of God, Who overrules the course of history in accordance with His purposes in creating the race of man. We are told that it was cast as a reproach on the Christians of the early ages of the Church, that the greater number of them had to live by begging or by labor. Yet, destitute as they were of wealth and influence, they ended by winning over to their side the favor of the rich and the good-will of the powerful. They showed themselves industrious, laborious, and peaceful, men of justice, and, above all, men of brotherly love. In the presence of such a life and such an example, prejudice disappeared, the tongue of malevolence was silenced, and the lying traditions of ancient superstition yielded little by little to Christian truth.

At this moment the condition of the working population is the question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably decided. But it will be easy for Christian working men to decide

it aright if they form Associations, choose wise guides, and follow the same path which with so much advantage to themselves and the commonwealth was trod by their fathers before them. Prejudice, it is true, is mighty, and so is the love of money; but if the sense of what is just and right be not destroyed by depravity of heart, their fellow-citizens are sure to be won over to a kindly feeling towards men whom they see to be so industrious and so modest, who so unmistakably prefer honesty to lucre, and the sacredness of duty to all other considerations.

And another great advantage would result from the state of things We are describing; there would be so much more hope and possibility of recalling to a sense of their duty those working-men who have either given up their faith altogether, or whose lives are at variance with its precepts. These men, in most cases, feel that they have been fooled by empty promises and deceived by false appearances. They cannot but perceive that their grasping employers too often treat them with the greatest inhumanity and hardly care for them beyond the profit their labor brings; and if they belong to an Association, it is probably one in which there exists, in place of charity and love, that intestine strife which always accompanies unresigned and irreligious poverty. Broken in spirit and worn down in body, how many of them would gladly free themselves from this galling slavery! But human respect, or the dread of starvation, makes them afraid to take the step. To such as these, Catholic Associations are of incalculable service, helping them out of their difficulties, inviting them to companionship, and receiving the repentant to a shelter in which they may securely trust.

We have now laid before you, Venerable Brethren, who are the persons, and what are the means, by which this most difficult question must be solved. Every one must put his hand to the work which falls to his share, and that at once and immediately, lest the evil which is already so great may by delay become absolutely beyond remedy. Those who rule the State must use the law and the institutions of the country; masters and rich men must remember their duty; the poor, whose interests are at stake, must make every lawful and proper effort; and since Religion alone, as We said at the beginning, can destroy the evil at its root, all men must be persuaded that the primary thing needful is to return to real Christianity, in the absence of which all the plans and devices of the wisest will be of little avail.

As far as regards the Church, its assistance will never be wanting, be the time or the occasion what it may; and it will intervene with the greater effect in proportion as its liberty of action is the

more unfettered: let this be carefully noted by those whose office it is to provide for the public welfare. Every minister of holy Religion must throw into the conflict all the energy of his mind and all the strength of his endurance. With your authority, Venerable Brethren, and by your example, they must never cease to urge upon all men of every class, upon the high as well as the lowly, the Gospel doctrines of Christian life; by every means in their power they must strive for the good of the people; and above all they must earnestly cherish in themselves, and try to arouse in others, Charity, the mistress and queen of virtues. For the happy results we all long for must be chiefly brought about by the plentiful outpouring of Charity; of that true Christian Charity which is the fulfilling of the whole Gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for others' sake, and which is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self; that Charity, whose office is described and whose Godlike features are drawn by the Apostle St. Paul in these words: *Charity is patient, is kind . . . seeketh not her own . . . suffereth all things . . . endureth all things.*¹

On each one of you, Venerable Brethren, and your clergy and people, as an earnest of God's mercy and a mark of our affection, We lovingly in the Lord bestow the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the fifteenth day of May, 1891, the fourteenth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., POPE.

¹ I. Corinthians, xiii., 4-7.

THE PROSPECT FOR IRISH HOME RULE.

THE division among the Irish Home Rulers, which began with Mr. Parnell's removal from the chairmanship of the Parliamentary Party, still continues and much bitterness of feeling has been displayed in the contest. The power of the Irish party in Parliament, which was so conspicuous during the last session, has been almost paralyzed by the schism. Mr. Balfour has been left practically free to mould his Irish Land Act at his discretion, and even in the discussions which have taken place on it, Mr. Parnell has more than once taken sides with the Tory coercionists against the majority of the Irish representatives.

All this is very sad to every well wisher of Ireland, but we must not exaggerate the extent of the evil. The cause of Irish freedom has been seriously endangered, but it is not ruined, and with God's blessing it will not be ruined. Dissensions among the supporters of a great national cause are not peculiar to Ireland. They are the common misfortune of the human race in every land and every age. We need only recall the Paris Commune, with its massacres and wholesale burnings in 1870, the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon eighteen years before, the revolutions throughout France, Italy and Germany in 1848, the long and ferocious Carlist war in Spain, and our own civil war, not to speak of the struggle now going on in Chili, to convince us that wherever political freedom exists or is ardently desired, there dissensions are likely to occur. It is only in a despotism like Russia or Turkey or in a population indifferent to any national feeling, like the Venetians of the last century, that public opinion exhibits no divisions. The Irish people are undoubtedly warm in their feelings. They possess fully the "*ingenium perfervidum Scotorum*" which the old Scotch lawyers were accustomed to allow for in their own countrymen, but which was never regarded either in Scotland or England as rendering them incapable of self government. They are, moreover, intensely interested in the struggle for Home Rule, which has been so long going on and is now apparently approaching a successful end. It is no special reproach to the Irish character that a division should occur among Irish nationalists on the question of a leader. It is most regretable, but not at all unnatural under the circumstances, and we believe that the practical sense of the Irish people will bring it to a satisfactory close in time to prevent it from ruining the common cause.

It is only just also to the Irish people to say that the origin of the existing schism lay in circumstances over which they had little or no control, and which were of a kind to bewilder for a time the judgment of any nation at a great crisis in its history. After numerous unsuccessful struggles for self-government continued almost throughout the century under various forms, O'Connell's repeal agitation, the young Ireland physical force policy, James Stephen's Fenian organization, Isaac Butt's Home Rule party, and other lesser movements, a leader and a policy had at length appeared which fairly promised to attain the much desired object. Mr. Parnell and a few colleagues, among whom should be remembered Joseph Biggar and John Dillon, as well as one prematurely deceased, Joseph Ronayne, took up the Home Rule programme of Mr. Butt at a time when it seemed to be dying of inanition. Mr. Butt and others, it may be remembered, had commenced a struggle for the repeal of the Union on Parliamentary lines after the collapse of the Fenian attempt at armed insurrection. Butt, a man of remarkable talents but weak character, tried for some years to obtain Home Rule for Ireland by simple argument with the English ministers. He failed completely. Both Tories and Liberals pronounced against any restoration of the Irish Parliament, and the Irish people while feeling the absolute necessity of such a measure, began to believe it impossible of attainment by Parliamentary action.

It was at this moment that Biggar and Parnell, without separating themselves from the Irish party, inaugurated the policy of Parliamentary obstruction in place of appeals to ministerial justice. Their action won almost immediate approval in Ireland. Mr. Butt died, and was at first succeeded by Mr. Shaw, a somewhat colorless politician of respectable private character, but moderate talent. In two elections the Irish voters rallied to Parnell, and finally made him the leader of a united Irish parliamentary party of eighty-five members, all united in a vigorous policy of obstruction of English Governments until the just claims of Ireland should be conceded. The Irish members quickly showed the power which they possessed by dispossessing first a Liberal and then a Tory ministry in quick succession. Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the English Liberals, frankly accepted the situation and brought forward a measure for giving Ireland a domestic Parliament in 1886. He failed then to carry with him the whole of his own party, owing mainly to the opposition of a section since known as Liberal Unionists, led by Lord Hartington and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Mr. Gladstone proved that he was sincere in his advocacy of Irish Home Rule by dissolving Parliament on that question. Though the election of 1886 left the Liberal supporters of Home Rule in a minority

in England, the gain was an enormous one for Ireland. Since that time everything has indicated that public opinion in England has changed enormously in favor of Irish self-government, and a few months ago it was generally looked on as a thing to be won inevitably at the next general election. That the Irish cause had made such an advance from the days when Isaac Butt could hardly get a hearing for his plea in favor of Home Rule was felt to be due mainly to Parnell's skill and honesty. It is little cause for wonder that he was politically the idol of the Irish people for the last eight years.

The attempt of the London *Times* to ruin his character by the Pigott forgeries and its utter failure, materially added to Mr. Parnell's reputation both in England and Ireland. During over a year his private as well as his public life had been submitted to the closest scrutiny by a tribunal of political foes. The whole machinery of the Irish Government had been placed at the service of the *Times* in its efforts to blacken the Irish leader's reputation and yet the attempt to do so had only recoiled on its authors. The most specious charges had been refuted with overwhelming evidence of their falsehood and that too before a hostile commission. Parnell in the eyes of the public was not only one of the ablest statesmen of his time but he was also a Bayard "without fear or reproach." Rumors of other charges to be brought against his moral character were heard but they were treated with scorn by men of all parties and indignantly denied by himself. It can safely be said that in the autumn of last year Mr. Parnell's reputation stood amongst the highest prominent in public life in the British Empire.

Such was the condition of affairs when the O'Shea divorce trial came like a thunder-clap on both the Irish and the English public. It was with a feeling of stupor that men heard that the trusted leader of the Irish people had no defence to offer to a charge of gross immorality and breach of faith to a friend whose hospitality he had abused. At first the Irish people refused to believe it, but in some days Mr. Parnell's continued silence made it impossible to doubt of his guilt.

What course should be adopted by the Irish people and their representatives in so unexpected a conjuncture was a most difficult question. The cause of Home Rule was everywhere advancing throughout the British Empire and the recent vindication of the Irish leader by the special commission was a very important factor in the change of English public opinion. On English opinion at the next election will depend the immediate triumph of Home Rule or its postponement, it may be, for several years. It was therefore necessary for the Irish representatives if they would

faithfully discharge the trust laid on them of protecting the interests of Ireland to ascertain how Mr. Parnell's moral disgrace would be received in England. It was also necessary for them to decide how far it would be practical to dispense with his known political abilities at such a crisis of the nation's fate. Among the Irish people the abhorrence felt for the particular crime with which their leader was charged is probably stronger than in any other part of the world. The reverence which a month before had surrounded Mr. Parnell was gone forever, and at best was only replaced by a feeling of deep pity for his fall. But would it be possible, men asked themselves, to dispense with his public services without ruining the national cause, and if such were the case did the interests of public morality absolutely require they should be dispensed with? All these questions were full of difficulties, both moral and political, and it is little wonder that they should for a time have bewildered and divided public opinion in Ireland. We shall deal with them at length a little later in order not to interrupt the current of events here. The Irish representatives at the opening of the session concluded to re-elect Mr. Parnell as chairman, and leave it to himself to resign the office. This course the majority believed he would adopt and they desired as a last tribute to his services to make his fall as easy as might be. We believe they were guilty of an error in doing so, but it is one which under all the circumstances may fairly be excused.

The consequences of this step were quickly made apparent. Mr. Gladstone as leader of the English party committed to the establishment of Home Rule advised the Irish representatives that in the existing condition of public opinion in England he believed Mr. Parnell's retention as Irish leader would mean a defeat at the next election for their English allies. Almost at the same time the Irish Catholic Bishops published a circular protesting against the scandal of retaining Parnell as leader. The Irish members decided to reconsider their hasty action, and a meeting presided over by Mr. Parnell was convened in one of the committee rooms of the Parliament House. Mr. Parnell was then urged to resign but he absolutely refused. A somewhat prolonged and stormy debate followed and finally as the chairman refused to put the motion for his own deposition, the majority of the members retired from the meeting and assembled in another place where they passed a vote removing Parnell from the leadership and electing Mr. Justin McCarthy, the vice-chairman of the party in the past session as chairman. Mr. Parnell refused to submit to the majority and appealed from them to the public voice of Ireland. An election happened to be pending in North Kilkenny, and a candidate had been selected already by the Nationalist party including Parnell

himself. The candidate thus chosen was Sir John Pope Hennessey, the late Governor of the Island of Mauritius, where he had established a Home Rule Government, which gained him great popularity with the French Creole population. As he declined to take sides with Mr. Parnell, however, the latter immediately selected an opposition candidate in the person of a Mr. Scully, a gentleman of considerable landed property in Tipperary. The contest in Kilkenny was stubbornly fought, but at the election, Hennessey was returned by a large majority. Parnell at the beginning of the session had publicly announced that he would leave the question of his retirement absolutely at the will of the Irish people and that he would retire if there were even any danger of serious dissension on the question. This declaration he now wholly ignored. He refused to accept the decision of the majority of the Irish members; he also refused to accept the verdict of the voters of Kilkenny. The first he declared was the work of Gladstone, the latter of the Irish priesthood, and he declared his determination to force a contest on his claim to the leadership in every constituency in Ireland. The result has been the division of the Irish people into two parties, both proclaiming that their object is to obtain self-government for their native land but differing on the choice of means to that end. The minority claim that Parnell is the only man that can lead the Irish race successfully to the attainment of the desired object. The majority hold that he has forfeited his claim to public confidence and that his continuance as leader would be fatal to any hope of success from the English friends of Home Rule. This purely personal question is the only one which divides the Irish Nationalists at the present moment and we do not believe that the division will be a prolonged one. That it should have occurred under the circumstances was almost inevitable, but its continuance would be political lunacy. We believe that the good sense of the majority of the Irish people will soon recognize the true principles on which the conflicting opinions can be reconciled in the common cause of all.

To ascertain those principles we shall briefly give the arguments used on both sides, with as much impartiality as possible. Mr. Parnell and his Parliamentary adherents urge that he is the ablest politician to-day in Irish public life and that though his moral character is sullied, his honesty in Irish politics need not be doubted in view of his past services. They urge that the establishment of a satisfactory form of Home Rule in Ireland, even supposing that the English people and Government should grant it, in general principle will be a task requiring the ablest statesmanship as well as the highest personal integrity on the part of the leaders. It is pointed out with justice that a nominal Irish Parliament might be

so crippled by restrictions as to leave it incapable of discharging its functions and Mr. Parnell since his break with the majority of his party declares that the Home Rule measure intended by Mr. Gladstone would be of such a kind. On these grounds the Parnellites claim that Parnell is absolutely necessary as a leader of the Irish people at present and that without his guidance Home Rule will never be attained. As to the scandal of his personal conduct they urge, that in other countries men of depraved characters in private, have frequently been trusted with high public office. And finally they say that politics have nothing to do with private morals. The breaking of the unity of the Parliamentary Party which has for several years been recognized as the legitimate ruling body of the Nationalists, Mr. Parnell's followers justify on the ground that Parnell is absolutely indispensable to the Irish cause and that any attempt to dispense with his leadership is treason to Ireland. In their eyes Mr. Parnell is actually the Irish nation, just as Louis the Fourteenth was himself the State to loyal Frenchmen two hundred years ago. The Irish Nationalists who refuse to accept his leadership are simply "seceders" in Mr. Parnell's view, whatever be their numbers or character. It is his task, as he informed the Irishmen of this country in his manifesto a few months ago, to expel all such rotten members from the ranks of Irish Nationalists and to see that in the future none shall have influence in the Irish National movement except those whose loyalty to himself is unquestioned.

We fully admit that it will need all the abilities of the leaders of the Irish people to make sure that the Home Rule constitution, which Mr. Gladstone's party proposes to establish, be adequate to the wants of the Irish people. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley we believe to be perfectly honest in their wish to give Ireland a system of government which will be satisfactory to the Irish people, but English prejudices will still be strong, and we fully expect to see attempts made to restrict unduly the right of the Irish people to manage their own affairs, even should a Home Rule Parliament have power at Westminster. We do not, however, at all believe that Mr. Parnell's leadership is essential to securing a satisfactory measure. The Irish people are not so destitute of political ability as to be dependent on a single man, however talented. We fully admit Mr. Parnell's abilities and we cannot but feel grateful for the services he has rendered in the past, but it is simply absurd to suppose that others are not fully capable of protecting the interests of Ireland in the establishment of a national government. On the other hand, Parnell's leadership through his own action against Gladstone, since the divorce case, would imply the end of all direct alliance between the Irish Representatives and the English Liberals. Five years ago Parnell publicly announced to the Irish

people that he was satisfied with the measure proposed by Mr. Gladstone in 1886. He has since steadily endorsed the policy of the latter on every occasion, but as soon as Gladstone found fault with Parnell's own moral shortcomings, he at once contradicted his own previous declarations. We cannot regard with any confidence the guidance of a man who lets his public actions be swayed by his personal grudges. That Mr. Parnell is such a man no sane person will deny in view of his conduct towards Mr. Gladstone. While Gladstone believed him a man of high character, he assured the Irish people that Gladstone's Home Rule measure was all they would need for their own freedom. As soon as Mr. Gladstone declares that Parnell's private guilt is a public scandal, Mr. Parnell at once proclaims that the same Home Rule measure is a fraud on the Irish people. This may be audacity, but it is not the kind of audacity which can make the Irish people trust their fate unreservedly in the hands of Mr. Parnell.

As to the question whether Parnell's moral guilt in the O'Shea case called for his removal from the leadership of the Irish party, we freely admit that no absolute law can be laid down. Men of bad moral character are unfortunately only too often employed in high public office, as Lord Nelson in England, Herbert Bismarck in Germany and Crispi in Italy. There is no moral law which compels us, either individually or in a body, never to employ the services of adulterers or thieves or murderers, provided the ends for which we employ them are themselves righteous. We may employ a lawyer or a doctor whose private character is bad, in case we need his services, and the public may do the same in the case of a general, a diplomatist or most other functionaries. There are, however, two other considerations which occur in the question of such employment. The first is of a moral kind, and relates to the scandal which may be given in particular cases to the public by employing the services of notorious offenders. No Christian can conscientiously employ the services of a public sinner in a case where his employment would be naturally regarded as an endorsement of the offender's sin. To approve, or seem to approve, another's guilt is in itself an offence against morality. The same law holds good in public acts, such as the choice of a leader, as in private ones. Colonel Ingersoll is a distinguished speaker, but it would be wrong with his well-known character as an infidel for Catholics to employ him to champion a Catholic cause. It is not enough not to share his disbelief; it is necessary also not to appear to do so or to make light of it. Such was, we consider, the case in the question of retaining Mr. Parnell as leader, after the exposure in the divorce court. Some time ago a distinguished English statesman had been branded with a similar charge, and public opinion had forced him to retire from political life. Could the Catholic

people of Ireland show less sensitiveness of public feeling conscientiously? For ourselves we do not think they could, even though the services of Mr. Parnell were more important to Ireland than those of Sir Charles Dilke to England.

The effect which the scandal was likely to have on English politics is a question entirely distinct from the moral one of scandal. It is of a wholly practical nature and should be regarded as such by those charged with the guidance of Irish politics. In every form of representative government the popularity or unpopularity of a public man must be reckoned with as a matter of strict business. The support of English public opinion, whatever its motives, is an important element for attaining Irish Home Rule to-day. It was a few months ago and is still distinctively favorable to the Irish claims, but on personal grounds it was hostile to Mr. Parnell. Would it be sound statesmanship to risk its loss by uniting the cause of the justly unpopular leader with that of the Irish nation? We do not believe it would, and we believe that no man understood that fact better than Mr. Parnell himself, though he chose to answer the question by denouncing the fickleness of mere public opinion.

The last and most important question in a practical point, has now to be asked. How far would it be prudent for the Irish people to trust their destinies in the hands of one who had shown himself recklessly indifferent to the principles of morality? This is not a question of abstract right; it is simply one of common sense. A conscientious man may without fear of sin trust his cash box to a known thief, but common sense will tell him if he does so he runs much risk of its loss. For the Irish representatives, the question of how far Mr. Parnell could be trusted after the revelation of his moral obliquity was something of the same kind. In the gratification of his passions he had shown himself capable of gross deceit and personal dishonor. Would he be more scrupulous if the interests of the Irish people should differ from his own. The leadership which Mr. Parnell so long exercised and which he now demands as his right is no empty honor. He has had nearly an absolute control of the public policy of the Irish people, and he has declined to submit his administration to any superior authority in the party or out of it. On the occasion of Captain O'Shea's election to Parliament a few years ago, Parnell, as leader of the Irish people, pledged himself surety for his political conduct in the face of very grave doubts on the part of the whole Irish party. Captain O'Shea wholly disregarded the pledges given in his behalf, yet Mr. Parnell never deigned to justify his own conduct or give any reason why he had so rashly pledged himself for a political adventurer.

The subsequent proceedings in the divorce court palpably sug-

gested a motive for his action in that case which is fully as dishonorable as if he had sold the seat for a money bribe. Nevertheless Mr. Parnell has never since uttered a word of explanation of his action, while he calls on the Irish people for an absolute dictatorship over his colleagues and the whole administration of the national movement. Could reasonable men under such circumstances trust him with such an office? It is not a question of ability or of past services but of personal integrity under very strong temptations. Speaking for ourselves, we believe it would be little short of insanity to intrust such a man as Mr. Parnell has shown himself, with the unlimited control of the affairs of Ireland.

We have endeavored to set forth as accurately as we could the views held by the two parties among the Irish Nationalists on the present question. The majority numbering now about fifty-seven out of a total of eighty-five members hold that Mr. Parnell is unfit, for the reasons we have given, to lead the Irish people. Their views as far as can be judged from the two elections held, since the split began, are shared by a similar majority of the Irish voters. While we make full allowance for the motives which actuate the supporters of Mr. Parnell we cannot see any grounds for their rejecting the common principle of representative government, that the majority must rule in disputed questions. The Irish people are united in their demand for a national representative Government, but the followers of Mr. Parnell insist that his temporary dictatorship is first necessary. We think the statement of the case is sufficient to show on which side, right and common sense are arrayed and we believe that the bulk of the followers of Mr. Parnell will soon recognize the fact. It is quite possible that another leader may be chosen than Justin McCarthy, whose age and character hardly fit him for the rough work of political life. Whoever he may be we feel sure he will rally around him the united support of the Irish people.

Were the Irish Nationalists again reunited we see no reason to believe that the Irish Parliament may not be recovered at the next general election. Judging from the local elections in England, Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy has a majority of the English voters in its favor at present. It is impossible of course to foretell what may happen in the next few months, but it looks very likely that at the next general election, the Liberals will carry a clear majority of the English constituencies for Irish Home Rule. The Tory ministers themselves are unconsciously or unwillingly promoting the feeling in its favor in England. Mr. Gladstone's favorite argument for removing Irish affairs from the Imperial Parliament, is that they occupy so much of its time that none is left for needed English legislation. Mr. Balfour has helped to convince the public of this by appropriating so

much of the present session to his Irish Land Measure. The Irish representatives, generally speaking, have been too much occupied with the agitation started by Mr. Parnell to devote much time to Parliamentary work, and the best use which the Tories have found for the comparative leisure thus given them has been to employ themselves on Irish legislation, and moreover on Irish legislation of a kind which is alike unpopular in Ireland and in Great Britain. Though peculiar circumstances have kept the Tory Government in power for several years they are naturally the weaker of the two English parties. They are identified with the privileged classes and an aristocratic administration, and since the extension of the franchise, political power in England has been transferred almost absolutely to the unprivileged masses. It is fortunately the stronger party naturally in English politics, which has pronounced in favor of Irish Home Rule. It is almost certain that at the next general election the Liberals will secure a large majority in England which will mean if Mr. Gladstone lives, the grant of self-government to Ireland at least on the lines of his late bill.

It remains for the Irish people themselves to speak at the next election. Should Parnell succeed in carrying the majority of the Irish seats (which is next to an impossibility) he would come into power as the personal enemy of the English leader, which would of course prevent any cordial co-operation between the Irish members and the English ministry in establishing a system of Home Rule. It might be that in consequence the concessions made to Ireland would be cut down to a minimum, and the struggle for self-government would have to be commenced over again. Mr. Parnell has shown that his personal pride is a mastering passion with him and he has expressed himself in peculiarly bitter language towards Mr. Gladstone since the split. It is not unlikely that he will prefer an alliance with the Conservatives should he have a controlling influence in Parliament. This of course would mean an absolute estrangement from the stronger English party, and would at the best delay Home Rule for several years, while it might absolutely prevent its being granted at all, by estranging the whole English democracy. The chance that by skilful and unscrupulous management he would obtain larger concessions for Ireland than another could is to say the least highly improbable, while it is more than likely that he would wholly estrange the sympathy of the English people by such a course.

On the other hand, should the action of the Irish representatives in removing Mr. Parnell be endorsed by the Irish people at the next election we cannot see in what respect the prospect of a satisfactory measure of Home Rule would not be even better than it was last year before the split occurred. The Nationalist mem-

bers as distinguished from the Parnellites, include by much the greater number of the men of talent in Irish political life. John Dillon, William O'Brien, Justin McCarthy and Thomas Sexton, are, in general ability and parliamentary skill, far above any man that can be named among Mr. Parnell's adherents, except himself. Their personal character is above suspicion, and their devotion to the cause of Ireland is at least as well tried as Mr. Parnell's. For ourselves, speaking as citizens of a free Government, which we believe to be the best for the public welfare now existing, we should much prefer to see Irish politics controlled by a body of representatives than by a single individual, even were his character unstained and his abilities pre-eminent. In our judgment the probability that such a body could secure and put to work a satisfactory system of self-government for Ireland is much greater than that such an end could be attained by the dictatorship of Mr. Parnell whatever his political skill.

As to the course which will be taken by the Irish people we see little reason to doubt that they will support the majority of their present representatives. In the two elections which have already taken place, the Parnellite candidates have been defeated by large majorities. There is no evidence of any change of feeling since among the voters. The principles on which they will have to act at the general election are the same as those on which the voters of Kilkenny and Sligo have acted already, and there is little doubt that the result will be similar. It is possible that a division among the Nationalists would cause the loss of from three to five seats in Ulster, but both parties are well aware of the fact and the present members will probably be renominated in those doubtful districts. In Dublin and Cork there will probably be struggles between the Parnellites and the Nationalists, of which the issue is somewhat doubtful. One seat in the city of Dublin might be won by the Tories if the forces of their Nationalist opponents be divided. These are the chief dangers so far apparent to the Nationalist representation in Parliament, and they are not of a nature to seriously endanger the winning of Home Rule. It is significant that Mr. Parnell after challenging his colleague in the representation of Cork city to resign with himself and take the public verdict at the polls, subsequently avoided doing so. It may be that even before the general election the split in the party may be closed by Mr. Parnell's retirement, but we cannot say that such an event is very likely at present.

On the whole, then, though the cause of Ireland has met with a set-back, there is no reason to believe it is not still in the prospect of success. We have faith in the common sense of the Irish people as well as in the justness of their political instincts, and the issue now rests mainly with the Irish people themselves.

THE POPES AND THE TEMPORAL POWER.

1823—1846.

A GREAT Pope of this century, who, during a long and bitter experience of emperors, of kings, and of other cut-throats wearing no crowns, lost neither the happy wit nor the genial humor that Heaven had kindly loaned him, once said: "When I read the correspondence that passed between my predecessors and Louis XIV., I perceive that his Majesty thought himself to be the fourth person of the Blessed Trinity." Where there is wit there is truth, and the saying of the good, wise Pope, may well be applied to almost every prince, great or small, that has ruled over men within our Christian times. From century to century, from throne to throne, the idea of the divine prince has been handed down. To-day it is as living as when an Augustus or a Nero deigned to consort with Jove and Mars and Mercury. A just and patient God has, time and again, given an awful warning to those who proudly laid hands on the things that are His. And yet, during this very century, princes called Catholic, as well as non-Catholic princes, have vied one with another in usurping the rights that one sole power on earth has been commissioned to exercise. And the new kings, the people, will they show more wisdom, more humility, than those, hating or despising, whose "teeth have been broken?"

Bonaparte aspired to a grandeur far above that of Louis XIV. The imperial campaign against the Papacy, though mad, was worldly wise. Dreaming of an empire whose limits would be determined only when he had sheathed his bloody sword, he argued that the surest, readiest way to effect his purpose would be to destroy the centre of Christianity, submit the Spiritual to the despotic, and thus unite in his hard hands the mighty power that ruled minds with the meaner power that ruled matter. In Austria, in Prussia, in petty principalities, he saw the Cæsar-popes. He had helped to make them more monstrously despotic than ever. To realize his ideal of a despot of despots there was only one way. In himself he would combine the power of the Emperor and the power of *the* Pope. A madman's fancy indeed. What were all his fancies? And yet Bonaparte made so many of his mad fancies appear to be practical, that we are still wondering at what is called his "genius."

The failure of all the schemes of the once mighty Emperor relieved neither Church nor state from despotism. Freed from the Corsican's destroying sword, emperors, kings, princes, dukes joined in asserting an absolutism equal to that which he had exercised. Religiously and civilly the people suffered. From all sides the rights of the Church were assailed. Everywhere were her spiritual liberties hampered. Absolute rulers made, were bound to make, a servile clergy and irreligious populations. Napoleon's attack on the Papacy was so bold, so persistent, so studied, that it seized the attention entirely. Our eyes fixed on him, we are apt to lose sight of the crowd of more cautious, though no less wicked, men who, before and after his downfall, hoped and tried to succeed in doing what he failed to do.

The last years of the reign of Pius VII. were years of struggle, constant, courageous, to preserve not alone the Temporal but also, and above all, the Spiritual Power of the Papacy. The Spiritual Power it is that despotism and iniquity hate. This it is that they would destroy were destruction possible. The attempt to abolish the Temporal Power is an attempt to abolish the Spiritual. There have been short-sighted men who could not see this most patent fact, but no Pope has been thus dull of vision. And indeed it is hard to understand how any one can avoid seeing and acknowledging this fact after a review of that short period of history which begins with the accession of Leo XII., and which ends with the death of Gregory XVI.

Leo XII., Della Genga, sat on the Papal throne during a scant five years and a half. (September 28, 1823, to February 10, 1829.) Only twenty-one months of honor and of trial were allotted to Pius VIII., Castiglione. (March 31, 1829, to November 30, 1830.) The brunt of tyranny, conspiracy, revolution, Gregory XVI., Capellari, bore for well nigh sixteen years. (February 2, 1831, to June 1, 1846.) Of these three able, firm and kindly Popes, no one was imprisoned. Each of the three lived and died in the City of the Popes. For this good fortune they were least of all indebted to that land which claims to own the Papacy, and which assumes to dispose of the common Patrimony and of the common Father of the Faithful as though the Catholic Christian world were Italy's thrall.

Since the French Revolution, a new force has been directed against the Church—a force that, under the name of "the people," has disgraced, demoralized, and most shamefully abused all the peoples. The false philosophies, old or new, the heresies, the schisms of Christian times, have been combined; the heretics and schismatics of all countries have been united, secretly, into associations whose real aim is to destroy the Catholic religion, replac-

ing it by pagan naturalism. In order to attain this abominable end, the social structure must be overturned, and be builded anew. All governments, whatever their form, must therefore be undone. The vitality of Christian society, of just government, is centred in the Catholic Church. Logically, the Church should be completely disorganized if the Revolution is to be speedily and wholly successful. And the Catholic Church can be completely disorganized only by cutting off its head. Abolish the Papacy and there is an end to spirituality, to order, to law, to morality—such has been, such is to-day the argument of those who would sink mankind into a depth of slavery and of degradation lower than that out of which the Saviour lovingly lifted the world. In Italy it is, during a considerable portion of this century, that the most conscienceless, insane leaders of the most comprehensive of all heresies have been born and bred. Against the Papacy these leaders have fought with weapons filched from every armory. The sword and the dagger they have not despised, any more than the platform, the press and the pulpit. Of old the Church has faced the sword and smashed it, hilt and blade, with the irresistible arms of faith—prayer and sacrifice. The platform, the pulpit, the press, the Church has never feared. And the dagger? The dagger we begin to know. Even against the hidden dagger the Church has striven, will strive. What is its white, noiseless stroke to the glare, the thunder that rolls, that flashes from the gates of hell?

Throughout Italy the Carbonari were especially active after 1820, and especially murderous in the Papal States. To Americans the words *Mafia*, *Mala Vita*, *Camorra*, are not unfamiliar. These and similar associations of criminals and of bandits of high and low degree have long flourished in certain parts of Italy. With these associations, whose motive was protection in plundering and assurance of bloody revenge, the Carbonari did not interfere. Seeking immoral ends, they gladly used all ready-made criminal societies. The valuable, because trained, members of these societies, the Carbonari combined with men willing to commit crime, though still untrained, and with men less vicious, but passionate, easily moved by hot words and strange ideas.

Italy is not the only land whose civilization we measure by its public buildings and museums. And yet through all the years of art and poetry and song, the banditti have found a delightful abiding place under the mournful olive, the twining vine, and on the hills—purple, amethystine or blue. There are great names of princes, dukes, counts, who, within this very century, proudly confined themselves to the noble business of brigandage. Indeed, Italians, north and south, gloried somewhat in the brigands. They had never been put down. The conclusion followed, as night fol-

lows day, that the Italian was unconquerable.¹ Pius VII., Leo XII. pursued the brigands, who mastered no small portion of the Papal States, as late as the year 1825, and when the Abbate Pellegrini converted that hero of the popular song, Gasparone, the good Abbate and Cardinal Pallotti and Leo XII. were doubtless pleased with their good work.² And yet others, worse than Gasparone, were to come.

After 1821 street risings and assassinations were frequent in the Legations. In 1825, the year of the Jubilee, an attack was made on Cardinal Rivarolla, at Ravenna. The Carbonari had not yet acquired that skill which they afterwards gained by practice on their victims' corpses. The dagger missed the Cardinal, but lodged in a prelate's body and made an end of him. Similar efforts to "avenge the death of Christ and to re-establish His Kingdom" rejoiced the souls of Italian and foreign Carbonari up to 1830. On November 30th of this year, Pius VIII. died. His successor was not chosen until February 2d of the following year. The European governments that were so skilfully undermining their own authority were all anxious to lay hold on the Spiritual and Temporal Power of the Papacy. Through their ambassadors they tried to determine the action of the Conclave. In 1825 they had joined in opposing the proclamation of the Jubilee. "Nevertheless, the Jubilee shall be!" exclaimed Leo XII.³ With few exceptions the governments were in the hands of Carbonari in 1825. Now, in 1830, they had a new ally in Louis Philippe, who had been lifted on the throne by the Revolution of July 27th—a revolution of which he had been one of the chief instigators, and, by all odds, the most contemptible.⁴

Neither Louis XVIII., nor his brother Charles X., had strengthened the hands of the good, inside or outside of France. They pursued a cowardly policy; a policy that Leo XII. disdainfully charged all the rulers of the day with following: "a policy of timidity towards the strong and of haughtiness towards the weak." When Charles X. was incontinently driven from the throne, there was little cause for regret. Louis Philippe was only a stop-gap. Gentlemanly revolutionists like Lafayette were not prepared for a republic. A revolutionary king could be removed by a revolution when he had himself prepared the country for the republic of the

¹ Cantu, *Histoire Universelle*, vol. xviii., p. 421. Paris, 1867.

² Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., pp. 340, 341. Wiseman: *The Last Four Popes*, p. 257. Boston, 1858.

³ Wiseman, *The Last Four Popes*, pp. 247, 248. Cantu: *Hist. Univ.*, vol. xviii., p. 368.

⁴ An insight into the character of Louis Philippe and of his fellow Carbonari in France, as well as of the work of the revolution between 1830 and 1840 may be had from Louis Blanc's *Histoire de Dix Ans*.

Carbonari. Louis Philippe was a Carbonaro; so was his son and heir, the Duc d'Orleans; so were Lafayette, Guizot, Thiers, Cavaignac, Armand Carrel, Bayard, the Duc Decazes, Odilon Barrot, De Corcelles, and many other nobles, lawyers, officers, and adventurers—Voltairians, Huguenots, "Catholics"—who were willing to stoop low if, thereby, place and fortune might be attained or retained.

From such a government the Italian conspirators had everything to hope. Spaniards, Portuguese, Belgians, Poles had risen in arms, or were preparing to rise. There were grievances everywhere; but how many revolutions have bettered a people's condition? Carbonarism had spread over a large part of Europe within ten years. In Italy the youth and the middle class had been drawn into its net. As early as 1820 the order estimated its numbers in the kingdom of the two Sicilies at 800,000.¹ The chiefs did not favor a revolt. Buonarrotti, the head of the *Alta Vendita*—as the clique that, from Paris, governed the Carbonari of Europe was called—deemed the time unpropitious and "the people" not wholly prepared. But the local leaders hungered for plunder and office, and for larger opportunities to use the dagger and the gun. The treacherous Menotti, whose name has been fittingly introduced into one of Garibaldi's numerous families, struck a first and most weak blow at Modena, on February 3, 1831. Parma, Piacenza, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Ravenna, Pesaro, Fossombrone, Fano, Urbino, Macerata, Camerino, Ascoli, Perugia, Terni, Narni, Ancona, followed quickly. The tricolor floated as gaily as though Bonaparte were alive and an emperor. His former consort, Maria Louisa, was expelled. At Bologna, the Cardinal Legate, Benvenuti, was imprisoned, and a provisional government established. Deputies from the various cities met and voted "the downfall of the Temporal Power of the Popes."² In Piedmont there were some ill-advised patriots. There the government favored only one sort of patriotism. The Piedmontese revolutionists were shot down. Ten days after the election of Gregory XVI. the mob fired the first shot in Rome. It was Carnival time—a time of gaiety and of "hearty pleasure." To the new Pope, who was considering what of good he could do for the real people, the revolution was a surprise. Evidently the insurrection had been timed, for the movement at Modena was made before the announcement of Gregory's election. Though crowds of expectant and armed strangers had gathered in the Holy City, and though money had been freely distributed to the Trasteverini, with corrupt intent, the insurgents were disappointed. The people drove out the dis-

¹ *Les Sociétés Secrètes*. P. N. Deschamps, S. J. Avignon, 1874, vol. i., p. 482.

² Cantu, *Hist. Univ.*, vol. xix., p. 25.

turbers. There were some wounded and some prisoners. The revolutionary force sought comfort and a livelihood among their more successful brethren, who had control of the Legations. Gregory XVI. was prompt in defending the Papal rights. His small army was at once sent against the insurgents. Probably their "deplorable rhetoric" and the jealousies of the leaders in the different cities would have, in time, revolutionized the peaceful citizens into loyal supporters of the Holy See; but it was important that order should be quickly re-established and maintained. Though the Papal army was not inefficient, the task seemed beyond its strength. Foreign aid Gregory would gladly have done without. Bernetti, his Minister, strongly favored an independent policy. Still the Pope looked upon foreign aid "as a necessity without an alternative." The provincial chests had been robbed, the finances disturbed seriously, obligations incurred. A strong hand was needed, and at once.¹ To Austria Gregory addressed himself, and to Naples. The government of Louis Philippe had adopted what was humorously called a policy of "non-intervention." This policy was meant for other powers; not for France. As the ministers interpreted it, no power excepting France could, with justice, interfere in the affairs of another country. Wherefore France objected to the Pope's receiving assistance from Austria. This officious intervention of France in the affairs of an independent sovereign neither Austria nor the Pope accepted submissively. Metternich sent troops across the Po. He was, he said, unwilling to admit "that brigands could object to the mounted police, or that incendiaries had a right of protest against the firemen."² On March 19th the Austrians entered the Papal territory. The powerful politicians who had so expeditiously abolished the Temporal Power, vanished like thinnest mist before a norther. Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna opened their gates. At Rimini the insurgents made a stand and were badly beaten. Within ten days Ancona had fallen, the revolution was ended and the "brigands and incendiaries" were in the hands of the mounted police or of the firemen, or had escaped by sea or by land from the punishment they well deserved.

Why did the Carbonari fail in their scheme to overthrow the Papacy: a scheme evidently planned, if not well planned? Mazzini charges the French government with the failure. He is not a good witness. One of the most consummate liars that has ever darkened the shadow of the earth,—and his deliberate and con-

¹ Wiseman, *loc. cit.*, p. 385.

² Van Duerm, Charles, S. J., *Vicissitudes Politiques du Pouvoir Temporel des Papes de 1790 à nos Jours*. Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie. Lille, 1891.

tinuous untruthfulness are proven on page after page of his own "Life and Writings,"—no dependence can be placed upon his word. Doubtless his true life will be written some day; and when it is written the world may, or may not, be astounded at the vice and the villany that may be concentrated in a single human soul. However, Mazzini claims, and his charge has not been denied, that, before the insurrection, various influential Italians had drawn up a memorial inquiring of Latour Maubourg, the French ambassador at Naples, what the action of France would be in case an Italian revolution should provoke the armed intervention of Austria. This being true, we need not doubt that Latour Maubourg was a Carbonaro. And here it is worthy of noting that this same ambassador at Naples was chosen by the French ministry to enforce the policy of "non-intervention" on Austria and the Pope, when there was question of assuring the Sovereignty of the Papacy by putting down the insurgents of the Legations. How did Latour Maubourg answer the Italian Carbonari? "On the margin with his own hand he had written that France would support the revolution provided the new government should not assume an anarchical form, and should recognize the order of things generally adopted in Europe." These are Mazzini's words.¹ The requirements of the French Government are not too exacting. Did the Italian Carbonari show a disposition to exceed them? Their short rule was certainly not more anarchical than that of which Latour Maubourg was the mouth-piece. Why did the "last Voltairian of his age," as Louis Philippe claimed to be, the crowned Carbonaro, who was squeezed into a royal seat by the loving embrace of the Carbonaro, Lafayette,—why did his Carbonaro ministry, in part Voltairian like himself,—encourage and yet hesitate, and finally prove false?

Perhaps Metternich will assist us in unravelling the mystery. The Popes had been the first to warn the Christian world against the secret political societies. Pius VII., Leo XII., had only repeated their predecessors' words of wisdom. Of all the political men of his day, Metternich was the only one who grasped the full meaning of these warnings, and who, refusing to use, or to be used by the secret political associations, watched them closely and followed their devices with an experienced and a critical eye. From his "Memoirs" we learn not only somewhat of his estimate of the Carbonari, but we are especially informed about the Italian Revolution of 1831. From a letter to Apponyi, the Russian ambassador at Paris, dated February 15, 1831, we quote: "This vast network of conspiracy, which has been weaving in France

¹ *The Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini.* London, 1864. Vol. i., p. 82.

for some time back, bears the visible impress of Bonapartism. The plan, as far as we yet know, is to deprive the Pope of his Temporal Power, and to form a Kingdom of Italy under the constitutional King of Rome." "There is nothing Italian in the measures by which the revolts have been accomplished. The Italian Revolution is a Bonapartist Revolution, supported by the party of anarchy in France."¹ On February 19th he again charges the Bonapartists with the responsibility of the Italian insurrections, and then informs Apponyi that during the Parisian rising of July, 1830, Joseph Bonaparte and Lucien, Prince of Canino, had approached him, offering to put the Duke of Reichstadt on the throne of France if he, Metternich, would consent to the Duke's *escape* from Vienna.²

The purpose of these dispatches to Apponyi we might doubt were it not for facts that cannot be doubted. Louis Philippe's position was a delicate position. A revolutionist, crowned by revolutionists, he had to establish his throne by gaining the recognition of the absolute governments that ruled Europe. As yet he dare not openly assist the anti-Papal revolutionaries. Carbonaro, Voltairian, he dare not, would not openly, oppose them. To use them he was willing, and he did use them. As things stood in Belgium, the Italian revolutionaries were serviceable to him, Bonapartist or not. If they were Bonapartist, he dare not assist them to victory, even if the Temporal Power of the Papacy were destroyed,—a Power he would gladly have finished. Was the Italian revolution a Bonapartist revolution? And did Louis Philippe owe his throne to an embrace which the *Alta Vendita* had afforded him because they were not certain upon whom to lavish it? Let us answer these questions with facts.

During the lengthy sitting of the Conclave that finally elected Mauro Cappellari, the Camaldolese monk, to the Papacy, Rome was not threatened by diplomatists alone. Bands of veterans and of Corsicans raced through the streets exciting the people to insurrection. They had a cry: "Italy!" first, and "Liberty!" last of all.³ Corsicans—the word has a more definite meaning than the mention of it conveys. Mazzini's dictionary will make the meaning clear. "Carbonarism, introduced into Corsica by the Neapolitan exiles, was a ruling power throughout the island, and by the men of the people it was regarded—as such associations, when freely joined, should be—as a religion."⁴ Who were the

¹ *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1881. Vol. v., pp. 103-104.

² *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 107-109.

³ Cantu: *Histoire des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 351.

⁴ Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

leaders of these "veterans and Corsicans?" A certain Napoleon and a certain Louis, better and worse known in later years, both reputed sons of an ex-King of Holland. Their purpose was to make Italy a haven of liberty by placing on a new throne a new king—Jerome Bonaparte. The legitimacy of one at least of these Bonapartes has been questioned. But can there be any doubt of it? Did he not prove his direct descent from that Emperor whose scattered family found an asylum in Rome, where "they were allowed to have their palaces, their estates, their titles, not only unmolested, but fully recognized?" Ingratitude is the natural offspring of tyranny.

The Bonapartist rioters were scattered. Some were jailed. In or out of jail they were not idle, and when the revolutionaries rose against government after government, in 1831, the nephews of the first Napoleon were there to cheer on the unthinking crowd. One of these nephews, who afterwards deluged France with liberty, wrote, during these Italian troubles, a letter which, though frequently published since 1859, when it was first printed, merits a still wider circulation. "Very Holy Father, Mr. X. will tell your Holiness the truth about the situation of things here. He has informed me that your Holiness was afflicted when you learned that *we were here amid those who have revolted against the power of the Crown of Rome.*

"The Romagnoli especially are intoxicated with liberty. This evening they reach Terni, and I render them this justice, that among the cries they lift up continually, there is not one which attacks the head of Religion, thanks to the leaders who are, throughout, men most highly esteemed, and who, everywhere, prove their attachment to Religion as forcibly as their love for temporal independence. They wish, as it seems, and very decidedly, the separation of the Temporal and the Spiritual Powers.

"I speak the truth, I swear it, and I supplicate your Holiness to believe that I have no ambition.

"I can likewise affirm that I have heard all the young men say, even the least moderate, that if Gregory renounce the Temporal Power, they will adore him; that they themselves will become the warmest sustainers of true Religion purified by a great Pope and whose basis is the most liberal book that exists, the divine Gospel."¹

Metternich was evidently well advised. Though the Gospeler who wrote this letter "had no ambition," other less unselfish Bonapartists had an ambition, that was not satisfied until it had made a great people sweat blood and treasure, pushed another Carbonaro

¹ P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

usurper into the City of the Popes, and drawn down upon the name and the fortunes of the Napoleons a curse no less loud than that with which the Lord of Justice visited the Majesty that Pius VII. qualified as "immensely great."

"The Tartuffe of the alliance of the Kings," as Mazzini called Louis Philippe, might well hesitate to "free" Italy, when his ambitionless competitors were seeking a great crown in place of the lesser crown they had missed. For in the eyes of the Carbonari there was only one crown worth the having. "From Rome alone," said Mazzini, years afterwards, "can modern unity go forth, because from Rome alone can come the absolute destruction of the ancient unity."¹ "You know not that what elsewhere is but a word, becomes, if uttered by Rome, *a fact*, an imperial decree, *urbi et orbi*."² There are Catholics who pose as leaders of thought in this closing nineteenth and, shall we not say, in the coming twentieth century, and whose estimation of Papal Rome is not so great as Mazzini's, or Louis Philippe's, or Louis Napoleon's. The Carbonari view some questions from the house-top; and there are Canons and greater dignitaries whose vision is, unfortunately for them and us, limited by the four walls of a very small room. When the Catholic world estimates Papal Rome as highly and as out-spokenly as the Carbonari have done, and do, then the words that are spoken at Rome will indeed be facts, *urbi et orbi*. One fact known to all the world to-day is that Louis Napoleon, about the time he was "among those who had revolted against the power of the Crown of Rome," took the oath of a Carbonaro from the father of that Orsini who, after a fine Carbonaro fashion, tried to separate the spirituality of an emperor from the temporality of an emperor, by means of a fraternal bomb.³ "To conspire against our august and only benefactor would be a nameless infamy," wrote the reputed father of Napoleon Louis and of Louis Napoleon, in 1821, to Consalvi, who knew where conspirators and conspiracies were hatched. "The Bonaparte family shall never have to address itself this reproach."⁴ Can we wonder that an Orsini should conspire against a fellow-conspirator who had been condemned by his own royal sire to "nameless infamy?"

When the States of the Church had been freed from the insurgents, Louis Philippe's government showed a lively interest in the centre of Christianity. The Voltairians, as good Frenchmen, would not repudiate the tradition of the monarchy, a tradition to the effect that the Papacy could require no protection unless at such times as France was in a protecting mood. This beautiful tradition,

¹ Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, vol. v., p. 314.

² Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, vol. v., p. 186.

³ P. N. Deschamps, *loc. cit.*, p. 354.

⁴ P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, p. 147.

though seemingly founded in a deep religious sentiment, was really a political tradition. Protection of the Papacy was an euphuism for opposition to Austria. And now that Austria was in the Papal States, traditionally France must drive her out. The Papal government had no wish to keep Austrian troops on Papal soil. Bernetti was no lover of Austrian methods or tendencies. He was desirous of freeing his government from foreign influences on the first favorable occasion. But when the French ministry pressed upon the Pope and upon the emperor a demand for an immediate evacuation of the States of the Church, neither Rome nor Vienna were inclined to be hasty. The demand of Louis Philippe was not unsupported. There were other powers backing his policy. Leisurely the Austrians withdrew, July 19, 1831, four months after their coming to the Pope's aid. In the year 1891, Piedmont, which is "protecting" the Pope with the gallantry of a true Bourbon or Orleanist, or Josephist, claims to be acting in its own right, and to exclude the action of all other governments. The alliances that manipulated the affairs of Europe, through Congresses, in 1831, looked upon the Papacy not as the subject of any power; and jointly they guaranteed, not the *independence* but the rightful rule of the Holy See.¹ Perhaps the Triple Alliance of to-day has elevated itself to a higher place in the direction of human affairs than the witty and good Pius IX. attributed to Louis XIV.

From the novel, our men and women, of whatever age, are by expert guides advised to learn history. Prince Metternich's *Memoirs* will give an intelligent youth a fuller knowledge of men and affairs, during the period with which we are concerned, than he can derive from the ideal historical novel—which has not been written. A fortnight before the Austrian forces withdrew from the Papal States, Metternich wrote to Apponyi that the emperor was determined "to respond to future appeals of the Holy Father for fresh aid, which his Holiness might be justified by certain circumstances in demanding."² Metternich had a thorough acquaintance with the Carbonari, Bonapartist, Republican, Orleanist, and a keen sense of Austria's interest in maintaining a position in the Papal States not second to the Revolution. His forecast was admirable. The Austrians gone, the Carbonari took up their appointed work just where they had stopped. Before the middle of January, 1832, the agitation had grown into an insurrection. Against the insurgents the Papal army moved. There were victories and defeats at Cesena, Ravenna, Forli, Ferrara. The Pope desired peace, for the good of the people and for the welfare of the Church. On January

¹ Cantu, *Histoire Universelle*, vol. xix., p. 28.

² *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, vol. v, p. 124.

10th, he wrote to the governments of France, Austria, Russia and Prussia, stating that he meant to repress rebellion by force, and asking support in the interest of order, justice, and authority. Austria, Prussia, Russia answered, promising armed assistance if arms were needed. Louis Philippe's government answered as a Carbonaro government would answer. The rebellion was subdued without exterior aid; but to save the country from renewed agitation, Cardinal Albani, the Pope's legate, called upon Austria to reassume the positions it had held in July of the previous year.¹ Radetski was not slow in answering the legate's request, and the Carbonari furlled the tricolor hastily. Need we say that the Austrians were received with joyous acclamations, *festas*, and the usual outbursts of "popular feeling."

To defend the Papacy from professional revolutionists, Louis Philippe was not willing, but Austria had hardly restored quiet when the Orleanists forced their "protection" on the Pope. A French fleet sailed into the harbor of Ancona, without invitation or warning, and seized the strong fortress. (February 22, 1832.) At this very time the Orleanist government was pretending to negotiate, through the Papacy, a joint occupation with Austria. Between the treachery of Orleanist and of Bonapartist, only a paid political casuist could formulate a nice distinction. The blow struck at the Temporal Power was direct; the encouragement given to the Carbonari was positive. England protested, Austria protested, the Pope protested; but the English protest was a sham,—a political protest, meant to influence France in the matter of the Belgian crown. The Casimir Périer ministry explained that the French commander had gone beyond his orders. Thus the incident was closed. The tricolor waved in Ancona, where the Orleanist soldiery remained until 1838, leaving Ancona when the Austrians withdrew from the Legations.²

Rightly did Metternich call the French plea of occupation "a farce." Rightly did he call the occupation an "inexcusable attack on the indisputable sovereign rights of the Holy See, rights consecrated by the sanction of so many existing treaties."³ However, this bold attempt to discredit the authority of the Papacy, this public advertisement of Orleanist disdain for the Temporal Power, and of a readiness to use force against that Power in the interest of political scheming, was not remarkable when we recall the policy of the European governments, in regard to the Holy See, before and since 1815. During the Austrian occupation of 1831,

¹ P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, p. 155.

² P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, pp. 155-62, where quotations are made from some valuable documents, hitherto published, but here brought together usefully.

³ *Memoirs*, *loc. cit.*, p. 215.

Russia, Prussia, Austria, France and England, through commissioners meeting in Rome, without invitation, of their own motion, drew up a so-called "Memorandum," which they presented to the Pope as a document worthy of his consideration. In this "Memorandum" they nominated modifications in the Papal administration which they deemed "vital." Five powers, two of them Protestant, one schismatic, one Voltairian, one not too Catholic, and all positively inimical, if we except Austria, deliberately sought to weaken the Pope's hand and to make the pacification of his territory almost impossible. England had done, was doing, would continue doing whatever it could devise to destroy the Temporal Power; the Orleans King was bound by a criminal oath, that he valued more than honor, to effect the same end; Prussia, Russia, absolutisms that owed their being and their continuance to persecution,—picture these powers counselling the Papacy how to manage the States of the Church. Shall we be surprised if, for years thereafter, not only the Patrimony of St. Peter but also France, Prussia, Austria, the whole of Germany, England itself, were nurseries of disorder, assassination, insurrection, revolution?¹

"Joseph II. in Germany, and Leopold in Italy, assailed Papacy with the energy of reform. The priest Ricci, and the Synod of Pistoia, encouraged the emancipation. The Jansenists spread themselves everywhere, and endeavored to recall the ancient religious severity of primitive Christianity. Voltaire published a crusade against Catholic Rome, and supported it, if not with profundity of thought and historical philosophy, yet with an activity of weapons truly prodigious. Then the torrent broke forth; the revolutionary lava which swept the entire past from its throne. Then Napoleon, imprisoning the Pope, dragging him to Paris, threatening him, and obliging him to compromise politically with him, completed the disgrace and the abasement of the Papacy. Afterwards, the giant having fallen, and the political inertia allowing a return to the peaceful studies of philosophy, the spiritual and eclectic schools arose; schools which, without denying the religious sentiment, ceased to recognize the Papacy as an essential element thereto." Joseph Mazzini wrote these words.² They are quite as connected as any words that came from his frenzied mind. They are not truthful in detail, they are not philosophical, and yet in a general way they do state facts and show their intimate relation. Joseph II. in Germany, Leopold in Italy, Voltaire, the Revolution, Napoleon and his successors in France, Gallicanism, Jansenism, the eclectic philosophies and false "liberalism," aided one

¹ P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 150-154.

² "From the Pope to the Council," 1832. *Vid. Life and Writings*, vol. v., p. 309.

another in misleading minds, corrupting hearts, debasing churchmen, and abasing the power of the Papacy. Thanks to the accordant opposition of governments, Christian and infidel, to the Spiritual and Temporal Authority of the Holy See, the pulpit, the professor's chair, the press, history, poetry, the novel, were turned against law, against morality, against all right, human and divine. And a secret conspiracy directed, in good part, each of these powerful engines to a common end.

The Carbonarism of Italy was merely a development of Weisshaupt's Illuminism, which long controlled not only German courts and universities, Catholic and non-Catholic, but also German bishoprics and archbishoprics and German seminaries. If its influence has been almost wholly removed from German Catholic circles within recent years, no small share of the glory is due to the Papacy. To-day we have many scribblers and talkers pushing hobbies of all sorts. Weisshaupt had synthesized the heresies and hobbies of the past. The new revolutionists, communists, socialists can offer us nothing wicked that he had not dreamed of and taken the means to realize. And never were means more cleverly, more reflectingly devised. In an oath-bound society, having some ninety or more degrees, he purposed to combine rich and poor, learned and ignorant, with a purpose disclosed only to the adepts, whose vice and intelligence fitted them for admission to the inner circle. This purpose was the overthrow of all hereditary and irresponsible power, the destruction of Christianity, and the renovation of the earth by the establishment of Naturalism. To carry out this purpose, Weisshaupt labored first among the powerful and the educated. Princes, diplomatists, clerics, teachers he sought and gained. He entered the seminaries, he went among the youth of the schools,—it was they, above all, whom he coveted. The "common people" he did not neglect, though he counted on their capture as certain, once he had gained the well-to-do, the learned and the youth. His success was notable; the corruption that followed more notable. Men of ability were blindly led into treacheries, conspiracies, crimes. Many had the courage to reverse their steps, but ambition, greed, sensuality tied many more to an organization whose uses to those that controlled it were immeasurable. Governments that hoped to make it serve power by opposing the Church and degrading the people, learned to fear for their own safety. They tried to kill the serpent they had warmed into life; the name fell into disuse, but the thing itself was not to die. In other countries the tenets of the Illuminati had been welcomed, and the Bonapartists, adapting the ritual of the North to the Southern people, had spread the venom of Naturalism among the

Italians in the early portion of the nineteenth century. For Italian Carbonarism was practically German Illuminism.¹

What the Carbonari were, many witnesses have disclosed. Mazzini, who entered the society at the age of nineteen, claims to have known nothing of it before he was admitted, and not much for some time after. At Genoa, where his father was a professor of medicine, Joseph met a mysterious personage who, not without his consent, initiated him. Having, in answer to his questioner, expressed a readiness to *act*, to obey the instructions which should be transmitted to him from time to time, and to sacrifice himself, if necessary, for *the good of the Order*, he knelt before an unsheathed dagger and took an oath of blind obedience, no aim being mentioned to him or means. Then he was taught the signs.² Into the second rank he was promoted without receiving other information. Those who selected him had taken a good measure of the youth. He was commissioned to implant Carbonarism in Tuscany, he says. Probably he was chosen to do some fouler work, for the Carbonari had a hold on Tuscany since early in the twenties. He had already learned of "cousins,"—thus the members of each section addressed one another,—who were appointed to stab fellow-members that had spoken against the chiefs. "The Order no sooner discovered rebels than it crushed them."³ All the "cousins" carried sword-sticks. The leaders, whom Mazzini describes, were godless men and thorough-going desperadoes. "We young men," he says, "were treated like mere machines."⁴ A liberal training! "Intellectually," he found the Carbonari "were materialist and Macchiavellian." "They called themselves Christians in their symbolic language; yet, confounding religion with the Papacy and faith with superstition, they contrived to wither up the virgin enthusiasm of youth by a skepticism borrowed from Voltaire and the negations of the eighteenth century."⁵ Priests, nobles, literary men, soldiers and "sons of the people" were serving in the ranks. They had no principle other than revolution. Mazzini was not the only young Italian that was seduced at the age of nineteen by calculating and by hardened elders. He had in him, however, the blood of a "free companion," and made a trade of conspiracy and of crime from the day he joined the Carbonari until his death, forty-five years later. During a lifetime spent in deceiving others, he seems to have reached a state of self-deception truly appalling. From Ausonio Franchi we have learned

¹ For a careful exposition of Weisshaupt's work, see P. N. Deschamps, *Les Sociétés Secrètes*, vol. ii.

² *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini*, vol. i., pp. 13-16.

³ Mazzini, *Life and Writings*, vol. i., pp. 20-21.

⁴ Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 25-27.

⁵ Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

that a man may be honest in leading others to ruin; but, regretfully we say it, Mazzini proves himself to have been thoroughly dishonest. If passion, pride, obstinacy, and a terrible hate of God, of Christ and of virtue were honesty, then no name deserves higher praise.

Mazzini inveighs repeatedly against the influence of Voltairianism and of French philosophy on the Italians. Why this should anger him it is difficult to conceive. From this same philosophy he drew the first breath of his intellectual life. A great portion of the youth of Italy were, like him, infected with the destructive ideas that came out of France. They had lost faith, and with faith morality. The Church they would abolish, or at least forcibly constrain. Excited by the spirit of revolt, natural consequence of the philosophical teaching they had received and of the propaganda initiated by Bonaparte and supported, for quite other ends, by England and by Russia, the efforts of the educated youth were directed, whatever the career they chose, almost wholly to the uprooting of religion and to the development of what they called "a spirit of liberty." The German, the "foreigner" in Lombardy and in Venice gave the northern Italians an occasion for protest and for appeals to patriotism and to unity; but the "foreigner" was, in many subtle minds, only a convenient target. Aiming at it, apparently, they were really pointing at a larger and more imposing object. If we run over the names of the Italians who, in literature, caught the popular favor, from 1800 to 1846, we shall see that the greater number were anti-Christian, revolutionary, or doubtfully "liberal." Mazzini's attack on the false philosophy of the eighteenth century was unjust. Were it not for this philosophy his cousinship in the family of assassins and the number of his teachers, friends, and victims would have been much more limited. Foscolo, Leopardi, Niccolini, Tommaseo, Aleardi, Montanelli, Fusinata, Guerazzi, Prati, Canini—men after his own heart—owed their inspiration to the philosophy Mazzini pretended to despise; and yet they were revolutionists, and almost all of them were Carbonari. Men better known in English-speaking circles, like Silvio Pellico, had knelt before the naked dagger and sworn the slave's oath. Gioberti's friends have generally defended him against the charge of being a Carbonaro, but Mazzini's statement, fortified by the written words of the "Father of his Country," make one hesitate about expressing a verdict.¹ Perhaps Gioberti was not influenced by the false philosophy of the eighteenth century, and should this be true, the use of his name just here would

¹ See Gioberti's letter in *Mazzini's Life*, etc., vol. i., pp. 312, 313. See also, *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*. Milano, 1889, pp. 146, 147.

be untimely. Ausonio Franchi testifies that German philosophy was not without a certain influence in Italy during the first half of this century, and that this same philosophy served Italy no more than it has advantaged Germany—or America.

To govern a godless mob, a sword in each walking-stick and a hidden dagger—Heaven knows where!—is difficult work, even when Judge Lynch rules with a despotic sway. With your American education about liberty, equality and the majesty of the law, imagine yourself a Pope and your States a prey to graceless villains—whatever their title, profession, education, assumption—of the Carbonaro brood! What would you have done to assure order, to protect property, to secure the comfort of peaceful men who could not bring themselves to stab a fellow-man, a fellow-countryman, in any cause? Your freeman's blood rushes hot through your veins. You think of brutal punishments as fitted for brutal men. Let the respectable mob hang them! is perhaps your hasty verdict. Had the reigning Pope been an American, even he would not have favored your ideas of right. No one was hung without a trial in the States of the Church; and during the sixteen years that Gregory ruled not a soul suffered the death penalty for a political offence.

Carbonarism was bad, but not wicked enough for a man possessed; and Mazzini was possessed. Ambitious, heartless, half-educated, ill-educated, immoral, selfish, he aspired to the leadership of Italian secret politics. The men that handled him and others, he had studied. What a sorry lot they were he knew. The mechanism of the Carbonari he had mastered. He determined to set up for himself. Bonapartist, French, the Italians should no longer be. Italians they should be. They had philosophers of their own, "minds which had exhibited a power of generalization to which Italy had been hitherto a stranger—Bruno, Telesio, Campanella. In the works of these great men would be found the genius of a fraternization of religion and philosophy and of those institutions so indispensable for Italy."¹ "In Giordano Bruno, above all, would Italians discover that synthetic power inherent in Italian genius." "That which Christ, the great 'Initiator,' had done, humanity"—as personified in Mazzini—"could do."² Who was Christ, after all? "His intellectual grasp did not extend beyond the requirements of a single epoch."³ Mazzini, whose grasp included the whole past and future, threw off Carbonarism in 1831, at the age of twenty-three, and organized "Young Italy," a secret society, whose constitution he has partly

¹ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. ii., p. 213.

² Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 141, 142.

³ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. v., pp. 364, 365.

disclosed. "The aim of Young Italy was revolution, though its labors would be essentially educational, both before and after the day of revolution."¹ This education was to be "directed ever to the teaching by example, word and pen, the necessity of insurrection. Secret in Italy, education would be public out of Italy."² The instruction and intelligence indispensable as preparatory to action would be secret "both in Italy and abroad." And on what day should the revolution begin? "When the insurrection had triumphed." Meantime, the society "will be governed by a provisional dictatorial power, concentrated in the hands of a small number of men." What is the meaning of the word "insurrection." Warfare by means of guerilla bands, a warfare that is invincible and indestructible.³

Every member of "Young Italy" swore "to obey all instructions, in conformity with the spirit of the society, given by his representatives in the brotherhood of Italians; and to keep the secret of the instructions, even at the cost of his life, NOW AND FOREVER." "Thus do I swear, invoking upon my head the wrath of God, the abhorrence of man and the infamy of the perjurer if I ever betray the whole or a part of this, my oath."⁴ The name of God and of Christ Mazzini used as if he believed in one or the other, but he believed in neither. He was a pantheist. As for Christ—the Genoese revolutionist had elevated himself to a seat at least two ranks higher than that with which Louis XIV. was satisfied. These sacred names Mazzini used to mislead fools.

"Young Italy" made rapid headway. The land was soon filled with "affiliated." The Carbonari were won over. Local traditions, local beliefs, local prejudices, were accommodated. From the "Articles" of the Neapolitan branches we shall learn more even than Mazzini tells, and we shall see how elastic was the "Constitution." "Article 1. The society is instituted for the indispensable destruction of all the governments of the Peninsula and to form a single State of the whole of Italy, under the republican form. Art. 30. The members who do not obey the orders of the secret society, and those who disclose its secrets, will be poignarded without pardon. Art. 31. The secret tribunal will pronounce the sentence, designating one or two of the affiliated for its immediate execution. Art. 32. The affiliated who shall refuse to execute the sentence pronounced shall be counted a perjurer, and as such, put to death forthwith. Art. 33. If the condemned victim should escape, he shall be unintermittently pursued, and the cul-

¹ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 99.

² Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 106.

³ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., pp. 107-109.

⁴ Joseph Mazzini, *loc cit.*, pp. 112, 113.

pruit shall be struck down by an invisible hand, even were he to seek refuge in the bosom of his mother or in the tabernacle of Christ. Art. 34. Each secret tribunal shall be competent, not only to judge culprit adepts, but also to have put to death all persons whom it has condemned to death."¹

The civilization of the dagger Mazzini practiced and preached throughout his life. Thirty-five years after the adoption of "Young Italy's" constitution, he proclaimed openly the "sacredness of assassination," and defended the use of the dagger "to initiate insurrection."² In at least one American city a monument has been raised to this libel on manhood, and a tender poet, whose locks were more than gray, eulogized this hater of Christ and apostle of the dagger. Let us hope that our American youth may not learn, from poet or statue, to estimate assassination as sacred, though the chosen victim cling to a mother's bosom, or seek refuge in the tabernacle of Christ.

His own life Mazzini preserved carefully, though he claims to have carried on his person, for years, a powerful poison, with which to end life in case he were made a prisoner. His secrets he wished to carry away with him. Suicide he preached to others. It was "the elevated height of a sacrifice." "When, owing to the wickedness of men, you feel yourself in danger of yielding to sin, cast away your life, and, rather than sin against others, charge yourself with a sin against yourself. God is good and merciful. He will shelter you beneath the vast wings of his pardon."³ Thus he incited his victims to kill themselves that he might live and enjoy. And as they assassinated at his order, so they took their own lives "rather than sin against others." What a weight of woe this one bad man brought upon the world! How many homes he wrecked, hearts he broke, lives he blasted! Once, at least, remorse drove him "to the confines of madness." He was still young. Unrepenting, his mind was, nevertheless, spared him, and he used it as of old to inveigle Italians into the noble army that he was rallying around "the banner of the fathers of the 18th century, which dyed red in the blood of Christ, was transmitted by Luther to the Convention, to be raised upon the corpses of those slain in the battles of the peoples."⁴ Students, the commercial class, many of the nobility, priests, soldiers, everywhere joined the new conspiracy. "On the educated youth especially, Mazzini exercised a demoniacal

¹ *Histoire de la Révolution de Rome*, par A. Balleydier. Paris, 1854 (4th edition), p. 18.

² "On the Theory of the Dagger," 1856. See Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. vi., pp. 266-277.

³ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., pp. 333-334.

⁴ "Faith the Future," Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., p. 121.

power of attraction."¹ The only religion, he told them, was Liberty. And "Liberty is the right of every man to exercise his faculties without impediment or restraint in the accomplishment of his special mission, and *in the choice of means most conducive to its accomplishment*"²—an inviting doctrine to young or old, and one that is too commonly accepted in and out of Italy. He taught the youth also that "an Italy such as the aspirations of our hearts foretell, can never exist until the Papacy shall be overthrown in the name of the Moral Law, and acknowledged as high above all pretended Intermediates between God and the People."³ The Pope! The Pope! He was the one great enemy, an enemy to be crushed at all cost. "The moral power of the Papacy had long been dead in Europe. Luther destroyed it by withdrawing from it the North." "Though eminently a revolutionist, Luther rejected all other weapons than words," but men sworn to "substitute the sacred word PROGRESS for the dogma of direct revelation,"⁴ would work with arms more effective.

Banished from Italy, banished, nominally, from France, Mazzini, hatched conspiracy in many lands. Hand and glove with ministers, kings, revolutionaries of all countries, and of all classes, he was cared for by rulers and by cabinets, by clergymen of all Christian and un-Christian denominations, and was lauded and petted by "tender" women, by "patriotic" men, and by keener folk of every degree. Many other secret societies were organized in Italy, but, one after another, they "accepted his creed and submitted to his direction." "Young Poland," "Young Germany," "Young Switzerland," with kindred aims and methods, were formed under his guidance. In "Young Europe" the revolutionaries were combined, with a creed whose tenets were simple enough: "One God, one ruler—His Law, and One sole interpreter of that law—Humanity." "Rejecting every doctrine of external, immediate, and final revelation," these societies "rejected the idea of any intermediate source of truth between man and God, other than genius united with virtue"⁵—through the sacred bond of the dagger, a musket and forty cartridges.

In the theories of Mazzini there was nothing new. The idea was the old one of a universal conflagration that should burn out the very roots of that "baleful plant sprung from Judæa's mould."⁶

¹ *Geschichte der Neuern Litteratur*. Adolph Stern, Leipzig, 1884. Vol. vi., p. 458.

² Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., p. 32.

³ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iv., p. 206.

⁴ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 192.

⁵ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 30-37.

⁶ A. Balleydier, *Hist. de la Révolution*, etc., vol. i., p. 12.

His methods were not wholly new, though his application of these methods was in somewhat original. To the old idea of Italian nationality he gave a fresh impetus. He inflamed the Italian pride; he gave a body to all the hates of the vicious, the unbelieving, the ambitious, the criminal. Along with the dagger, he encouraged the press, the pamphlet, the novel. Good men were held up to scorn, were driven from honorable places, were libelled into retirement and silence. All honest leaders and teachers who would not forswear God and manly independence, were persecuted shamefully and shamelessly. Thou shalt lie! held equal place with Thou shalt kill! in the "law of Humanity." Austria had no need of spies in Italy. The remodeled Carbonari denounced every third man as an informer, a coward, a traitor.¹ Palmerston's immoral principle: Agitate, agitate! was followed out faithfully. Amid insurrections, demonstrations, a warfare of guerillas and of calumniators, what of unity, what of liberty, the real Italian people enjoyed between 1823 and 1846, may be easily imagined. The despotism of a mob made the despotism of dukes, grand-dukes and kings appear to thinking men most desirable.

The spirit of nationality was not cherished by Mazzinians alone. In Lombardy and in Venetia, where the Austrian rule was disliked, and not unreasonably, the men who, on account of their family, or their education, thought themselves entitled to honors and emoluments that went to strangers, were desirous of throwing off a foreign yoke. The Piedmontese dynasty, whose ambition it had been, for centuries, to hold the first place in the Peninsula, secretly encouraged the anti-Austrian feeling, and made use of it to extend Piedmont's influence. Revolutionaries who conspired to introduce republicanism into Piedmont could hope for no quarter; but in Tuscany, in the Romagna, they might freely do their worst. The d'Azeglios, the Balbos, talked and wrote fine words about the Church and the Papacy, but in their liberalizing way, devoted as they were to the enlargement of the power of Piedmont, and to the advancement of their own family and personal interests, they did more than enough to weaken respect for both Pope and Church. Like Gioberti and Rosmini, they assumed to apprehend the undisclosed designs of Providence, and to know more about civil and ecclesiastical government than all existing or pre-existing Popes and cardinals knew or had known. By their histories, novels, politico-philosophical writings, diatribes, spreading false principles, distorting history, creating divisions among well-meaning and not too well-instructed Catholics, calumniating the most intelligent and most competent defenders of the

¹ Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 118.

Church, they aided the revolution; for thus they fostered a spirit of unrest and of dissatisfaction. Exaggerating evils, they offered no practical remedies. Their view of the Papacy differed not, radically, from the revolutionary view. To them the Papacy was first of all an Italian institution. The union of the Italian States would add to the power, the glory of the people of Italy, the noblest, grandest, most civilized, most intellectual people that there was in the world. And this union should be made more glorious by the precedence conceded to the Pope as an Italian prince. The constitution of the Church, the relations of the Pope to the Christian world, these men did not understand; much less did they have any true conception of the rights of Christendom in the States of the Church. Conceited meddlers, they did immeasurable harm to religion, to the Papacy and to Italy.

Despotisms the governments of Italy were, but had the Poles or the Irish been as well treated as the Italians, what happy peoples they would have been! The Austrian government in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom was, in many senses, very good; no less good were the Tuscan and Neapolitan governments. From 1830 to 1846 the people of Italy enjoyed more comfort, more ease, and bore less burdens than do the "United" Italians of 1891. The finances were wisely administered, riches abounded, and the well-being of the people was carefully looked after. "An Arcadia," Cesare Cantu calls Tuscany.¹ Indeed the development of the Carbonari and of "Young Italy," and their constant guerilla warfare during this period, are unanswerable proofs of the fortunate material condition of the country. How otherwise would this army of bravos, of idlers, of paraders, banqueters, and of *café* politicians—each with one dagger, at least, and a musket, not to mention the forty cartridges—have been supported? The throats of these fellows were not inflamed, nor their stomachs filled, nor their vices gratified by the use or exchange of spring water and of balmy air. The wealth of the country explains in good part not only the number of these loafing conspirators, but also the light hold of religion on many of the clergy and of the people. Luxury breeds irreligion. Nowadays it is the fashion to charge poverty with all the evils mankind suffers. This is an evil of which Italians, sixty years ago, had less experience than they have since had. And how was it with the inhabitants of the Papal States? We have seen all they had to suffer from Napoleon; and yet, as early as 1817, Tito Mansi, a former Minister of Murat, speaking to Metternich who was journeying through Northern and Central Italy, testified to the wonderful success of Consalvi in

¹ See Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., pp. 69-102.

improving the condition of the people. The best evidence of how conscientiously Leo XII. and Pius VIII. pursued their predecessor's policy is found in the rapid growth of the population of Rome. On the return of Pius VII. there were only 77,000 people in the city. By 1830 this number had been more than doubled, the exact figures being 170,000.¹ Within a few weeks after his election, Gregory XVI. began the two great tunnels which dividing the waters of the Arno, secure the picturesque Tivoli from inundation; and during a long reign in which he had to cope not only with Carbonari, but with the cholera plague and with the losses occasioned by fatal earthquakes, he was constant in building public edifices, improving roads, forwarding all the arts, introducing meantime real ameliorations in the various municipal and provincial laws.² His public and private charities were unstinted. His reforms in the administration were numerous, and would have been more so had he not been hampered by the governments of Europe, as well as by the guerillas and assassins.

"A few individual exceptions apart—the Romans had never shared that ferment, that desire for liberty which had constantly agitated Romagna and the Marches," wrote Mazzini.³ He might have added, truthfully, that not all the inhabitants of the Romagna and of the Marches were natives. There exiles and adventurers from many countries had gathered to do the appointed work of "Young Italy." From Ancona as a centre, the French, during their occupation, had exerted an influence prejudicial to the Papacy. False ideas about Liberty and about Nationality had been maliciously spread abroad. Provided Austria were hated, the Papacy might take its chances. This French propaganda favored the guerillas, who wished above all to be rid of the Papacy. "What the factions in the Legations want," wrote Metternich, in 1832, "is not to get good laws, but to shake off Pontifical rule";⁴ and the judgment was as just fourteen years later as when it was written. "Perish the Papacy and long live Italy!"⁵ Such was the motto that inspired the conspirators in Romagna and the Marches. Expectantly, they had for eight years been "educating" rich and poor, young and old. Beginning with 1840, they handled the stiletto more openly, more audaciously. Disorder everywhere, public speeches against kings and Popes, insurrections—such is the story of the last years of the reign of Gregory XVI. False news

¹ See a speech of M. de Falloux in *L'Expédition de Rome*, en 1849, par Leopold de Gaillard. Paris, 1861. Page 289.

² Wiseman, *Last Four Popes*, pp. 386-406-462.

³ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. v., p. 201.

⁴ Metternich, *Memoirs of*, vol. v., p. 218.

⁵ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. v., p. 263.

was daily given out, telling of risings elsewhere. To excite minds, the lie was used savagely. The character of the insurrections in the Papal States and of the "education," not of six but of sixteen years, we know. "In Romagna nearly all those men who, rich in honors, employments and pensions, cry anathema upon us at the present day, were then the agitators who swelled our ranks. There are workingmen yet living in Bologna who will remember Farini loudly preaching massacre in their meetings, and his habit of turning up his coat sleeves to the elbow, saying: '*My lads! we must bathe our arms in blood!*'"¹ And they did bathe their arms in blood, aye and did tear the flesh off from their victims' bodies—all in good time. From a blind hate of Catholicity, the Protestant rulers and peoples of Europe and of America have encouraged and honored these barbarians. Who knows? At home, the patrons may yet be forced to take payment in kind from grateful *protégés*.

"Young Italy" was ready to attempt a general insurrection. Thanks to England, the society had many centres on the Mediterranean, at Malta and Corfu, as well as at Leghorn. Here Italian exiles, the desperate and the exalted from France, Spain, Poland, Germany, Switzerland, Corsica were gathered. In the north, Bologna was the centre of the revolutionary movement. Money flowed even more freely than "brothers'" blood. Nowhere did the insurrection succeed. The Bonapartists were active in directing the revolution. Faithful Bonapartists! How can the sustainers of "true Religion whose basis is the most liberal book that exists, the divine Gospel"—how can they ever compensate you for your knightly service?²

What had Gregory XVI. been doing for the world while the hate of the churches and of the knowing sons of Satan combined against the Spiritual and Temporal Power of the Papacy? He had been combating heresy wherever it lifted a viperous head. He had been re-establishing hierarchies, reforming the clergy, presenting to Christian society new models of holy, charitable living and dying—among others, Saint Alphonsus Liguori. Against Spain, robbing the clergy; against Portugal, Switzerland, South America, robbing all of Church property and invaders of Church rights; against persecuting Prussia, that attacked the Christian family, he had fought a good fight, quick to meet every enemy and strong to oppose injustice and immorality. The uprising of the Belgians against religious servitude, he did not disap-

¹ Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 314.

² A lively picture of the Italian States, between 1830 and 1846, Cantu gives, vol. xii., pp. 69-138. Cantu's views are not always reliable, however. They were not all based on self-evident truths. He had theories as early as 1830. His facts are colored by these theories.

prove. The hopeless revolution of Poland against Russia he wisely disapproved. The cruel, apostatizing Czar Nicholas, he held up to the scorn, and to the reprobation of the world. To this schismatic Pope, in person, he protested against the horrors to which Catholics in Russia were habitually condemned. Facing the Goliath, he said with calm courage: "Soon we shall appear before the tribunal of God; I should not dare to meet the eye of my Judge, had I not defended the religion of which I am the protector and you the oppressor."¹ Bearding the mightiest, Gregory, hand on hilt, was prompt to seek out and to defend the weak. The traders in the black flesh and red blood of the negro—flesh and blood which Christ despised no more than ours—the just, valiant, loving Pope excommunicated.

This Gregory, you can see, consulted no smooth-bore canonists, no chivalrous champions of the "independence" of the Papacy, no subtle propagandists of the theory that the cause of religion could be best advanced by centering sovereignty in the hands of the oppressor, and by abasing the one, sole, appointed protector of the spiritual to the uncushioned foot-stool of uncrowned and homeless helplessness, while the stilettoed pedagogues of theories not more illogical disturbed Romagna and the Marches. The Papal army pursued the brigand "liberals" determinedly. Again and again they were routed, subdued. The real "people" gave no free support to the Carbonari. At Rimini, the last revolt was attempted and suppressed in 1845.

On June 1st, 1846, Gregory XVI., who had long suffered from a fatal disease, fixed his eye, hopefully, calmly on the eye of the Judge. True to the Papal conscience, he had sacrificed no jot or tittle of the patrimony of Saint Peter, no right of the Church. The traditions handed down to him by his experienced, learned, Heaven-guided predecessors, he had preserved and handed down intact. No one was less likely than he to play the part of Judas. Before sitting on the Papal throne, an obedient servant within a monk's modest cell, he had written a work on "The Triumph of the Holy See." There he had not forgotten the rights of "nationalities" while defending the Papal rights. How could he? All rights rest on a common foundation. Listen to the monk's words! 'An unjust conqueror, with all his power, cannot deprive of its rights a nation unjustly conquered. By force he may enslave it, overturn its tribunals, kill its representatives; but never can he, without its consent, formal or tacit, deprive it of its original rights relative to these magistracies to these tribunals, that is to say, of its sovereignty.'² Not otherwise spoke Gregory, the Pope. Is there

¹ Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 133.

² Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 132.

a Pope to come that shall speak otherwise? No! The "liberals" of to-day, Catholic or revolutionary, may quibble, scheme, perorate, rave, but to the invasion of the unjust conqueror, Italian, Austrian or French, the Popes will neither formally nor tacitly consent. And without their consent, though force may imprison, overturn, kill boldly, or with the assassin's dagger, the Papacy cannot be deprived of its rights of sovereignty.

And how warmly, how courageously, how unitedly the Catholics of the world, hierarchy and laymen, should rally to the support of the Temporal Power of the Papacy! "The strength of the enemies of religion is in the feebleness of honest men," said a simple and clear-seeing Trasteverino during the revolution of 1849. Was there ever truth told in simpler, wiser words? The enemies of religion will defy God, glorify the devil, stiletto prelate and peasant, in the effort to annihilate Faith and its defender, while honest feebleness argues how it may stand from under, and let down gently, that Papacy which Donoso Cortes eloquently, rightly called "the dome of the edifice of European civilization." Under the dome of the sovereign Papacy must all civilization gather. For there is but one true civilization—the civilization of the one true Church, under one Head, sovereign with a sovereignty both spiritual and temporal.

THE ENCYCLICAL "*RERUM NOVARUM*."

THE judgment of the world has already ranked the Encyclical "*Rerum Novarum*" among the most momentous utterances not only of Leo XIII., but of all the occupants of the Chair of Peter. It deals with the weightiest social problem now engaging the attention of mankind, a problem intimately concerning every class of people in every civilized community. Truly does the Holy Father say :

"At this moment, the condition of the working population is the question of the hour ; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably decided." He brings to its discussion his vast learning, his broad statesmanship, his long observation of contemporary social movements, and withal, the spirit of the Good Shepherd who has said to him : "Feed my lambs ; feed my sheep." Thoughtful men everywhere, irrespective of creed, acknowledge that he has struck the only chord that can bring forth harmony from a question which to many has seemed fraught with hopeless and universal discord.

The problem bristles with practical questions on which even Catholics have differed and have freely taken opposite sides. Although with most delicate consideration for the convictions and sensibilities of all, the Pope does not hesitate to state his own conclusions clearly and positively. He does not, indeed, issue an *ex cathedra* definition on any point ; still it is as Pastor of the Universal Church that he speaks, and his teaching is vested with an august authority which will be sure to meet loyal docility from all faithful Catholics, and thus put an end to controversies which have unprofitably divided their counsels and their endeavors.

The Holy Father does not hesitate to declare that in the economic systems now prevailing there are conditions which are contrary not only to charity but to justice. And he declares that for these conditions "some remedy must be found, and found quickly." In so asserting, he is faced by the doctrine of "*laissez-faire*" which has been everywhere prevalent since the days of Adam Smith. But this doctrine, while to some degree justifiable as a reaction against the extreme governmental interference and control which had existed under the old "mercantile system" of economics, has proved itself to be equally an extreme in the opposite direction of individualism, and to be equally irreconcilable with sound social principles and with true social well-being. He declares that things

can no longer be left to adjust themselves, and that all influences must now co-operate to bring about a juster equilibrium.

And first he tests the method of adjustment proposed by socialism, and proves it to be not only inefficient but destructive, tending to aggravate the very evils which it pretends to cure.

Here the Holy Father will doubtless be charged by one or another class of socialists with having misunderstood or misrepresented their tenets. It is true, indeed, that there are various species of socialism, as of almost every other form of error. Viewed in regard to economic principles, there is *communism*, which vests the ownership of all things in the community and divides to each individual *according to his needs*; and *collectivism*, which vests in the community the ownership of the land and of instruments of labor, and gives to each individual *according to his work*. From the stand-point of political forms, it divides off into *centralism*, which would place the economic administration of a country under one central authority; *federalism*, which would make each local community independent, yet unite them by federal relations; and *anarchism*, which, looking upon all governmental combination as a meddlesome, costly, and oppressive evil, rejects even the bond of federation and would make each community an independent whole. Finally, as to methods of action, there is *revolutionary* socialism, which would bring about a readjustment by violently throwing the present state of things into chaos; and *political* socialism which would accomplish its results gradually by legislative changes.

With the differences in these various forms of socialism, the Holy Father is well acquainted. But instead of following them through the subtleties of their disagreements, he strikes them in the vital points in which they all agree or to which they logically lead. These are, the denial of the right of individual property in land, and the substitution of public authority for individual initiative and for domestic society, in their own proper spheres.

As to the first, he pictures beautifully the relationship established between man and the land on which he spends his labor and his skill; or the land which he has received in exchange for the money that represents his labor and his skill, and which he may pay another for tilling in his stead. He shows how, by division of avocations, and by the control of "the laws of individual peoples," private ownership may be perfectly reconciled with the public good. And he appeals to "the common opinion of mankind," which finds the foundations of this right in the law of nature, and has sanctioned it by the practice of all ages.

Carping critics have here alleged that the Pope errs in supposing that individual ownership of land has in all ages existed among all peoples, whereas history proves the contrary. But im-

partial readers will easily see that the Holy Father makes no such mistake ; that he draws a clear distinction between *the principle* of private ownership and *the fact* of private ownership ; that in the social systems of every age he finds the principle expressly recognized or implicitly involved, and in their tendency a constant advance towards the fact " as being pre-eminently in conformity with human nature, and as conducing in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquility of human life." In other words, it is both a result of advancing civilization and a means to its further and further advancement, and therefore has its foundations in human nature itself. When a people is in a wild, nomad state, land is always held in common ; as it settles into a normal social organization, individual ownership for a term of years is established, and the term grows longer as the social system becomes more stable ; when fully civilized, the capabilities of the individual citizen assert themselves more strongly and demand fuller trust and independence, his rights grow with his capabilities, and full ownership of land by individuals becomes the universal rule. This tendency is in the very nature of things, and thus the Holy Father's appeal to the facts of all ages is absolutely correct.

Some again have objected that, in placing the foundations of private ownership of land in nature itself, the Pope has forgotten that, in point of fact, all private ownership of land has come from the public authority and remains subject to it. But, again, it is gratuitous to suppose any such oversight on the part of the Holy Father. On the contrary, in the fact of private ownership he clearly asserts the two factors. He says "the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and by the laws of individual peoples."

We have in the development of our own country a striking illustration of the combination of these two factors in the origin and the nature of private ownership of land. When the Cabots took possession of our Atlantic coast in the sixteenth century, they did so in the name of England, and the world recognized England's claim. Had they attempted to take possession of it, or of any part of it, in their own individual name, the world would have laughed at their presumption. England gave charters to colonies or grants to proprietors, reserving a suzerainty over the whole. When this suzerainty was cast off by the Declaration of Independence and the treaty of peace, a hot controversy arose as to the proprietorship of the immense territory lying westward from the Atlantic States. Finally it was agreed that this territory belonged not to any individual State, but to the United States. Nearly all of that vast expanse is now in the hands of individual

owners; but not an inch of it is owned save by and under the authority of the United States.

This much as to the origin of private ownership. Now as to its limits. No one would assert for a moment that private ownership is absolute and without limits. Not only do all recognize the State's right of eminent domain, and its right to tax the land for the support of the government and for the establishment and maintenance of poor-houses, asylums, schools, and other institutions of public necessity, but all acknowledge the right and even assert the duty of the government to hinder individuals from using their land in a manner that would be detrimental to the public weal.

The just conciliation of these two sets of rights, the public and the private, secures both public order and private prosperity. From insisting too exclusively on the one or on the other, have arisen most of the controversies which have been wasting time and exciting minds needlessly and fruitlessly. The principles plainly stated or clearly intimated by the Holy Father will go far towards clearing up this important subject.

In the second place, he proves that socialism, by subjecting individual energies to the dictation of the despotic social organization at which it aims, by hindering the laborer from investing his savings in the way which he knows to be best for the permanent utility of his family, and especially by substituting the civil power for parental authority in the regulation of the household, "would injure those whom it is intended to benefit, would be contrary to the natural rights of mankind, would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth," and instead of elevating the laboring classes, "would in reality be the leveling down of all to the same condition of misery and dishonor."

The views of the Holy Father in regard to socialism are strikingly corroborated by a recent article of Herbert Spencer in which he proves that, could socialism be established, its inevitable result would be to hinder personal initiative, to stamp out energy, and to lead the working classes "from freedom to bondage."

Having shown how delusive is the remedy offered by socialism, the Holy Father proceeds to set forth the true remedy for the social evils of the day. When the Encyclical was announced as forthcoming, there were many who sneeringly predicted that it would be simply the pious and unpractical production of a mediæval theologian, preaching charity and resignation on the one hand and recommending a utopian theocracy on the other. Nothing could be farther from the truth. He speaks indeed of charity and resignation, giving motives which conduce powerfully to both; but he

speaks no less forcibly of equity and justice, of tyranny and retribution. He shows the indispensable need of the Church's influence; but he shows no less clearly the need of the strong arm of civil authority and the tough shield of judicious organization for self-defence. He writes indeed with the enlightened wisdom of a true theologian; but not less with the clear broad-mindedness of a philosopher and the practical acumen of a keen political economist.

He begins by casting aside the theories both of the optimist, who promises an existence entirely freed from social ills, and of the pessimist, who sees only a gloomy struggle for existence with class arrayed against class in hopeless hostility. He shows that the former is mistaken, because men, though equal in the essentials of humanity, are born and must continue to be born unequal in talents, strength and energy, whence inequality of fortunes must inevitably result; because labor is unavoidable, and labor will always be distasteful, hard and exhausting; because sickness and death cannot be evaded, bringing suffering and bereavement in their train the wide world over. He shows that the pessimist is equally wrong, because inequalities, far from being an evil in themselves, are a necessary condition for the development of human energies and the working out of human progress, and because, if truth and justice and charity be observed, as they can and ought to be, there is no good reason why the various classes of society should not, like the various members of the human body, act together in unity and harmony.

The attainment of this result must, however, he clearly shows, depend primarily and chiefly on the influence of religion and the action of the Church of Christ. She alone supplies the moral principles and the spiritual power without which the solution is simply impossible. Many an earnest thinker has wrought out the same conclusion, even from an opposite starting point. Years ago, John C. Calhoun exhausted all the powers of his strong and penetrating logic in the endeavor to devise a system of political balances and checks which would protect the rights of a minority against the power of a majority. After working out the problem with mathematical closeness to the very end, he closes the essay by acknowledging that no combination is possible which would make right fully secure against might. It is precisely what Leo XIII. insists upon. With the dynamic powers of checks and balances, must be blended the religious convictions, the moral principles, and the spiritual power, which the Prince of Peace imparts through His Church, or social reformers must strive in vain.

In the name, therefore, of Christ and His Religion, the Holy Father strikes down with one blow that horrible perversion of

humanity which, both as to employers and as to the employed, has been the very foundation of the system of economics taught, and so long and disastrously acted on, by the Manchester school and by the whole tribe of "*laissez-faire*" political economists. Their fundamental notion is "the economic man," who, as employer, is, according to their own definition, "a money-making animal," "a being influenced by two motives only—to acquire wealth and to avoid exertion," and who, as employee, is, in the Pope's energetic words, "a chattel to make money by. . . . merely so much muscle or physical power." Against such a definition of man, such a description of the two classes into which human society is necessarily divided, the Vicar of Christ enters an indignant protest, in the name both of reason and of religion. Together with this execrable foundation, he repudiates the whole system of economics that has been reared upon it—that huge system of egotism, which openly teaches that its sole motive-power is self-interest, and which, sternly consistent with itself, grinds out with calm indifference its awful results of prosperous heartlessness and degraded or wrathful wretchedness.

In that condition of things Herbert Spencer is willing that the world should abide, because, forsooth, by virtue of "the survival of the fittest," he fancies that a better condition of things must grind itself out in the future. From it John Stuart Mill took refuge in socialism, common ownership of land and equal distribution of its products. And why this extreme? Because he knew no God, and therefore looked forward to human society without God—a world in which conscience and moral principle would be null, in which, therefore, there would be no real rights and no real duties, and in which, consequently, police regulation, the only preservative of life in the fatalistic struggle, must take hold of the entire social organization and drill it into communism!

From both these extremes, the one as false and as repulsive as the other, and both of them the logical alternatives of a world without God, the Holy Father leads to a true solution, of a world with God—humanity seen in the light of God, human passions controlled by the law of God, human energies directed by the will of God, human relations chastened by the love of God, and human conditions sweetened and beautified by the life and spirit of the God-man. Christendom was the first organization of human society on sound principles in the path of true civilization, and Christendom the world must continue to be, and must more and more perfectly become unto the end, if God's plan, which is the only plan of human welfare, is to be wrought out. And wrought out it shall be, notwithstanding the temporary set-back of the epoch now drawing to a close—the epoch whose resistance to God and his Christ has

strewn the world with such wreck of humanity. For let it not be imagined, says the Holy Father, as some foolishly assert, that the aim of the Church is only the other world. On the contrary, she seeks the welfare of mankind in their earthly dwelling-place as well as in their eternal home; the decency, comfort and prosperity of their sojourn here as well as the bliss of their hereafter, and she proves in all the history of Christian civilization how truly St. Paul says that "piety is useful unto all things, having the promise both of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

But, human nature and human passions and human life being what they are, religious convictions and moral influences would not, by themselves, suffice to regulate human actions and secure justice. For this, civil authority must co-operate with the Divine authority, the human law with the law of God. In the next place, therefore, the Holy Father shows the part which the state must take in effecting sound social adjustments.

Here, again, he is met not only by the "*laissez-faire*" economists, who wish the State to keep its hands off their own sweet liberty and their own loudly-asserted rights, but even by many devout Catholics, who, either through exaggerated apprehensions of the godlessness of the State, or through well-founded indignation at excesses perpetrated against religion by existing governments, have formulated a theory of absolute non-intervention in social questions as the only safe policy to hold the State to. Only the other day the Catholic Congress of Angers formulated resolutions in this sense, in opposition to the resolutions demanding State intervention which had just previously been passed by the Catholic Congress at Liège. Gently and considerately, but firmly, the Holy Father solves the dispute by declaring unequivocally in favor of wisely-regulated State intervention.

The non-intervention party have been used to say that the State is only a *gendarme*; and in our own country we have often heard it asserted by over-extreme Jeffersonians or by over-timid Christians that civil authority must be strictly kept within the limits of police duty. Not such the teaching of Leo XIII. He shows that the field of governmental responsibility is a very wide one.

"The first duty, therefore, of the rulers of the State should be to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, shall be such as to produce of themselves public well-being and private prosperity. This is the proper office of wise statesmanship and the work of the heads of the State. Now a State chiefly prospers and flourishes by morality, by well-regulated family life, by respect for religion and justice, by the moderation and equal distribution of public bur-

dens, by the progress of the arts and of trade, by the abundant yield of the land—by everything which makes the citizens better and happier. Here, then, it is in the power of a ruler to benefit every order of the State, and amongst the rest to promote in the highest degree the interests of the poor; and this by virtue of his office, and without being exposed to any suspicion of undue interference—for it is the province of the commonwealth to consult for the common good."

Yet that the right of interference has its bounds, he shows very clearly:

"We have said that the State must not absorb the individual or the family; both should be allowed free and untrammelled action as far as is consistent with the common good and the interest of others."

"If the citizens of a State—that is to say, the families—on entering into association and fellowship, experienced at the hands of the State hindrance instead of help, and found their rights attacked instead of being protected, such association were rather to be repudiated than sought after."

"Whenever the general interest or any particular class suffers, or is threatened with, evils *which can in no other way be met*, the public authority must step in to meet them."

Then, after enumerating the several kinds of injustice to which the laboring classes may be subjected:

"In these cases there can be no question that, within certain limits, it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law. The limits must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference—the principle being this—that the law must not undertake more, or go further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the danger."

In regard to legislation which aims at correcting evils and repressing dangers, he utters a warning full of prudence:

"But every precaution should be taken not to violate the rights of individuals and not to make unreasonable regulations under the pretence of public benefit. For laws only bind when they are in accordance with right reason, and therefore with the eternal law of God."

Knowing how prone governments are, once they have taken a matter in hand, to push their control of it farther and farther, he urges that disputes should rather be referred to boards of arbitration formed by employers and workmen themselves. And in regard to such voluntary organizations in general, he gives an advice as wise as it is beautifully expressed:

"Let the State watch over these societies of citizens united together in the exercise of their right; but let it not thrust itself

into their peculiar concerns and their organization; for things move and live by the soul within them, and they may be killed by the grasp of a hand from without."

The Holy Father's treatment of this delicate and important question is an admirable illustration both of the philosophic breadth of his principles and of his conservative caution in their application to existing conditions. He shows how firm is his grasp on all that is true both in the theory which would extend governmental prerogatives to the utmost and in that which would hold them within the narrowest limits. Both theories have in them much that is right, and each of them is apt to err by being one-sided and extreme. He takes the middle ground and holds the balance with just equilibrium.

And to emphasize still more forcibly the measure of truth which lies on the one side and on the other, he states in terms of unmistakable clearness the end and purpose of governments:

"The safety of the commonwealth is not only the first law, but it is a government's whole reason of existence. . . . The object of the administration of the State should be, not the advantage of the ruler, but the benefit of those over whom he rules."

The domain of governmental rights and duties in general being thus sufficiently determined, he next inquires what ought to be the attitude and the action of the State towards the poor and the working classes. Concerning these important questions, he lays down the following propositions:

First. "To the State the interests of all are equal, whether high or low."

Second. In the body of citizens, the poor "are by far the majority."

Third. In the providing of bodily and external commodities the co-operation of the laboring classes is so important "that it may be truly said that it is only by the labor of the workingman that States grow rich."

Finally, while all rights must be religiously respected, "still, when there is a question of protecting the rights of individuals, the poor and helpless have a claim to special consideration."

From all these reasons he concludes that wage-earners "should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth."

This is a legislative principle of immense importance. How far the course of legislation in our country or any other has thus far been in accordance with it we do not need here to inquire. There is something startlingly suggestive of sad and serious reflection in the picture of the world from this standpoint which the Holy Father sketches in these few pregnant lines:

"On the one side there is the party which holds the power be-

cause it holds the wealth ; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade, which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, and always ready for disturbance."

Yet even when the struggle has to be carried on with such odds as these, our sympathies must not be permitted to warp our judgment. There are rights on both sides, and the balance of justice must be held even. The Holy Father does not for a moment forget that no wrong must be done, even for the attainment of any right ; that should injustice be done to the rich, whatsoever might be the motive, nothing but harm could redound to the commonwealth, and to the laboring classes themselves. Were the rights of property imperilled in regard to the rich, there would be nothing to secure them even in regard to the poor. Were public order to be left at the mercy of the multitude, even when they arise to assert their unquestionable rights, then the strong arm of the law, to which they need to look for aid, would be powerless even in their behalf. Were demagogues left free to stir up the suffering multitudes to outlawry and violence, history tells us on many a bloody page what devastation might be expected at the hands of mob-despotism. Against all these extremes he shows that it is clearly the duty of the State to provide wisely and to guard firmly.

Nor does he at all intimate that the possession of great wealth is necessarily an evil thing or evidence of injustice. This would be to exaggerate the Gospel teaching and to close one's eyes to innumerable facts of experience. He who acquires great wealth by selfish and heartless means, and uses or hoards it for selfish and heartless ends, is a public evil and ought to be dealt with as such. But he who has acquired it by industries and enterprises which are honorable and useful to the public, and who uses it for ends of a similar character, may be not only blameless but highly commendable in the sight of both God and men. As the Holy Father puts it :

"It is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another to have a right to use money as one pleases."

The former cannot be questioned ; the latter cannot be admitted.

"Whoever has received from the Divine bounty a large share of blessings, whether they be external and corporeal or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature, and, at the same time, that he may employ them, as the minister of God's Providence, for the benefit of others."

But experience shows too sadly that the rich are in very great

danger of forgetting this principle, of regarding their wealth as absolutely their own, of believing that they are free to use it as they please. Hence the frequent warnings of Holy Writ about the danger of riches.

Experience also shows that such a disposition in regard to wealth almost inevitably engenders a spirit of hard-heartedness in regard to the condition of the laboring poor by whose exertions it is accumulated. Hence the outcry all the world over that the condition of the laboring poor stands sorely in need of amelioration, and that since facts prove that the wealthy cannot be trusted to see to it themselves, then it must be accomplished by organized endeavor on the part of the laboring classes, and, where this falls short, by legislative enactments prompted by humanity and justice.

Among the matters of this kind which the Holy Father urges upon the attention of governments, and towards which it is gratifying to notice that the attention of nearly all the governments in Christendom is now being directed, there are two on which he dwells especially, the observance of Sunday and the question of wages.

In the name both of religion and of humanity, he insists that industrial greed should not be permitted to encroach on that repose from labor which both the law of nature and the law of God demand that the laborer should have one day in seven. He is careful to add this important warning, the need of which becomes, alas, steadily greater in our own country :

"This rest from labor is not to be understood as mere idleness; much less must it be an occasion of spending money and of vicious excess, as many would desire it to be; but it should be rest from labor, consecrated by religion."

As to the question of wages, he had said in an earlier part of the Encyclical :

"Doubtless, before we can decide whether wages are adequate, many things have to be considered; but rich men and masters should remember this: that to exercise pressure for the sake of gain upon the indigent and the destitute, and to make one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine."

At this stage of the argument, therefore, he repudiates, as utterly inadmissible, the theory too commonly held by the hitherto prevalent school of political economy, that wages are a matter of absolutely free agreement between capital and labor. He goes on to show that there might be agreements about wages which it would not only be a crime for capital to impose, but even a crime for

labor to accept. The following lines demand careful and most serious consideration :

" The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live, and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work and wages.

" Let it be granted, then, that, as a rule, workman and employer should make free agreements, and, in particular, should freely agree as to wages ; nevertheless, there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If, through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or a contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice."

This enunciation of the regulative principle of wages is one of the most striking and important propositions in all this remarkable Encyclical. It cuts with trenchant force the knot of a difficulty which has occasioned controversies innumerable, not only among political economists but even among Christian moralists. How far the relation of wages to the cost of living is a matter of justice, and at what point it ceases to belong to justice and becomes a matter of charity, is a question on which writers of respectability have seriously differed. The declaration of the Holy Father, that justice demands that wages shall be sufficient to support the laborer in frugal comfort, is startlingly decisive.

But he goes further still. He refers to other "dictates of nature" no less imperative. To the laborer's self, he adds his wife and his children. In treating the first part of his subject he had laid down the principle that

" It is indisputable that all are at full liberty either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity or to enter into the bonds of marriage."

To this he had added the correlative principle :

" It is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessities for those whom he has begotten."

Now, therefore, in treating the question of wages, without further argument and as a matter of course, he merges the support of these dependent beings with the support of the workman himself, and supposes wages to be sufficient "to enable him to maintain himself, his wife and his children in reasonable comfort."

Here there will doubtless still be found room for controversy as to whether the Holy Father extends the obligation of justice so far as this. It is not my place to attempt to settle the question. But it is well to remark that the Holy Father, in taking as the basis

of solution "what is required in order to live," is not speaking of the "economic man" of the school of Manchester and Malthus, but of man such as all the world knows him, with all his natural instincts, needs and obligations. Now, such a man will, as a rule, be married before twenty-five. It is best for himself and for the community that he should be. As a rule, he will have three or four children to feed and clothe and educate, before the oldest of them will be able to help in the support of the family. Nature evidently demands that in calculating "what is required in order to live," this all-important fact should not be overlooked.

The Holy Father never loses sight of the fact that, in the practical determination of figures, circumstances of places and persons, of industries and values, must be carefully taken into consideration. Hence he does not venture beyond the presentation of general principles. But it is by these that just solutions must in all local or individual cases be decided. And what he, above all, insists upon is, that neither labor nor the laborer must be degraded from the dignity with which nature and God have invested them. The laborer is a child of God, and must not be turned into "a mere instrument for making money." Labor has been ennobled in the life of "the Carpenter of Nazareth," and it must not be turned into a condition of misery or the badge of a degraded class. Every human being who is not to be a parasite on humanity is expected to labor in some way for the common good, and is entitled in return, to a support suitable to his work and to the station in which nature, together with his merit or the merit of his family, has placed him. This is the simple equity of the law of nature. The Pope has said no more, and neither he nor nature can be satisfied with less.

Wages must, of course, largely depend upon values. The greater the value produced by a day's work, the larger ought to be the wages paid for it. But value or price is largely at the mercy of competitive production; and experience shows that when competition runs high, producers will endeavor to undersell their competitors by underpaying their employees. This forces other employers to do the same. The workers then seek to protect their rights by strikes. But the employers answer, very naturally, that they are forced to lower wages by the action of competitive producers; that they must keep wages low or go out of business; that the only way to restore wages to a proper level is to hinder and reverse the action of those who initiate the system of ruinous competition and unjust wages. It is at the root and beginning, that the evil must be stopped, else either the whole class of producers are forced into the same manner of action, or they must retire from the field of industry and leave the monopoly of pro-

duction in the hands of those who least deserve to hold it. In this argumentation there is unquestionably much truth. It is the only argument that all will accept in favor of a system of protection, which, then is equivalent to boycotting those who offer goods at unfairly low prices by paying unfairly low wages for their production.

But, while it is manifest that every country ought in this way to protect its own producers and its own workers against unfair competition, the cure of the evil will not be reached till international agreements of the kind are arrived at. The public morality of Christian civilization renders it imperative that "starvation wages" should not be tolerated anywhere. Each country is bound to see to this within its own limits; and should any nation be delinquent, and thus generate ruinous competition from which the people of other nations must suffer, then there ought to be international compacts and sanctions to correct the evil at its source. The civilization of our day is characterized by international congresses which have brought about governmental agreements on various practical points, greatly to the convenience of human intercourse. It is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when a congress of all civilized governments will be held to arrive at international agreements about economic conditions, and especially about the question of wages. Such is the aim of our great world-bishop, the head of the only world-wide organization on earth. May it ere long be realized.

Meanwhile, strikes, boards of arbitration, and national legislation, are the only available means for bringing about proper adjustments. But strikes, while often justifiable, are commonly liable to abuses of many kinds, and frequently redound to the greater injury of the workers themselves. Hence, the Pope is naturally anxious that safer means, and especially judicious legislation, should be resorted to, in order to remove causes of just complaint, and thus render strikes unnecessary. It is a conviction to which, after the experience of recent years, people are coming in nearly every country of the world; and it may well be hoped that the forcibly expressed desire of the Holy Father, so entirely coinciding with the wish of lovers of justice and good order everywhere, will powerfully conduce to bring popular sentiment and governmental action on the subject to a speedy focus.

This part of his subject is closed by a paragraph full of practical sagacity, in which he urges on governments the advisableness of encouraging and aiding the working classes to become property-holders. This supposes economy and sobriety on their part, which ought in every way to be fostered for their good and for the public welfare; it elevates the worker; it breaks down the odious walls of

caste ; it diffuses popular contentment, and binds all classes to their country with bonds of more loyal devotedness. Thus, he reaches again the conclusion arrived at, in his refutation of socialism, that what the working classes need and really desire, and what can alone solidly improve their condition, is not the abolition of private property, but its general acquisition. This is precisely the conclusion wrought out by Mr. Rae in his "Contemporary Socialism." Hence, his practical corollary, identical with that of the Holy Father :

"Then the business of social reform at present ought to be to facilitate the acquisition of private property ; to multiply the opportunities of industrial investment open to the laboring classes, and to devise means for credit, for saving, for insurance, and the like."

It is comforting to learn from our latest census returns that such is the condition of things really developing in this country. The proportion of the population holding property, whether in land, in savings-bank deposits, in building associations, in business, or industrial enterprises, in insurance policies, or in whatever other form, seems to be steadily on the increase. We are yet far from a Utopian condition ; there yet remains much to be remedied and improved ; but facts show that the endeavor can be made in hopefulness and not in despair.

After thus fully treating of the part which the Church and the State must take in remedying social and economic evils, the Holy Father dwells at considerable length on the part which working-men themselves must have in bringing about the result through the potent instrumentality of judicious association. In former times, he says, this end was attained by the Artificers' Guilds then existing. But their methods, he recognizes, could not be effective now. Forms of association must grow from existing social conditions and be conformable to them. The Guilds passed away with the conditions which engendered them. Associations must now take shape and methods from the social conditions now existing. Thus, the Holy Father shows the absurdity of the oft-repeated charge that the Church would, if she could, recast everything in a mediæval mould.

He then goes on to assert and to prove, more strongly perhaps than any Pope has ever done, the inalienable right of association for the attainment of all lawful ends. He bases this right on the same natural principle which is the foundation of civil society itself, and declares that no State has a right to prohibit it.

Under this right, however, associations must not be allowed to take refuge, which are contrary to morality, religion, or equity in

their aims or methods or plan of organization. Such they are, he shows, "when they are in the hands of invisible leaders; when they are managed on principles incompatible with Christianity and the public well-being; and when they do their best to get into their hands the whole field of labor, and to force workmen either to join them or starve." He shows that, to a conscientious workman, membership in such an association becomes a galling enslavement, from which he would gladly escape if he dared to do so. The escape must be given him in governmental repression of such abuses, as incompatible with the public good, and in the determination of workmen to cast off such thralldom, and to form associations in which they can retain their freedom, their conscience, and their self-respect. On this latter course, the more manly and Christian one, the Holy Father especially insists; and he goes on to show how, while aiming at economic justice, they should safeguard their own interests without detriment to the rights and interests of others, and should, above all, foster among themselves that spirit of Christian morality and religion which is the only sure foundation of social welfare.

He gives special approval and blessing to those zealous Christians and true lovers of their country and of humanity who, in various parts of the world, have come together to study these social problems in the light of history and of Christianity, and to further such action, on the part of governments and of the working classes themselves, as best seems to promise remedy for existing ills. He foretells that such endeavors are sure to redound to beneficial results.

"Such mutual associations among Catholics are certain to be productive, in no small degree, of prosperity to the State. It is not rash to conjecture the future from the past. Age gives way to age, but the events of one century are wonderfully like those of another, for they are directed by the Providence of God, who over-rules the course of history in accordance with His purposes in creating the race of man."

It is indeed a comfort to be reminded that not the Demon of Gold but the Almighty Father of the human race holds the helm of things, and that however far from His way the march of events and the tendencies of human endeavor may sometimes seem to have strayed, gently and hiddenly, but surely, His plan is certain to be worked out at last, and His plan is all for his creatures' good. The whining of those who seem to believe that not God but the Devil guides the course of history,—and such seems to be the conviction of some very good people everywhere,—does no good at all. It only serves to discourage zeal, and to excite contempt for religion in practical men. Happily, there is nothing of

the sort in this great Encyclical. It is a bugle-blast of hope, a bugle-call to energetic action. It is in sympathy with the demand for social reform everywhere heard, and the generous efforts in that direction everywhere noticeable. It will put new courage into all men who believe that religion ought to be the chief factor in the great movement, and it supplies them with many wise principles for their guidance. Future generations will look back to it and bless it, and bless the great Pope whose teachings it so worthily crowns.

THE MYSTERY OF CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE.

Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν.—Eph. v., 32.

“**M**ARRIAGE a mystery!” exclaimed the flippant Erasmus. “What is there mysterious in so ordinary a thing as the union of a male to a female?”¹ “As matrimony has existed since the beginning of the world,” says Martin Luther, “and still continues in use amongst the heathen, there is no foundation for the belief that it is a sacrament of the New Law and the exclusive property of the Church. For the marriages of the patriarchs were as holy as ours, and the marriages of unbelievers are no less valid than are those of the faithful; yet they are not supposed to be sacraments.”²

John Calvin, too, added his surly growl to swell the chorus by proclaiming that marriage was no more sacramental than “house-building, farming, shoe-making or barbering.”³

Thus did the great and holy Reformers tear the mask off one more of Rome’s mummeries. For ages had the Pope of Rome deluded an ignorant world into believing that the conjugal union of a Christian man and woman was an awful mystery surrounded and instinct with supernatural grace and dignity. But no popish

¹ Apud Bellarm. De Sac. Mat., c. ii.

² “Cum matrimonium fuerit ab initio mundi, et apud infideles adhuc permaneat, nullæ subsunt rationes ut sacramentum novæ legis et solius ecclesiæ possit dici. Non minus enim erant matrimonia patrum sancta quam nostra, nec minus vera infidelium quam fidelium; nec tamen in eis ponunt sacramentum.”—De Captiv. Babl. Eccles.

³ “Et agricultura, architectura, sutrina, tonstrina ordinationes sunt Dei legitimæ, nec tamen Sacramenta sunt.”

trick could beguile an Erasmus or a Luther or a Calvin, men who claimed the right of examining mysteries in the bright light of their own reason.

Many years ago, when the present writer was a very small boy, he received a kaleidoscope as a Christmas gift from the good St. Nicholas. Hour after hour passed by as he gazed in ecstasy at the endless panorama of gorgeous colors and symmetrical forms revolving before his eyes; but finally the novelty of the thing having worn away, his Yankee instinct of irreverent curiosity gained the upper hand and he broke the magic toy "to see what it was all made of." Alas! he found only a few pieces of broken glass. That little instrument which the genius of Sir David Brewster had sublimated into a thing of surpassing beauty lay before him irreparably ruined, fit only to be swept away with the other rubbish of the nursery. We lost our kaleidoscope, but we gained a valuable lesson in practical philosophy which has often since stood us in great stead.

For what had Sir David done but put into the hands of children a philosophic toy which exhibited in miniature the workings of our Almighty Creator, of Him who with a handful of unsightly elements produces the endless phenomena of the universe? And whenever in our attempts to penetrate the veil and reach to the essence of things we disfigure this beautiful creation, when we destroy the color of the rose and the lustre of the diamond is it proper that we should conclude that color is a deception and light nothing but a fraud? Is God then to be adored simply as the Creator of oxygen and carbon, and not equally as the framer of those mysterious laws which out of a few simple elements have built up a glorious world? In opposition to the impious iconoclasm of the reformers, the Catholic continues to cry out with St. Paul: "*Great is this mystery*" of Christian matrimony! Great "*in Christ and in His Church!*"

Nor are we alone in proclaiming that marriage underwent a mysterious, sacramental change under the transforming hand of Christ. The whole world confesses and every child can see that there is an immense difference between marriage *in Christ and in His Church* and the polygamous alliances of the patriarchs of old or the unstable unions of the heathen. To deny that our Lord Jesus thoroughly reformed and transformed, sealed and sanctified the conjugal bond is to rob Him of the glory of one of the divinest miracles He wrought. At Cana of Galilee He worked a stupendous miracle which revolutionized human society; He changed water into wine! We do not refer to that transubstantiation of the material element which He effected at His mother's request. We regard this with St. Epiphanius¹ as a mere symbol

¹ Haeresis, 51, c. 30.

of the far more important change which He had in contemplation with respect to that institution which forms the corner-stone of the social fabric of mankind.

We are in the habit of speaking of *the* Epiphany of our Lord, as though there were but one. But Holy Church reminds us in her sublime anthem on the 6th of January that there were *three* Epiphanies, that is, our Saviour was on three several occasions manifested to the world, and each time in a new character. His first Epiphany was in His office of Enlightener of the intellect. After thirty years of seclusion He reappeared in the waters of the Jordan as the Giver of sanctity. His third Epiphany was at the wedding feast where He appeared as the Reformer of society. And badly did society need a reformation. Our surprise at beholding our Lord opening His public career amidst the rout and tumult of a wedding is increased by noticing how mysteriously He speaks and acts. He seems to be absorbed by anxious thoughts; and those thoughts and anxieties are evidently quite different from the motherly solitudes of Mary, to whom He makes the strange answer (speaking as if roused from a deep reverie); *Quid mihi et tibi est mulier? Nondum venit hora mea.*" Certainly at that moment the minds of Jesus and of Mary were engrossed by very different concerns,—Mary's full of compassion at the embarrassment of her hosts, our Lord's filled with grief as He contemplated the utter degradation into which the lusts of men had dragged a sacred institution. Upon His mother's insistence, He granted her the favor which she sought. It was a slight miracle to the Almighty One, and was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye. The time for achieving the greater transformation had not yet come; it was to be the toilsome work of many a century. Hence not idly is it stated in Holy Writ that not only Mary and Her Divine Son were present at this wedding, but *His disciples also*; for, no heavier task was about to be imposed on St. Peter and his venerable colleagues than the conversion of Jewish and Pagan into Christian marriages and the preservation of the state, when sanctified, against the brutal lusts of barbarians and the blasphemous sneers of the Luthers and Calvins. For nineteen centuries this has been the mighty work of every Christian priest, from the Vicar of Christ to the humblest missionary among wild nomads; and difficult it is to determine which has the harder task, whether the Pope who has to deal with a Henry VIII. or the missionary who has to teach the savage that men must not live like the lower animals. The doctrine which, incomparably more than any other, has christianized and civilized human society has been this of the inviolable and mysterious sanctity of matrimony. The wildest Indian who roves the plains is metamorphosed into a civilized man

directly he has mastered this vital doctrine, or rather directly the doctrine has mastered him. That society, on the other hand, be it ever so goodly to the eye, is rotten at the core and is relapsing into barbarism which is no longer founded upon Christian matrimony, one and inseparable.

It is not our intention to follow up the wild vagaries of modern theorists on marriage, or to undertake a needless defence of the Catholic doctrine. This article of the teachings of Holy Church is, beyond all others, *justified in itself*. It has been deemed, however, that a plain exposition of the Catholic position on the subject may be of interest and benefit to many who have not made a systematic study of Catholic theology.

I. Marriage, in the creed and general practice of the Roman Catholic Church, differs from all other marriages in a three-fold respect. First, it is absolutely indissoluble save by death. Secondly, it is essentially religious and sacramental. Thirdly, and as a logical consequence of its sacred character, it is subject to the supervision and legislative authority of the Church. These three characteristics of Catholic matrimony are so intimately bound up together that they may justly be said to be *one*; for, reason and long experience demonstrate that they stand or fall together. Without entering into the scholastic question as to the *matter* and *form* of this sacrament, it is advisable to keep before our eyes the close connection (which St. Augustine seems to have been the first to bring out into strong relief) between the *indissolubility* and the *sacramentality* of Christian matrimony.¹ This connection may be defined to be one of cause and effect, or of the end and the means. The end which our Lord set before Him in the reformation of marriage was to make it conform to the original conception in the mind of the Creator, the inseparable union of one man and one woman. The means which His wisdom devised to the attainment of this end was the fortifying of the unsteady human will with supernatural grace. Having thus sanctified and fortified the marriage state, He committed it to the custody of His Church, together with the other sacred ordinances of His religion. This is the sense in which we understand St. Augustine's often repeated dictum, that the *bonum sacramenti* of Christian matrimony is its indissoluble bond.

II. It is surely unnecessary to waste many words in demonstrating that it was the fixed resolve of Christ to sweep away polygamy and divorce from the face of the earth. With the single exception of

¹ The circumstance that this word *sacramentality* has not yet made its appearance on the page of any English dictionary simply indicates that our lexicographers have not been Catholics, and consequently have felt no need of the term. We ought to have no scruple in employing a word which has the sanction of good Catholic usage.

the Holy Eucharist, there is no point of doctrine so forcibly or so frequently inculcated in the New Testament as the unity and indissolubility of matrimony. In addition to the texts of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, we have the vigorous utterances of St. Paul, and these passages are so well-known that we need not repeat them here. Those, however, whose first impulse it is, in discussing a question, to raise objections, may inquire how we reconcile the received doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church with the famous passage, Matt. xix., 9, which, it may be claimed, permits a dissolution of the marital bond in case of adultery. We shall limit ourselves to remarking: 1st. That there is no intimation in the alleged text that adultery dissolves the bond. It is merely stated that fornication is a sufficient ground for *putting away* the wife, which the Roman Catholic Church has always maintained. The unfaithful spouse forfeits every *right* which he had acquired by marriage, but his sin does not release him from any of his *obligations*. He is now thrown completely upon the mercy of the offended consort, who may either condone the infidelity or separate from the culprit eternally, nor is it in the power of Church or State to force a renewal of the conjugal relations against the will of the outraged party. Nay, it has at times been held that a condoning of adultery is a virtual participation in the crime. Hence, the immense difference between separation on account of adultery and separation for any other reason. Adultery is the only cause which can justify a final and permanent *putting away*. All other reasons may give rise to temporary suspensions of the conjugal relation, but the suspension ceases upon the cessation of the cause. If the wife become deranged in mind, the husband will commit her to an asylum; but this is not *putting her away*, for his heart goes with her, and his sympathy with her in her affliction but increases his affection. If on account of "incompatible tempers" they break up house and go back to their respective mothers, their childishness does not dissolve the vinculum. Sober reflection, the exhortations of friends and the ghostly admonitions of their pastor will sooner or later induce them to come together again and have sense. The Church, therefore, is in perfect accord with our Saviour in teaching that fornication is the only cause which can justify the *putting away* of a spouse, and that the wife who is thus put away is still a wife, so that she must "*remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband*" (1 Cor. vii., 11). "*Whilst her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress, if she be with another man*" (Rom. vii. 3); "*and he that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery*" (Matt. xix., 9). The clause in St. Matthew, therefore, does not in the

least mitigate the precise and absolute utterances of the other passages of the New Law.¹

2d. We are not, of course, pretending after the fashion of Protestants that we have arrived at certitude in the interpretation of this obscure passage by any superior critical acumen or by a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The law of Christ is not our private property, but the inheritance of the Church; nor has Holy Church been compelled to wait for our judgment before determining with exactness the meaning of our Lord's decree. From the earliest ages the voice of the Church has been clear and unflinching in pronouncing that adultery does not dissolve the marital bond. Without burdening our pages with unnecessary texts from Fathers and Councils, we shall content ourselves with quoting the celebrated passage of the Apostolic Father, Hermas, found in Book second, Commandment fourth, of the "Shepherd." "Permit me," says the writer, to his guardian "angel of repentance," "to ask you a few questions." "Say on," said he. And I said to him, "Sir, if any one has a wife who trusts in the Lord, and if he detect her in adultery, does the man sin if he continue to live with her?" And he said to me, "As long as he remains ignorant of her sin, the husband commits no transgression in living with her. But if the husband know that his wife has gone astray, and if the woman does not repent, but persists in her fornication, and yet the husband continues to live with her, he also is guilty of her crime, and a sharer in her adultery." And I said to him, "What then, sir, is the husband to do if his wife continues in her vicious practices?" And he said, "The husband should put her away *and remain by himself*. *But if he put away his wife and marry another, he also commits adultery*." And I said to him, "What if the woman put away should repent and wish to return to her husband, shall she not be taken back by her husband?" And he said to me, "Assuredly. If the husband do not take her back he sins, and brings a great sin upon himself, for he ought to take back the sinner who has repented. But not frequently. For there is but one repentance to the servants of God. In case, therefore, that the divorced wife may repent, the husband ought not to marry another, when his wife has been put away. In this

¹ If, with Tischendorf, we drop the *ei* before the *μὴ ἐνι πορνείᾳ* the last vestige of a difficulty will vanish, as the allusion will then be evidently to a concubine. This interpretation of the clause will grow in favor with the gradual acceptance of this emendation of the Greek text. See the *Synopsis Evangelica*, p. 110. It has been objected to this interpretation that the clause would not be germane to the subject-matter, for the question under discussion did not regard concubinage, but marriage. But in any sense the clause was merely parenthetical, and so little affected the general proposition that the other Evangelists omitted it altogether.

matter man and woman are to be treated exactly in the same way."¹

It is worthy of notice that Hermas does not inquire whether the separated parties be free to marry again. He is evidently convinced that they are not. He has doubts as to the propriety of living with an unrepenting adulteress and as to the duty of taking back the sinner if repentant, but no doubt whatsoever as to the continuance of the vinculum. A doctrine introduced thus incidentally comes upon us with much greater force than if it had been made the subject of a formal discussion. The questions which the author put directly to the "Shepherd" were the *quaeriturs* of a theologian; the tacit assumption of the indissolubility of marriage, even in case of adultery, was the unconscious witnessing of a disciple of the Apostles to the primitive faith of the Church. Certainly neither St. Augustine nor St. Thomas nor the Council of Trent has laid down the orthodox tenet with greater precision than this Father who was taught the Law of Christ from the mouth of the Apostles.

3d. The fact that the Eastern churches permit the husband of an adulteress to marry again during the life-time of the divorced woman, instead of weakening, only confirms the Roman position. For the practice is of comparatively late introduction and called forth earnest protests from the Greek Fathers. It is a well established fact that the enforcement of the matrimonial laws of Christ is the office and prerogative of the See of St. Peter. No inferior authority has availed to assert them with any success. The imperial legislation, being the outgrowth of paganism, never adopted the Christian doctrine of matrimony, and as the Greek Church gradually broke away from the Holy See it came more and more under the influence of the civil law, until it finally surrendered the cause of Christ to the State. Nevertheless, the superiority of the Roman doctrine has always remained before the eyes of the Greeks, as it does amongst our Protestant neighbors, as a sublime but unattainable ideal. In the course of the numerous and protracted negotiations for a reunion between the Eastern and Western churches this difference of custom never proved a stumbling-block. The Greeks more than once admitted the Western dogma in theory; but they have always lacked the vigor necessary to enforce it. The solitary objection on dogmatic grounds which we have been able to discover as advanced by any Greek against the Latin interpretation of Matt. xix. is found in the list of accusations drawn up against the Western church by Michael

¹ We give this important passage as translated by the Edinburgh editors. — *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 352.

Caerularius in the eleventh century.¹ But the very fact that this objection was first raised two centuries after the beginning of the Schism, merely evidences the degradation and degeneracy of the separated Greeks. Had the able and learned Photius dared join issue with Rome on the subject, he would have been only too glad to take advantage of so important a weapon ; but he was too well versed in the writings of the ancients and also too sensible of the glaring inconsistency between the faith and the practice of his countrymen to breathe a syllable on so delicate a matter. In later times the Greeks have shown the greatest anxiety to evade any controversy upon the question ; and they do so all the more earnestly because marriage amongst them having passed altogether out of the control of the church into the jurisdiction of the civil power, has become as unstable as it is in Protestant countries. We seek, therefore, no stronger confirmation of the truth of the Roman Catholic doctrine than is afforded by the present condition of marriage in countries which have separated themselves from its communion.²

III. We assume it as placed beyond doubt and controversy that our Lord allowed no dissolution of a marriage *ratum et consummatum*. It is to be observed, also, that He speaks, not as if introducing a new ordinance, but as enforcing a law never abrogated. In this connection we notice a remarkable difference of phraseology between St. Matthew's and St. Mark's narrative of our Saviour's conversation with the Pharisees. According to St. Matthew the Pharisees asked : " Why did Moses *command* to give a bill of divorce and to put away ? " Christ answered : " Because Moses by reason of the hardness of your heart *permitted* you to put away your wives ; but from the beginning it was not so." According to St. Mark (c. x.) our Lord asked : " What did Moses *command* you ? " The Pharisees answered : " Moses *permitted* to write a bill of divorce and to put away." The Mosaic legislation in Deuteronomy xxiv., was, therefore, at once a *command* and a *permission* ; but the command was absolute, whilst the permission was merely passive, extorted by " hardness of heart." The subject-matter of the command, as St. Augustine has observed, was not to put away the wife, but that the wife should *not* be put away without receiving from the husband a formal bill of divorce. It was, says the saint, " In order that the

¹ Hergenroether's Photius, v. iii., p. 823. We mention this because it is sometimes said that the Greeks *never* have objected to the Latin understanding of this passage. It is a case, however, of the exception confirming the rule, for the objection was never insisted upon.

² Read Perrone's remarks on the Greek Church in ch. 4 of the third volume *De Mat. Christ.*

thought of such a writing might moderate the rash anger of him who was getting rid of his wife ; and, therefore, he who sought to interpose a delay in putting away, indicated, as far as he could to hard-hearted men, that he did not wish separation." ¹ That is to say, we ought not to look upon the legislation of Moses as a relaxation of the original law of the unity and indissolubility of matrimony ; much less, as a formal sanction of the custom of divorce. Quite the contrary ; it was the aim of the great law-giver to make divorce difficult and odious. Hence he put a two-fold restriction upon it. He interposed the delay of a legal procedure ; and he decreed (v. 4.) that the divorcing husband should be forever debarred from again taking the divorced woman to wife. All then that the Mosaic Law *commanded* was of a restrictive character ; and the apparent toleration of divorce was merely the sufferance of an evil too inveterate to be at one sweep eradicated. But divorce was no more sanctioned than any of the other enormous evils at which God is said to have winked in times of ignorance (Acts xvii., 30). The marriage in Eden ever remained as the sole type recognized by Heaven and by healthy natural sentiment as the legitimate union of man and woman ; and every deviation whether in the direction of divorce or of polygamy was essentially an evil to be attributed to " hardness of heart " and to be excused only on the plea of ignorance.

IV. It now remains to examine what provision was made by the Incarnate Wisdom to raise marriage from the degradation into which human passions had plunged it and to secure a permanent reform. The law alone had proved lamentably powerless ; and had our Saviour contented Himself with a bare promulgation of the primeval law, He would have accomplished nothing. Nay, He would have left marriage in a worse condition than ever ; for the old evils would have continued and the plea of ignorance could no longer be advanced. Here, if ever, was it necessary that where sin had abounded, grace should more abound. In this degraded institution human weakness clamored for divine aid. Nothing but the infusion of the Blood of Christ could purify the tainted fountain-head of humanity. And that Christ did pour into it the life-giving stream of His grace and bind it closely and mysteriously to His own Divine Person, that He " blessed " and " sanctified " it, and made it His, will not, we presume, be questioned by any one who confesses that He was something more than a mere preacher or law-giver. St. Paul was not making a rhetorical flourish, when he commanded the Christian to be married "*in the Lord.*" He intimated that the contract of matrimony was become

¹ St. Augustine on the Sermon on the Mount, chap. xiv.

an essentially religious matter, intimately bound up with the Christian worship. It belongs no longer to the category of natural things, to be compared with Calvin, to "house-building, farming, barbering or cobbling." "It becomes both men and women who marry," said the martyr Ignatius, "to form their union with the approval of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to God and not after their own lusts."¹ "Where shall we find words enough," cries Tertullian,² "fully to tell the happiness of that marriage which the Church cements, and the Oblation confirms, and the benediction signs and seals?" From the primitive ages of Christianity the marriage ceremony has been regarded as a religious rite: and the marriage state as one of consecration and benediction. The religious feature thoroughly permeates the contract, making it sacred and supernatural. We do not intend to entangle ourselves in polemics, but we wish to draw attention to the peculiar method adopted by a recent Protestant writer in treating this subject.³ His dogmatic prepossessions prevent him from finding in antiquity any foundation for the Catholic teaching that matrimony is a sacrament. Naturally it is not difficult for one who is determined beforehand not to admit the continuity of pure tradition to explain away the clearest evidences. This is, in fact, the main reason of the different results arrived at by Catholic and Protestant scholars. The former come to the study of Scriptures and the Fathers expecting to find them in full accord with the present teaching of the church; the latter just as anxious to discover a discrepancy. When this writer, in his very learned and interesting narrative of the ancient marriage ceremony, comes to speak of the formula of benediction employed, he notices that it is "a form on which it will be seen that the final benediction in the solemnization of matrimony in the English church is framed." We, however, notice that in this as in many other matters, the Anglican Church has left out the very kernel of the benediction, no doubt because too redolent of Romanism. When did any Protestant minister pronounce over the happy couple the following passage of the ancient prayer? "O God, who hast consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery that in it Thou didst typify the Sacrament of Christ and the Church," etc. This formula does not, it is true, state in so many words that matrimony is one of the seven sacraments; but it comes too dangerously close to it to be allowed to stand in a Protestant prayer-book. Indeed the entire patristic phraseology regarding matrimony and its "mystery" and its "consecrations" and its "benedictions" and

¹ To Polycarp, c. 5.

² *Ad uxorem* b. ii., c. 8.

³ Article "Marriage" in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

"Oblations" and "cementings" and "signings and sealings" survives only in its proper seat, the liturgy of the Catholic Church.

V. We propose to devote the remainder of our space to the consideration of the text Eph., v. 32, which stands at the head of our article. Christ fortified marriage with supernatural grace, but does Scripture teach that He raised it to the dignity of a Sacrament? The Catholic will answer that St. Paul teaches it to be a Sacrament and a great one. "Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church. . . . They shall be two in one flesh (*ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν*). This is a great Sacrament. But I speak in Christ and in the Church (*ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*)."

It is the peculiarity of this famous passage that it was considered to be as limpid as water until polemical writers fastened upon it. But during the last few hundred years it has received almost as many different interpretations as the words, "*This is My Body*." There is probably no text in Holy Writ which better illustrates the difference between the Catholic and the Protestant exegesis of Scripture. The Catholic interpretation of the sacred writings grew steadily and quietly. It was not the outgrowth of controversy or excogitated for the purpose of warfare against existing opinions; on the contrary, Scripture was understood in the light of actual belief and practice. In the hands of Protestants, Holy Writ is essentially a weapon of offence against Catholicism. Texts of Scripture have been used as so many engines with which to batter down the traditional doctrine. The Catholic looks upon the Bible as the inheritance of the Church. When he reads it, his first impulse is not to seek therein passages wherewith to confound paganism or heresy, but such as serve to his own edification. This was certainly the method in which St. Paul himself employed the inspired word, for he has found meanings in it which are startling to modern criticism. We cannot, therefore, pretend to have much sympathy with the manner in which a distinguished Catholic expounder of this passage (whom we refrain through reverence from naming) treats the usual orthodox exposition of it. "This passage," he says, "by no means furnishes a *proof* that matrimony is one of the seven sacraments of the New Law. . . . Why adduce a *dubious* passage, at best, like the present, in *proof*," etc. Here is a writer who is evidently demoralized and panic-stricken. He speaks as if Scripture was to be used only as a quarry for polemical texts. Any passage which cannot be employed as a weapon against heresy he seems to regard as useless. Hence his insisting on *proofs*. What does he mean by pronouncing the passage *dubious*? Dubious to whom? Was it dubious to St. Augustine, or to St. Thomas, or to the Fathers of Trent?

Why should we pronounce a passage dubious which the Church, according to the Roman Catechism,¹ "confirmed by the authority of the Apostle," thinks that "nemini dubium esse debet?" When did ever pope, bishop or priest discourse upon Christian marriage without making prominent mention of this "dubious" passage? If it be the writer's meaning that the text is too involved and obscure to convict a heretic of error, this is another and a secondary consideration. One thing is perfectly certain, that the Catholic Church, founding herself upon "the authority of the Apostle," has always understood St. Paul to be referring to the sacramentality of marriage; nor is she likely at this late day to suit her interpretation of the passage to the convenience of polemical writers.

Having taken the pains to examine quite a number of Protestant commentaries on the subject, we are pleased to notice that the longer and deeper the question is investigated, the closer does the general interpretation approximate to that of the Catholic Church. We have noticed also that the commentators approach to the Catholic interpretation in direct proportion to the degree in which they have freed themselves from the baneful influence of the sixteenth century Reformers. This is, of course, to be expected; for it is only by studying the text with the calmness of the ancient Catholic writers that one can arrive at the understanding which prevailed before there were sectarian prejudices to sway the mind. Both Luther and Calvin exhausted the vials of their coarse language upon the "ignorant" and "blundering" Papists for "fabricating a new Sacrament" out of this text, which, they maintained, does not refer to marriage at all.² We will give Calvin's commentary *in extenso*.

"*Arcanum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia.*"

"We cannot avoid admiring the acuteness of the Papists, who conclude from the word mystery (*μυστήριον*) that marriage is one of the seven sacraments, as if they had the power of changing water into wine. They enumerate *seven* sacraments, while Christ has instituted no more than *two*; and to prove that matrimony is one of the seven, they produce this passage. On what grounds? Because the Vulgate has adopted the word *sacramentum* as a translation of the word mystery, which the Apostle uses. As if *sacramentum* did not frequently, among Latin writers, denote *mystery*, or as if *mystery* had not been the word employed by Paul in the same Epistle, when speaking of the calling of the Gentiles. But

¹ Pars. ii., chap. viii., 16.

² See Luther's *Capt. Babyl.*, and Calvin in his *Institutes* and in his *Commentary on Ephesians*. The above text of Calvin is from the latter work.

the present question is : Has marriage been appointed as a sacred symbol of the grace of God to declare and represent to us something spiritual, such as Baptism or the Lord's Supper ? They have no ground for such an assertion, unless it be that they have been deceived by the double signification of a Latin word, or rather by their ignorance of the Greek language. If the simple fact had been observed that the word used by Paul is *mystery*, no mistake would ever have occurred. We see, then, the hammer and anvil with which they fabricated this sacrament. But they have given another proof of their indolence in not attending to the correction which is immediately added : *But I speak concerning Christ and the Church.*¹ He intended to give express warning that no man should understand him as speaking of marriage ; so that his meaning is more fully expressed than if he had uttered the former sentiment without any exception. The *great mystery* is, that Christ breathes into the Church His own life and power. But who would discover here anything like a sacrament ? The blunder arose from the grossest ignorance."

What the Apostle meant to say, then, according to this infallible Pope of Geneva, was to this effect, "They two shall be in one flesh. This is a great mystery. But I speak (not of marriage but) of Christ and the Church."

We shall limit ourselves to making a few remarks on this admirable piece of biblical exegesis. 1. It was neither Pope nor "papist" that translated *μυστήριον* by *sacramentum*. That translation was made in the very "purest" age of the Church, before the time of Tertullian. Hence it is difficult to read with equanimity the tirade of Bloomfield against "the shameful blunder of the Vulgate translator."² One would fancy that this man imagined it was Leo X. who made the translation for the sake of "fabricating" a new popish sacrament.

2. It is ridiculous to deny that St. Paul was pronouncing marriage to be a *μυστήριον*. What else was he speaking of but marriage and *Christian* marriage ? Being ourselves Americans, we blush for our brethren in Princeton when we find the great Dr. Hodge servilely following in the footsteps of Calvin, and deciding that "it is not marriage, but the union between Christ and His Church, that Paul declares to be a *μυστήριον* and the Vulgate a *sacramentum*." Such a pronouncement from a learned man confirms us in our opinion, that there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Briggs'

¹ In order to extort this meaning, Calvin (imitating Luther) deliberately changes the *in* of the Apostle into *de*. He forgot to do so in his head line, which stands there to condemn him.

² *Recensio Synoptica*, vol. vii. p. 654.

famous thesis that it is advisable to call in the Church occasionally to help us out in understanding the Scriptures.

3. It is an entirely gratuitous assertion that the doctrine of the sacramentality of marriage was built upon any word or text of Scripture. Is it not more rational to believe that the doctrine, already taught and practiced, influenced the early translator in using the word *sacramentum* instead of *mysterium*? It has, moreover, been remarked time and again by hostile writers that the word *sacramentum* is used in Scripture and antiquity, sometimes in a large sense of things sacred or hidden, and at other times in its technical sense of a channel of divine grace. In fact, until the schoolmen invented the term *sacramentalia* there was no word to distinguish the Sacraments instituted by Christ from such other sacred signs and symbols as the Washing of Feet, the Taking of Solemn Vows or the Blessing of a Church. This, however, created no inconvenience to those who learned the Christian doctrine from the living Church. To the present day, the Greeks use the word *μυστήριον* in the larger sense of a *mystery*, and in the technical sense of the seven sacraments of the New Law; and if we took time to think, we could easily adduce many instances in which we do likewise. We can give a novel illustration of this in a work just published for the first time by Dr. Schulte. We refer to the Summa of Stephen of Tournay, one of the very earliest commentators on Gratian. On page 131 he tells us there are *seven* sacraments, and he names them correctly. On page 134 he startles us by observing that "some sacraments may be repeated, such as the anointing of the sick and the *dedication of churches*; others may not be repeated, as, for instance, Baptism, the *Consecration of Virgins* and the Ordination of Priests." A little attention to this peculiarity of phraseology among the ancients would have preserved some Catholic writers from pronouncing rash judgments on the orthodoxy of the earliest canonists. They used the words *sacrament* and *mystery*, of all the sacred rites and symbols existing in the Church, and left it to their reader to learn elsewhere whether those rites were of divine institution with an annexed promise of grace or introduced by the Church as subsidiary means to the salvation of souls. So when St. Paul pronounces marriage to be a great *mystery* or *sacrament* of the Christian religion, we might have remained in doubt as to the manner in which it conveys grace, had not Holy Church taught us that it is a true sacrament of the New Law. It is, therefore, the doctrine which has determined the text, not the text which has "fabricated" the doctrine.

4. If the Catholic "mistake" arose from ignorance that St. Paul wrote *mystery* instead of *sacramentum*, how are we to explain the fact that the Greeks who knew nothing of the word *sacramentum*

nevertheless hold with the Latins, that marriage is a sacrament, and a great one? The "ignorance" and the "blunder" and the "folly" and all the other complimentary expressions rebound upon the head of the rash man, who imagined that he alone possessed knowledge and wisdom. Calvin has had his day, and is dead; Catholic truth remains on its old foundation.

Let us now see how the passage is handled by Protestant writers who have approached the subject, not with the design of overturning Romanism, but in the honest endeavor of enlightening *themselves* as to its meaning. Dr. Barry, in Ellicott's New Testament, expounds as follows: "*This mystery is a great one.* The words apply to the type as well as to the anti-type. 1. The indissoluble and permanent sacredness of marriage, as all history shows, is a "mystery," that is, a secret of God's law, fully revealed in Christ alone. For in heathen, and, to some extent, even in Jewish thought, marriage was a contract, far less sacred than the indissoluble tie of blood; and wherever Christian principle is renounced or obscured, that ancient idea recurs in modern times." Rev. F. Meyrick (the same who wrote the article *Marriage* in Smith's "Dictionary") has the following exposition in Cook's "Commentary": "*This mystery is great.* The mystery is the analogy between the marriage-state and the spiritual union betwixt Christ and the Church. . . . But though no support can be derived from the passage for the theory that marriage is one of the sacraments of His Church, yet the holiness of the estate is evidenced by it. Marriage is no mere contract, but a religious rite."

Rückert, in Meyer's "Commentary" makes a very sensible observation. He "despairs of more precise explanation, as the passage stands forth in an abrupt form *merely as a hint thrown out for the more initiated.*" We believe he is entirely correct, and had we no other source of information than this bare text we should likewise pronounce it a mystic text "thrown out to the more initiated." But how different is this from the shallow dogmatism of Calvin!

Lastly we shall quote from a work just published; and we do it all the more willingly because the author is a professor in a Wesleyan College. We have often found a fairer treatment of dogmatic subjects in Evangelical writers than in those extremely High Anglicans whose prime article of faith seems to be hatred of the Pope. Professor Joseph Agar Beet in his "Commentary on Ephesians" (New York 1891) writes as follows:

"*This mystery* (same word in Rom. xi. 25): the marriage relation described in the foregoing quotation. See note under 1 Cor. iii., 4. *With reference to Christ and with reference to the Church:*¹

¹ It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the Revised Edition has corrected that stupid corruption of the Reformers of the *in* into *de*. Personally we

these represented as distinct objects of thought. It is needless to discuss here whether marriage is a sacrament; for this would involve a definition of the term.¹ Certainly, marriage cannot be put on a level with the two rites ordained by Christ for all His servants. But Paul's teaching here implies clearly its unchangeable sacredness. And this felt sacredness has ever found expression in acts of worship accompanying the marriage ceremony. Callous must they be who can enter the solemn obligations of wedlock without recognizing its divine sanction and sacred duties."

We have very little to animadvert upon these expositions of the text. If these writers have not found in it the Sacrament of Matrimony, this has been owing to more radical errors regarding the method of justification and the nature of sacraments in general. If ever they become "more initiated" they will surely adopt the Catholic interpretation of St. Paul's "abrupt hint."

We have now almost arrived at the end of our task, which has been, as we premised, a task rather of exposition than of proof. As we have never attempted the herculean labor of framing for ourselves a system of religion out of the Bible, we do not consider ourselves to be fit judges of what can and what can not be extracted with certitude from the letter of the sacred writings. The number of texts of Scripture dogmatically expounded by Holy Church is comparatively small, and this passage of St. Paul is not one of them.² Instead of putting an official sanction upon the ancient interpretation of Eph. v. 32, the Council of Trent limited itself to the assertion: *Paulus Apostolus innuit*. As if to say, the Church feels that the Apostle here enunciates the doctrine of the sacramentality of marriage, but it is a feeling which has not arisen from parsing and grammatical analysis. As we said above, those who are not already aware that Christ raised matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament will scarcely be able to learn it from this "abrupt hint thrown out to the more initiated."

Approaching the subject in an indirect way, let us ask with Erasmus, "Where is the *mystery* in marriage," if it be not a sacra-

think too much stress is placed upon the *et* where we should have expected *in*. The sacred writers have often interchanged the two propositions, as in the preceding verse *in carnem unam* for *in carne una*. It seems to us that St. Paul meant to speak of marriage *in Christ* in the same sense as he had spoken of marrying *in the Lord*.

¹ A sensible remark! The reformers changed the old-time definition of a sacrament, and then complained that five of the sacraments would not conform to their new-fangled notion!

² As an instance of the extreme caution of the Church in making dogmatic decisions regarding scriptural texts, we draw attention to the guarded manner in which the Council of Trent, in order to spare the sensibilities of the Greeks, declared the sense of Matt. xix. 9. See session xxiv., Canon 7.

ment? Stripped of the supernatural glory with which Christ adorned it, does it not sink down to the level of the most ordinary of things? It becomes again what Christ found it, the plaything of animal lust or a matter of barter and sale. Modern atheism has sought to prevent this reign of animalism and materialism by making an apotheosis of Venus *à la mode* of the French novel. Perverted genius has indeed invested the sexual relation with mystery, but it is the mystery of iniquity. The seat of its worship is no longer the altar of God but the opera house and the theatre. It appeals not to the religious feeling of humanity but to those instincts which we possess in common with the horse and the dog. What wonder that the love thus engendered should have many points of resemblance to the love of animals? It was Cicero, we believe, who pointed out that nature had differentiated human love from that of the lower animals by confining it to the inseparable union of single pairs. This remains the natural human ideal; but without the infusion of grace from the Eternal and Unchangeable, it must remain *merely* an ideal.

Love, in the modern gospel, *ends* when marriage *begins*. The love has all but evaporated during the "mysteries" of the courtship. With the marriage ceremony, in modern life as in modern novels, the fascination ceases and the book closes. Raise the curtain after a very short time, and the adoring pair re-appear as plaintiff and respondent in a divorce court. There was an abundance of love and mystery in the old Christian marriages; but the love and the mystery were *subsequent* to the tying of the nuptial knot.

Can the pure code of Christ be made palatable to a corrupt generation? Possibly, in theory; for where is the drunkard who does not admire temperance, or the libertine who reveres not chastity? But so long as false notions prevail of human life and destiny; so long as Epicureanism and naturalism are the guiding principles of society, there will be very little room for the old gospel of mortification and self-restraint. The Church, however, will hold her course with characteristic firmness, and *qui potest capere capiat*.

On a future occasion we shall show how faithfully St. Peter has fulfilled the obligation laid upon him of carrying into effect the matrimonial reforms of His Divine Master.

THE FAILURE OF NATIVE CLERGY.

Pagès : *Annual Letters of the Province of Japan.*

Rohrbacher: *Histoire de l'Eglise.*

Henrion : *Histoire des Missions.*

Juvencius: *Historia Soc. Jes.*

Catologus Occisorum Societatis Jesu Prov. Jap.

THE political transformation that is just now going on in Japan, may be put down as one of the most remarkable things in the world's history. To have a mysterious and mystifying old theocracy, that dates back from the cloudy times of no one knows when, suddenly bound in unbidden before the nations as a ready-made constitutional commonwealth of the nineteenth century, almost takes the world's breath away. And now, the cable tells us that in order to be more in touch with modern monarchs, the Mikado is to make his tour through the world, utterly regardless of the religious gloom that hitherto hung around him and hid him even from his own subjects, as a sort of a god unknown and unknowable.

Naturally, the churchmen of to-day, sharing in the interest that all this excites, are beginning to ask questions about the great church that once flourished so brilliantly and so briefly in those dominions. One ardent writer, commenting on its appalling destruction, ascribes it to the Society of Jesus, and to the short-sighted policy of not ordaining a native clergy, who might have withstood the storm of persecution when foreign priests were no longer able to enter the country. He gives the Society full credit for the glorious martyrdom of so many of its members, but regrets that the policy which prevailed in the mission of Tonquin had not been followed in Japan. Tonquin provided itself with a feeder by establishing the Seminary of Foreign Missions, in France, Japan did not, and, as a consequence, the church of Tonquin flourished while that of Japan died. Finally, forging a weapon wherewith to do battle for his cause, he pays a glowing tribute to the supposed founder of his favorite mission, Alexander de Rhodes, in the following words:

"The illustrious Jesuit, Father Alexander de Rhodes, was the Josue of the Tonquinese mission. His was a broader mind than most of his contemporaries. Driven from Tonquin, he went to Rome, whence, after advising with the Pope, he journeyed to Paris, there to inaugurate the great Seminary of the Foreign Missions."

Now we must premise that it is only by the courtesy of his sincere and warm-hearted admirer that De Rhodes can be called the Josue of the Tonquinese mission, for, in point of fact, he was not the first to enter it, never inaugurated the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, and never led his warriors, or even went back himself, to that promised land. Nevertheless, he was a noble and heroic soul, and deserves all the praise we can give him. Yet if his letters portray him rightly, he would be hurt to find himself exalted at the expense of his brethren. His panegyrist, most likely, did not intend it but admiration misled him.

However there is a service done to truth in giving Father de Rhodes the passing prominence of a periodical. Nothing better than the story of his life and failure can throw light upon the management of the missions in the East, and nothing better be presented as a vindication of the much misunderstood mission of Japan, of which he was a member.

Who was he, then, this Jesuit Josue of Tonquin? He was a noble-hearted Frenchman, who wanted to be a martyr, not in Tonquin but in Japan. It was a couple of hundred years ago—a time rich in martyrs, not in the East alone, but nearer us in Canada, Florida, and our own New York. He was a lad of nineteen when he entered the Society of Jesus at Rome, and was twenty-eight before they made a priest of him. Of course, he went east by the way of Lisbon, for all things, temporal and eternal, passed through Portugal in those days. It was the brilliant period of Portuguese ascendancy and they made the most of it. The thousands of miles of missions, beginning at Goa and Malabar in the west, and stretching around the peninsula of Hindoostan and up through the Straits of Malacca to Cochin, then past Corea and over to Japan, all containing magnificent ecclesiastical establishments, and numbering vast multitudes of Christians, depended for their very existence, not only on the success of Portuguese arms or the happy issue of Portuguese commercial investments, but on the good humor of the monarch by the Tagus, or on the folly and caprice and ignorance of the ministers who happened to advise him. It is true, that the banners of Portugal brought the missionaries with pomp and ceremony to the throne of every little ruler of the East, that her soldiers fought for them when they were driven out or ill treated or slain, and that her gold was poured without stint into their empty coffers; but it is also true that she exacted a most exorbitant tariff from Holy Church in return. For, by agreement with the Pope, no bishop in all that vast extent of the new Christendom could take his see unless Portugal were willing; no new diocese could be created unless Portugal were consulted; and no papal bull was valid, in fact, unless passed on by Portuguese monarchs;

and the humblest missionary could not go to the East unless personally acceptable to the Portuguese government. In a word, Christianity and Portugal were so inextricably entangled and mixed and confused, that it was no longer the religion of Christ but the religion of the Portuguese that figured in the minds of the people as well as in the royal decrees. What was the consequence? A quarrel with a native merchant meant a persecution for the Church; and a war with an Oriental or a European power was certain destruction of what the sublimest virtue, and profoundest knowledge, and best blood of Europe and Asia had been given to establish, but for all which the merchants and politicians cared nothing if it stood in the way of their commercial or political supremacy.

There is the real reason of the persecutions that have desolated those Eastern missions for so many centuries, and are disturbing them yet. It is not the short-sightedness or narrow-mindedness of any religious body of men in not wishing or not striving for what any child could see was essential to their existence, such as the foundation of seminaries, or the establishment of hierarchies, of the formation of a native clergy, but the sordid selfishness of rulers and traders, who used religion as an instrument of worldly advantage, and destroyed it when it no longer served their purpose. The blame of it, or the crime of it, is there, and nowhere else.

The prominence of Alexander de Rhodes was due almost exclusively to his struggle to emancipate the missions from that bondage by getting bishops not identified with Portugal or her possessions. His disastrous failure to do so, backed as he was by the entire Society of Jesus (for it was their fight more than his), shows how powerful was the foe with whom they had to contend, and at the same time how absolutely free from fault they were in this respect, and how unfair it is to charge them with the ruin of the Church in Japan.

That conviction is driven home at every successive defeat in this contest, and the argument is all the more cogent as De Rhodes, in the minds of the censors of the Japanese mission, is so much wiser and better and more successful than his fellows. Let us look at him well. In the first place, he was a Jesuit, belonging to the very section of the society which is the object of such misrepresentation—Japan. He could not reach Japan, so he went to Tonquin; and his missionary career there ended, as he stood by the side of his catechist and saw the spear go through his body and the cimeter strike off his head. He, himself, was condemned, but was back again in Macao in 1645. In 1645 he went to Rome as Procurator of the province of Japan, that is to say, he was the mouth-piece to the Father-General of the wishes of the Fathers in those missions. This fact is important, as showing that there was

no dissociation in these matters between the Jesuits of Japan and Tonquin. There could not be; the men were personally identical—Tonquin was only an out-mission of the older province of Japan.

He went overland through Persia, and it took him four years to make the journey; but it was better than to take the risk of being flung into a Portuguese prison, which might happen if he took the usual route, and the object of his mission was suspected. Of course, he went first to the General of the Society, without whose direction and assistance and sympathy he could do nothing whatever. He appeared before the Pope as a private individual, for the simple reason that if his mission were regarded as coming from the Society, there would be danger of every Jesuit mission in the Portuguese dominions being obliterated by the stroke of a pen, as happened a hundred years later for a lesser offence. "I went often to the Pope," says De Rhodes, "and to the cardinals, and finally, after three years, got the Propaganda to ask for a patriarch, three archbishops, and and twelve bishops." Three years to get the request even formulated! Nothing came of it; simply because Portuguese influence prevailed, and so De Rhodes went off to Paris. He found material there, he thought, for bishops, in an association of ecclesiastics directed by a Jesuit, and proposed them to Rome, in spite of the fact that several of them had asked to be admitted to the Society. They were refused admission, simply because of the episcopal potentialities in them. In the midst of it all, the Pope died, and the whole air-built structure went to pieces; and after six years' fruitless efforts in Rome, De Rhodes went back, not to Tonquin, for his mission had made him obnoxious to Portugal, and Tonquin was shut upon him forever; and so he went away disappointed and disheartened, yet resigned, and died in Persia, where there were probably no Portuguese.

Now comes a sort of fairy god-mother in this distressful story. The Duchess d'Aiguillon (portentous name for sluggish souls) took up the cause, and urged it on the French nuncio at Rome, who urged it on the Pope, who took it up; but—strange fatality for poor Tonquin—this time, Alberici, the secretary of the Propaganda no less, appears as the marplot and does all he can to prevent the happy consummation of the work. But at last the opposition was overcome, and a Frenchman, Pallu by name, was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Tonquin. What a descent from the magnificent scheme of poor dead De Rhodes, with his patriarch and archbishops and bishops! This was in 1658, nine years after De Rhodes had come to Rome. Of course, Pallu went immediately to his see! Not at all. The Portuguese, and Dutch, and English, all refused to carry him to India, although Louis XIV. asked it as a favor. Then, a rival line of vessels was suggested, but not to wait till it was es-

tablished, Pallu's associate, the Bishop of Cochin-China, started out alone. His Majesty's minions of Portugal went after the fugitive in hot haste, with orders to bring him back to Portugal; the chase lasted two years; but at last the bishop reached, not his diocese of Cochin-China, but Siam. The bishop we are interested in, he of Tonquin, could only leave in 1662, thirteen years after De Rhodes had come a begging for a bishop, or seventeen, if we count from the time he started from Macao. That bishop, also, got no further than Siam, and he was back in Europe again in 1665 begging for protection against the Portuguese, who were carrying off his priests and putting them in the jails of Goa and Macao, pretty much as the slave-hunters that Stanley speaks of do to-day in Darkest Africa.

In 1674, the poor bishop, then shipwrecked in Manilla, was put in prison, not by Portugal this time but by Spain, which happened to be at war with France, and was actually carried to Spain. It took the joint efforts of Innocent XI. and Louis XIV. to liberate him; and finally, in 1684, he was driven by a tempest on the Chinese island of Formosa, and died in Novang, never having once set his foot in his diocese of Tonquin.

Now let us do a little figuring. Tonquin was first entered by Father Baldinotti, S.J., in 1626, a year before De Rhodes. For the first fifty years, *i.e.*, up to 1676, only one Vicar-Apostolic or Bishop of Tonquin was named, and he never reached the country. A neighboring bishop made a hasty visit once in disguise, but that was all.

On the other hand, the first Jesuit landed in Japan in 1548. He was St. Francis Xavier. During the first fifty years, *i.e.*, as far as 1599, five bishops were appointed (their names are given in the February number of the *Catholic World*), and the last one, Sequiera, remained there fourteen consecutive years. Five to one is a strong balance in favor of Japan and against Tonquin, and yet there is nothing but praise for Tonquin, and nothing but blame for Japan. It is one of those mysteries of sympathy that are hard to explain except on the ground of imperfect information.

It is true that Rohrbacher is very severe in his censure of the management of the Japanese missions; but history is sometimes, as a picturesque American calls it, only dull fiction. As Rohrbacher is known to have deliberately refused even to read certain documents, vouched for as correct, which related to the Eastern missions, and to have left them on his library shelf where they were found six months after covered with dust and unopened, we need not regard him with too much reverence.

Doubtless also the Popes wrote very severe letters commanding the ordination of native clergy, but evidently those Apostolic lightnings were not intended to strike the men who were giving

their lives for the same cause :—and the missionaries well understood it,—but the censure was aimed at the secular powers who were impeding the progress of the work.

If we must have Pontifical documents on the subject, let us not go back a couple of centuries to some phrase that with a little good will may bear any interpretation, but let us take the bulls and briefs of our own time, now that the mists of history are cleared up, and the powers of the world no longer inspire such dread. Let us hear Pius IX. speaking in 1862. In the first paragraph of the Bull of Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, he says : “ *Maxima in eadem provincia pericula ac difficultates perpassi, Patres Societatis Jesu grandia incepta grandibus incrementis nobilitarunt ;* ” “ The Father of the Society of Jesus having gone through the greatest dangers and difficulties in that country enhanced a glorious beginning by a glorious growth.” And then, after recounting something of what had been done, concludes with : “ *Ecclesias pluribus in regnis fundarunt, excitaverunt collegia, scholas instituerunt, et seminaria ;* ” “ They founded churches in many kingdoms, built colleges, and established schools and seminaries.”

Will that suffice as an official proof that the Society did try to establish seminaries and to ordain native priests ? Or must the unfriendly Rohrbacher again be adduced as saying : “ No, the seminaries of the Jesuits were only colleges.” What marvellous men those missionaries must have been to be able to hoodwink all time, and play hide and go-seek with truth forever ! But let it pass. And let Pius IX. tell us that these Jesuits “ built schools and colleges.” The repetition interferes somewhat with the dignity of the document, but that need not be considered. Suppose they did “ found colleges and colleges.” Is it then impossible to teach theology in a college ? Are we willing to make that assertion in these days, when we have Seton Hall College, and Mt. St. Mary's College, and the College of Maynooth, and All-Hallows College ? Even Yale is only a college, and Harvard is no more. Our times have also inaugurated what we call Apostolic Schools, whose sole purpose is to train up missionaries, and yet they are only schools after all. A name is a trifle, when facts are what we seek.

Now this is certain. that the greater part if not all that we or any one can know about what happened there comes from and through the saints and martyrs who evangelized those regions, and we can trust them more than Rohrbacher when they tell us of their efforts to secure Bishops and to ordain a native clergy. It is true that there may have been individuals among the Fathers who thought the Japanese not yet quite ready for ordination. Perhaps they were right. But that is quite a different thing from the accepted policy of the Society. The men who in China were

radical enough to propose to do away with Latin and take Chinese as the language of the ritual so as to ordain priests quicker, were not likely to inaugurate a different method of treatment in the adjoining region of Japan where the people were so much superior in intellectual ability. Even De Rhodes himself, who is regarded as the preacher of the new Evangel, spent ten years of his life teaching theology to the Japanese fugitives at Macao. No doubt as Rohrbacher, says, "St. Paul did not wait so long in Crete or Rome to ordain and consecrate," but it must be remembered that St. Paul had the most highly cultivated people of the world to deal with, and not men who were comparatively barbarians, and it is doubtful if even he could have ordained them, if he had been martyred or shipwrecked before he got there. Nor would it be imputed to him as a "faute énorme" as Rohrbacher says it was, if he failed to do so. St. James does not seem to have left any converts in Spain worth speaking of, and yet it is not a *faute énorme* for him. God has his own way and purposes in success and failure.

Finally, while we admire the great Father De Rhodes and give him all the praise which his heroic and beautiful life demands, let us not do him and others injustice by giving him the credit of improving on the Society's methods by inaugurating the Seminary of the Foreign Missions. What would old Cardinal Allen say to that, whose first subscription for his missionary English College of Rheims, for the conversion of England, came from the Society of Jesus, and who received with open arms such men as Campion, and Parsons and Southwell and the host of others who went side by side with the secular clergy to win back to the faith the country where even the native clergy were not spared? Why is it that the students of the German College stand at the name of St. Ignatius, and with uncovered heads hear his virtues told in the martyrology before his feast? Because it was he at the beginning of the Society who had laid the corner-stone of that house that was to gather together the choicest of the German youth and send them back to save their country from heresy. The idea is not a new one or newly wrought out by De Rhodes. It is as old as the Church. Its missionaries in Japan, in their time, did all that was possible to lay as deep as they could, and as rapidly as they could, the foundations of a well-trained and well-disciplined native clergy in Japan and to supply it with workers from without. If they did not succeed as well as they wished and as much as they deserved, they are not to blame, and if De Rhodes is exalted for his rare wisdom, although such an utter failure, we must not withhold our need of praise from the men who had some success. De Rhodes was not opposed to them in his methods. He was a

Jesuit brought up in the same religious family, with the same training, the same instincts and the same traditions. They all did what great and heroic men could do, and if they went under before the the embattled wickedness of Christendom and heathendom combined, it was because the world was too much for them as it had often been before and will be again.

It is the Church's history in every time ; the land of St. Cyprian and St. Augustine which was covered from one end to the other with sanctuaries, is now a Moslem wilderness. Asia Minor, the birth-place of St. Paul and once the Eden of the church is pretty much in the same condition ; and if you seek a modern instance, England, once absolutely Catholic and the home of numberless saints, was to all appearances hopelessly lost until our own days ; and the reason is not to be sought in the absence of a native clergy, but because the sword and fire of the persecutor had passed over them and left them desolate. Even the Son of God permitted Himself to succumb to the power of the Prince of Darkness.

Scientific Chronicle.;

RADIANT MATTER.

IN the April number of the *QUARTERLY* we gave a brief synopsis of the modern theory concerning the three states of matter, the solid, the liquid and the gaseous, with a promise to add something about a possible fourth state, viz., the radiant state of matter. We will endeavor, in the following pages, to make our promise good for its face value.

It is now just three-quarters of a century since Michael Faraday conceived the idea of this fourth state. To introduce the new candidate, we cannot do better than quote Faraday's own words, written at that time :

"If we conceive," says he, "a change as far beyond vaporization as that is above fluidity, and then take into account also the proportional increased extent of alteration as the changes rise, we shall perhaps, if we can form any conception at all, not fall far short of radiant matter; and as in the last conversion many qualities were lost, so here also many more would disappear."

Three years later we find him at it again, and seeking to prove by analogy the possibility and probability of the existence of this radiant state, thus: "I may now notice a curious progression in physical properties accompanying changes of form, and which is perhaps sufficient to induce, in the inventive and sanguine philosopher, a considerable degree of belief in the association of the radiant form with the others in the set of changes I have mentioned.

"As we ascend from the solid to the fluid and gaseous states, physical properties diminish in number and variety, each state losing some of those which belonged to the preceding state."

We will be better able to grasp the full meaning of Faraday's words by entering into some details. Let us take a few substances which we may cause to assume, at will, either the solid, the liquid or the gaseous form. It is in our power to do this with many of the chemical elements, and with a vast number of chemical compounds. Thus, lead, copper, zinc, magnesium, sodium, potassium, sulphur, phosphorus, etc., solid at our ordinary temperatures, may be readily made to pass into the liquid, and thence into the gaseous state. Two others, bromine and mercury, may be made to descend to the solid or mount to the gaseous state. All the known gases have been liquefied, and probably solidified, even oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen. These are examples of elementary substances only, but it is useless to mention compound ones; their name is legion.

Now, bodies in the solid state differ from each other in their physical properties in many ways; liquids differ from each other less than solids, and gases differ from each other still less than liquids. Thus:

Solids differ from each other in :

(1.) Color. (2.) Hardness. (3.) Brittleness. (4.) Transparency. (5.) The form of their crystals—all or nearly all the solid elements are crystalline, and so are untold numbers of the compounds. (6.) Elasticity of torsion, of traction, of flexure, of compression. (7.) Strength. (8.) Specific gravity, *i.e.*, relative weight. (9.) Compressibility. (10.) Malleability, ductility, etc. (11.) Their behavior under the action of electricity and magnetism.

The same bodies when made liquid differ from each other in :

(1.) Color, to a slight degree and in a few cases only.

(8.) Specific gravity.

(9.) Compressibility, slightly.

(11.) Under electricity and magnetism, very slightly.

But they have ceased to differ from each other in :

(2.) Hardness, which has entirely disappeared.

(3.) Brittleness, which no longer exists.

(4.) Transparency, all have become about equally transparent.

(5.) Form of crystals, all crystalline forms lost.

(6.) Elasticity of torsion, traction, flexure, which no longer exists; and of compression, which is equally perfect in all liquids.

(7.) Strength, all lost; for, in the mechanical senses, liquids cannot be said to have strength.

(10.) Malleability, etc., no longer exist.

When the same bodies are converted into gases they differ from each other in :

(1.) Color, to a very slight extent.

(8.) Specific gravity.

(11.) Behavior under electricity and magnetism.

But all differences as to the other properties enumerated have entirely disappeared. Solids, then, differ from each other in many ways. In passing to the liquid condition many points of difference are lost; in passing from the liquid to the gaseous state, yet more are lost. Now if a fourth condition, still more exalted, does exist, in arriving at it, bodies should lose more yet of their former physical differences.

Such was the grand intuition of Faraday. To him it was given to ascend the mountain and gaze afar over the lands of science yet to be won; to point onward and say: "Here you will find the explanation of this phenomenon, there of that one; here you will find the solution of the difficulties of electrical induction, there you will find radiant matter." He saw it as in a vision, but he might not lay his hands upon nor pass over to it. He had no experiments to prove its properties, but he saw that if it did exist, its properties must be thus and so. He died on the mountain and left to others to lead on towards the goal he had in view.

Has the intuition of Faraday been realized? We believe it has, though at the same time we know there are many doubters and not a few downright unbelievers.

After it dropped from Faraday's hands the cause of radiant matter

made little progress in the scientific world until a few years ago, when Dr. William Crookes, the eminent scientist of London, took the subject in hand experimentally. He believes he has succeeded in producing it and getting it under control, and whatever knowledge we have concerning it is due to him.

After all, what *is* radiant matter?

It is something very innocent, very simple; so simple indeed that many have turned away dissatisfied. They expected something very startling, something very complex, something fearfully and wonderfully made, and when they saw the modest little affair that Crookes had to offer, albeit it can produce effects of wondrous beauty, they refused to believe.

Well, what is radiant matter?

Independently of any and every theory about the solid, the liquid and the gaseous states, radiant matter is nothing more than ordinary matter in an extremely rarefied condition. For example, if we take a closed vessel filled at ordinary atmospheric pressure with any kind of matter in the gaseous condition, and then by means of an air-pump exhaust it until we have left about the one-thousandth part of what it first contained, the residue will still have the properties of the original gas. But if we continue the exhaustion until we have but the one-millionth part left, that part is found to have properties so different from those of the gas which we started with, that we feel justified in calling it by a different name.

If, happily, we have accepted the modern theory, of which we spoke in the April number, then we will say that matter is in the radiant state when the molecules are so few in a given space that they can travel measurable distances without appreciably interfering with one another; or, better perhaps, when the number of collisions in a given space is very small compared with the number of misses. Radiant matter is, therefore, not a newly discovered chemical substance, but any ordinary substance in a fourth or ultra-gaseous condition. In gaseous matter the molecules are within the range of each other's influence, at least to some extent; in radiant matter the molecules seem to be absolutely independent of one another.

What now is the evidence that matter may, and, under proper conditions, does exist in this fourth state? Simply the evidence of experiment. We wish we could bring all our readers together, and, equipped with a complete set of first-class instruments, show them the properties of matter in its fourth state, and let them see for themselves and be convinced that what we intend to describe later on is strictly true. It is proverbially hard to understand experiments that we do not see—it is phenomenally hard to understand them without the aid of even a wood-cut, but we have faith enough in the intelligence of our readers to give them a chance to try.

To avoid useless repetitions, we will first describe the general make-up of the pieces of apparatus employed, and afterwards speak of the uses of the several pieces in detail.

Some of the pieces are cylindrical tubes of glass, varying in length from a few inches to two or three feet, and from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. Others are in the form of bulbs, more or less spherical, and from three to six inches in diameter. It will be readily understood, however, that the mere size of these vessels is of minor importance. Into the walls of these vessels, in positions determined by the intended use, are welded platinum wires which project to a greater or less distance inside, and terminate on the outside in a little ring or loop. The object of this loop is to enable us to make connection with the poles of an electrical machine (statical), or of an induction coil. The coil of a medical outfit which gives shocks is an induction coil, but the one we make use of in these experiments is much more powerful. When, in the experiments to be described below, we speak of electricity, we always mean the electricity obtained through an induction coil. It sets the radiant matter in violent motion, and so gives us the means of studying some at least of its properties.

We have said that wires of platinum are welded into the walls of the vessels; we do not use the blacksmith's methods for this: the wire is passed through an opening loosely, the glass is softened around the wire by heat, and in that condition contracts around the wire and forms a perfectly tight joint. Platinum is the only metal known which expands and contracts under changes of temperature to about the same degree as glass, and since the glass frequently becomes quite hot during experimentation, it would be cracked by the unequal expansion, if any other metal were used. Platinum, however, has its disadvantages, too. Under the influence of the electricity it evaporates, and the molecules, thus set free, cover the inside of the vessel, especially in the vicinity of the wire, with a black coating of the metal, which, of course, sooner or later, becomes detrimental.

In some of his later pieces of apparatus, Dr. Crookes has left out the platinum wires altogether, and has merely deposited on portions of the *outside* of the vessels, a thin coating of pure silver; and with this the electrodes (poles) are placed in contact.

When these vessels pass from the hands of the glass-blower, a narrow cylindrical neck is left projecting outwards from some convenient part, by means of which connection may be made with a good air-pump.

The vessels are next filled with any gas or mixture of gases whatever, and then exhausted to any desired degree. Dr. Crookes says that he can easily exhaust, not merely to a hundredth or a millionth, but to a hundred-millionth of an atmosphere; and this is far beyond what is required. The proper degree of exhaustion having been reached, the little neck mentioned above is carefully softened in the flame of a blow-pipe, until, under the external pressure of the atmosphere, its sides collapse and adhere together, and thus hermetically close the vessel. The pieces of apparatus so constructed are fairly permanent; each has its own little story to tell, and, under proper persuasion, is willing to tell it over and over again, many times. In his own experimentation, Dr. Crookes does not generally close the vessels, as described, but uses the

air-pump each time, and so can watch continuously the varying effects, from the beginning of the exhaustion to the last limit attainable.

It is time now to make some experiments, and see what they will teach us. We have before us a tube manufactured as above. It is about ten inches long and one and a half inches in diameter. The ends are drawn out slightly tapering, and through them the platinum wires extend to a distance of a quarter of an inch. Across the interior of the tube, at its middle part, is a circular dish of aluminum, just slightly smaller in diameter than the bore of the tube. It is held fast in place by a platinum wire which passes through the side of the tube. In this and in other cases, where a large surface of metal is required inside of a vessel, aluminum is used, because it does not evaporate after the manner of platinum.

To make the experiment for which this tube is intended, the aluminum disc is put in connection with the negative pole of the coil, the two end-wires with the positive pole, and the electricity turned on. If the tube has been exhausted to the proper degree, it will now appear to be filled with a brilliant white fog, except for a narrow space on either side of the disc in which we have perfect darkness. The fog is not equally bright throughout; it is at its brightest just on the confines of the "*dark space*." The width of this dark space depends on the degree of exhaustion. The explanation offered for this phenomenon is, that the molecules of matter are shot off from the negative pole with immense velocity, and travel a certain average distance before being seriously impeded by the molecules which are leisurely returning from the positive pole. This distance has been called the *mean free path* of the molecules, for that particular degree of exhaustion and for that given electrical impulse. A mean free path is there, even when there is no electricity at work, but it will be shorter. It exists also in gaseous as well as in radiant matter, but in the latter case it is enormously greater than in the former. Thus it has been calculated that in air, at ordinary pressure, the mean free path of the molecules is the 1-250,000 of an inch, while, if it were rarefied to the 1-100,000,000 of an atmosphere, the mean free path would be about 30 feet. This latter condition corresponds to the state of the air at 90 miles from the surface of the earth. At 200 miles from the surface of the earth, the mean free path of the molecules would be 10,000,000 miles! Let us get back to our tube from which we have strayed. We know that motion arrested may produce heat and light. We have seen iron made red hot by hammering; we have seen a flash of light when the bullet struck the target. If, then, two opposing armies were each sending a continuous shower of balls against the other, and if these opposing balls were to impinge, in their flight, against each other with sufficient velocity, there would be in front of each army a "*dark space*" of a certain width, while the rest of the space between would be more or less luminous from the flashing of the colliding balls. Just so it is in the tube, from the collisions of the molecules. This explanation has the merit of explaining, and no other one has been offered. The proof that radiant matter does travel, and at enormous velocities,

will be forthcoming in subsequent experiments. In the meantime, this point is made, that radiant matter is capable of producing a dark space, wide enough to be seen, while gaseous matter is not.

An objection occurs, and perhaps it may be as well to answer it just here. If, as has been said, the molecules of radiant matter are in motion anyhow, why do we not have luminosity and the dark space without bringing in the aid of electricity? The answer is, that the molecules are indeed in motion, but in a helter-skelter, disorderly way, just as if our two armies were firing at random in all conceivable directions, and hence very little effect is produced, too little to give us light; but electricity marshals them in battle array, so that every blow tells, and, besides, adds to their velocity; the effect is thus heightened so as to become visible.

We now take another piece of apparatus. It consists of three distinct tubes, which are each about four inches long and one inch in diameter. Into the ends of these, straight platinum wires penetrate to the depth of about an inch. One of them is made of canary glass, another of English glass, the third of soft German glass. The exhaustion has been carried so far, that the mean free path (dark space) is at least equal to the distance of the wires from the sides of the tubes. We take the first tube and start the electricity through it. There is no white light now, but that end of the tube which is connected to the negative pole, shines with a dark-green light. This light does not *fill* the tube; it is merely on the interior surface of the glass. If we reverse the poles, which may be done very readily by means of a commutator attached to the coil, the light shifts to the other end. Taking the second tube, the result will be similar, except that the light will be blue, and, in the third tube, a very bright apple-green. This last is by far the most beautiful of the three, and so, for æsthetic reasons, most of the pieces of apparatus have been made of this soft German glass.

Here we have a new phenomenon, showing that when radiant matter, discharged from the negative pole, strikes against certain kinds of glass, it has the property of exciting in them a luminosity, differing in color, according to the nature of the glass. On account of its resemblance to the glow of phosphorus, slowly oxidizing in the dark, it has been called "phosphorescence." Nor is this property of responding luminously to the bombardment of the molecules confined to glass. Many other substances possess it in an even higher degree, and the colors produced are of every possible variety. The substances to be experimented on are enclosed in suitable vessels, and the mean free path made equal to the full dimensions of those vessels, and the radiant matter directed against them from the face of a flat, aluminum, negative pole. The diamond, under these conditions, gives out a bright green light, equal sometimes in intensity to the light of a candle. Rubies are not all red, but be their color what it may, be they natural or artificial, they all glow, under the blows of radiant matter, with a rich, deep red, that no words can describe. Scores of other substances are endowed with the same power, vying with each other in the beauty and brightness and fairy

delicacy of the tints they produce. Matter in the gaseous state makes no attempt to imitate these effects.

Our next tube has been made for the express purpose of showing that the phosphorescence of the glass depends on the degree of exhaustion. It is about three feet long by two inches in diameter. At one end is a small supplementary tube, in communication with the main tube by a narrow neck, and containing solid caustic potash. This potash absorbs moisture greedily, and it is only by intense heat that it can ever be entirely expelled. A platinum wire, as a positive pole, enters the main tube, near its junction with the small one, and another at its opposite end. This second wire carries an aluminum disc, slightly convex, the convex surface being turned towards the potash tube. This disc is made the negative pole. If now our radiant matter is projected perpendicularly from each part of the surface of the disc, and the mean free path be long enough, it will strike against the tube throughout its entire length. The tube has been exhausted to something like the 1-100,000,000 of an atmosphere. We turn on the electricity, but we find that we have overreached, for it absolutely refuses to pass. If we next warm the potash slightly, a little alcohol lamp will do it, a trace of vapor of water will be liberated, and will enter the main tube as radiant matter. The interior surface of the tube is now resplendent with green light. We continue the heating so as to liberate a little more vapor of water; the green light retreats reluctantly, step by step, towards the negative end of the tube, and is replaced by a purple light, which at first fills the whole bore of the tube, but settles down later to a narrow line along the axis. The condition now is precisely that of a tube containing a rarefied gas. We take away the lamp, and as the potash cools, it slowly reabsorbs the vapor of water, and everything returns to its pristine state. From this experiment it is clear that the radiant condition depends simply on the degree of exhaustion; and this fact justifies the definition already given.

Matter, rarefied, it is true, but still in the gaseous state, will, under the influence of electricity, be illuminated throughout the whole length of the containing tubes, whatever may be the number of twists and turns given to them. Tubes thus arranged are called Geissler tubes, from the name of the inventor. The next experiment shows that such is not the fact in the case of radiant matter. A tube in the form of a V, that is, having but a single bend, is fitted at its two upper ends with wires terminating in discs; these discs face the ends of the tube. The mean free path is made greater than the length of the tube. On starting the coil, we see the branch of the tube which carries the negative pole, shining with a phosphorescent green light, but that light absolutely refuses to follow the bend and pass into the positive branch. If we reverse the poles, the light changes from one branch to the other, but cannot be coaxed or driven beyond the bend in either case. Here again is a striking difference between radiant and gaseous matter.

In another experiment, instead of tubes, we have a pair of bulbs, made as nearly alike as possible. They are nearly spherical in shape, and

about six inches in diameter. In each a short wire enters at the top, another at the bottom, another at the middle of the side. In the opposite side, but lower down, is a fourth wire, carrying a small, concave disc, the face of which is directed to a point on the glass, midway between the top and the side wires. One of the bulbs has been exhausted to about 1-10, the other to 1-1,000,000 of atmospheric pressure. The first contains matter, therefore, in the gaseous ; the second, matter in the radiant state. Connecting the disc with the negative, and each of the three wires, in succession, with the positive pole, we get, in the first bulb, a purple light, extending in an easy curve from one pole to the other. Reversing the poles makes no apparent difference; the bulb behaves precisely as a Geissler. In the second bulb the effect is very different. A spot of green light appears on the glass at the point towards which the face of the negative pole is directed, and remains there, no matter which of the three wires be made positive. The sole anxiety of the radiant matter seems to be to get away from the negative pole as directly as possible, and therefore at right-angles to its surface, and in perfectly straight lines. We know of but one way, to be mentioned further on, of coaxing it aside from the path of rectitude; and even then, as we shall see, it refuses to copy vilely the devious example set it by gross gaseous matter. That it is projected from the negative pole, in lines normal to the surface of that pole, is proved in every experiment by noting, in each case, the spot where the vessels or objects placed within them show phosphorescence, and also by noting where the matter itself comes to a focus, when the negative pole is concave. That spot and that focus are always just where they ought to be, according to the statement made above, and no other supposition will explain the phenomena; nor are any similar phenomena ever produced in the Geissler tube.

Moreover, if radiant matter striking against glass causes it to glow with phosphorescent light, and by this time we know it does, and if it travels in straight lines, as we also know, then an obstacle set up between the negative pole and the opposite end of the vessel must cast a shadow. The bulb used to show this resembles a very elongated pear, being about eight inches long, and about three inches in diameter at its widest part. The negative pole is a flat disc, fixed in the smaller end of the bulb and facing directly the larger end. A small screen of sheet aluminum, cut to some design, is placed athwart the middle of the bulb; this screen is put in connection with the positive pole. When the coil is in action a perfectly distinct, clear-cut, shadow of the screen is projected, at the right place, on the larger end of the bulb. You may endeavor to make gaseous matter, under like conditions, cast a shadow, but, just as when you send a boy on a man's errand, the result will be a failure.

Again, if radiant matter, striking against solid matter, can cause it to give forth light, then it must be endowed with mechanical energy. Let us test this. Inside of one of our radiant-matter tubes and running its entire length, two glass rails are placed, parallel to, and on a level with

the axis of the tube. A light paddle-wheel, the axle of which is a bit of round glass-rod, the paddles bits of mica, is arranged so as to run along the rails. At the extremities of the tube, but above its axis, two flat poles are fixed so as to face each other, and be on a line with the uppermost paddles. Inclining the tube slightly, the little wheel rolls along on its axle to the lower end; it remains there when the tube is replaced in a horizontal position. The pole at this end is made negative, the electric current is started, and lo, the wheel begins to rotate and roll along the rails to the other end of the tube. Then we reverse the current, and it rolls back again. This method of propulsion has not been patented, so that if any of our railroads would like to use it, there will be no danger of lawsuits. There is but one explanation possible, which is, that the molecules of radiant matter in the tube do actually move in straight lines, and strike good, honest blows. They can do this because they have been thinned out enough to have elbow-room, and act independently of each other, while in a gas the molecules are too crowded for this kind of work. And hence, in a Geissler tube, this effect cannot be produced.

Another objection starts up here. If this radiant matter be shot off continuously from the negative pole what becomes of it, and what keeps up the supply? Naturally we would expect it to return again, and so it does. It returns more slowly than it goes, otherwise none of the phenomena mentioned above could take place. We will now prove that it does return. A vessel, eight inches long and four in diameter, is divided transversely into two equal parts by a glass partition. There are two small holes in this partition, one above, the other below the centre. A concave negative pole is focussed on the upper hole, and just behind the hole is a paddle-wheel which can revolve on its pivoted axle; near the *front* of the lower hole is another paddle-wheel similarly suspended. Now when the upper wheel is made to revolve by the outgoing radiant matter, the lower wheel revolves in the opposite direction. This can be explained only by the *return* of the molecules through the lower hole.

We have already remarked that there is but one cause, as far as we know at present, capable of deflecting a stream of radiant matter from its straight course. That cause is magnetism. Across one end of a tube, near its flat negative pole, is a metal screen. Fastened to the central line of this screen, and at right angles to it, is a rectangular screen of mica running the whole length of the tube, along its axis. The mica screen is covered with some substance which will phosphoresce when subjected to the blows of radiant matter. A slit is made in the metal screen in such a way that the radiant matter passing through will trace a line of light along the mica screen. That line of light is perfectly straight. If now a powerful magnet be presented to the tube, in a particular position, the line of light will be deflected downwards in a curve to the bottom of the tube; if the magnet be turned over, the line will be curved upwards to the top of the tube. In neither case, after having passed the magnet, will it return to the axis. If, on the contrary, we take a Geissler tube, in which a luminous line occupies the

axis, that line will indeed be deflected by the magnet to a certain extent ; but having got past the magnet it immediately resumes its original position along the axis.

We next take a number of tubes, each containing a different substance, as oxygen, hydrogen, etc., but all in the radiant state ; we find that they all behave exactly alike in any test to which we may subject them. It is true it will require a higher degree of exhaustion to bring some to the radiant state than it does to bring others there. This need not surprise us any more than does the fact that some substances are brought to the gaseous state with more difficulty than others. This loss of all differences of properties, as characteristic of the radiant state, is precisely what Faraday prophesied, and the prophecy has the rare merit of having been fulfilled to the letter.

We have gone so far beyond our intended limits that we ought to call a halt ; yet there is one experiment which we cannot bring ourselves to omit. In the centre of a spherical bulb, four or five inches in diameter, is fixed horizontally a flat strip of some difficultly fusible metal, iridio-platinum for example. Below this is a large, deeply concave pole, whose focus is just on the strip of metal. This concave pole being made negative and the metal strip positive, such is the energy of the molecules discharged against the strip that in a few seconds it becomes first red-and-then white-hot.

We had intended to answer some objections, but have concluded it would be just as well to wait till they have been proposed.

We have seen, by experiment, that we have been dealing with something which differs from a gas, at least as much as a gas differs from a liquid, or a liquid from a solid ; and we see no reason, therefore, why it should not receive a name. Faraday proposed the name Radiant, and knowing as we now do that it is *projected in straight lines* from a pole of the coil, the name seems very appropriate. In conclusion, permit us to believe that it exists, and that it will yet come out triumphant and RADIANT.

A FALL OF A THOUSAND FEET.

"O what a fall was there, my countrymen !"

—MARC ANTONY.

It will be remembered that in the last number of this REVIEW we gave a few notes concerning some tall towers ; and that reminds us of the wise saying often used in certain of our school-boy games : "What goes up must come down." Truly, people who ascend towers do not, we believe, usually intend to take up a fixed abode, acquire a permanent domicile as it were, at the top. And so comes in the problem of descent, not indeed in the Darwinian sense, but in a plain, matter-of-fact, mechanical way. Most persons, we fancy, would naturally be in-

clined to return by the elevator ; some might possibly be willing to try the stairway ; a few, more venturesome ones, might even be tempted to risk a descent by a balloon. It has remained for a French engineer, Mr. Charles Carron, of Grenoble, to invent another more expeditious, and withal much more exciting method. Until we have donned our wings and learned to fly, it would seem that, besides the ways just mentioned, the only other way left would be to jump. Reader, if you have guessed *that*, you have guessed very nearly right, for Mr. Carron proposes to have us try a clear fall of, say, one thousand feet ! On second thought, perhaps you have guessed entirely right. For, when we say that a person jumps *down*, be it from a chair, or a table, or even a tower, we talk in parables, and the truth is not in us. No one ever jumps *down*, for the very sufficient reason that it is an impossibility. That's not the way the thing works at all. What does take place is, that a person jumps upward and outward so as to clear the support ; the rest is pure fall.

Mother Earth has a most loving attraction for all her children, animate and inanimate, and does not like to have them stray away from her. She has, moreover, a very emphatic way of coaxing them back when they have strayed. With much toil we may climb away from her, a few feet or a few yards, or even to the top of an Eiffel tower, or a Mount Blanc, if you will, but she still reaches out with a mysterious influence that ever keeps holding us back, and gently warns us, saying : " My child, don't go too far, lest your return be disagreeably sudden ; but, if you do want to get back quickly, just let go your hold, or step off your support, and I'll do the rest." And she does it every time. You may, indeed, jump upward a short distance of your own will ; you must come down again, will or no will.

Again, you may project a body away from the earth, and the distance it will go depends on the velocity with which it starts, according to a somewhat complex law of mechanics. Be that distance now, however great (short of infinity) you choose to make it, that body, unless captured by some star out on police duty, must, sooner or later, come home again. The departure may be likened to a *jump* ; the return is simply a *fall*.

We do not know whether any of our readers have yet begun to consider about trying that fall of a thousand feet. We do not mean, of course, with a suicidal intent ; as Christians, that's not our way, and it would be very bad form anyhow. Neither is that Mr. Carron's idea. He, indeed, proposes to give us a fall of a thousand feet,—that's easy enough ; but he promises to land us safe and sound at the bottom,—that's where the difficulty comes in.

" Facilis descensus Averno ; sed revocare gradum, hoc opus, hic labor est."

*Progress is easy on a down-hill track,
But slow and laborious is the getting back.*

Had Virgil known that we intended to quote his remarks in this matter, he might have made the latter part of them a little more to the

point. Not the getting back, but the coming safely to a full stop is the question. We propose now to examine, with our readers, the method by which Mr. Carron undertakes to accomplish such a result. He would build a sort of cage, or car, capable of seating fifteen persons, draw it up to the top of a thousand-foot tower, and let it drop into a well of water two hundred feet deep, full nearly to the brim. The well is to be of such a form and diameter that the country round about need not be inundated by splash or overflow. That part is easily contrived and settled. What interests us more just now, is to get an idea of the car in which we are expected to take passage. It is made up of a cylinder and an inverted cone attached together, base to base, so as to form one body; the axis is vertical. The total height is fifty feet, of which the cylindrical portion is sixteen, and the conical portion thirty-four feet. The diameter of the cylindrical part is ten feet. At the junction of the cylinder with the cone is a strong floor, well stayed by a rod running from the centre of the floor down to the apex of the cone, and by three internal cones, concentric with the outer one, and connected rigidly with both the rod and the floor. Above this floor is a second one, of a diameter slightly smaller than the inside of the cylinder. It is supported by a number of strong spiral springs of the form frequently used in mattresses. They allow the upper floor a vertical play of nearly two feet. To the centre of this floor is firmly fastened a circular table, around which, with their backs towards the centre, are secured fifteen arm-chairs. These chairs are heavily padded, and are intended to conform, as nearly as possible, to the contour of the seated passengers. A door, opening on a level with the movable floor, and which, when closed, is continuous with the rest of the cylinder, will serve as a means of ingress and egress. An electric lamp, fed by a suitable battery, and suspended from the centre of the vaulted ceiling, completes the furniture.

The shell of the car and the cones are of sheet steel, stiffened with ribs of T-iron, and of course made perfectly water-tight. According to accounts furnished by scientific journals, the complete car with its fifteen passengers will weigh about twelve tons, and, when completely submerged, is to have a displacement of thirty tons, that is, it would weigh two-fifths as much, bulk for bulk, as water, or better, its specific gravity would be two-fifths. Somebody seems to have made a mistake here, for, having brushed up our youthful knowledge of arithmetic a bit, and made the necessary calculations, we have found that the displacement must be very nearly sixty-seven tons instead of thirty, thus reducing the specific gravity to less than one-fifth.

The car, being let fall, would penetrate the water to a depth, depending on its velocity, its specific gravity and the friction of its surface with the water; then, through the buoyancy of the water, it would ascend to the surface, oscillate a short time up and down, and finally come to rest in a vertical position. But in order that a body of the form and specific gravity of our car float vertically, it must have its centre of gravity very low down. To test this and other points, we had a skilled assistant make us several models of different sizes, all to scale with the proposed

car, but varying in specific gravity from one-fifth to four-fifths. They were made of sheet-tin, as light as could well be worked, and ballast was used to make them float erect. In the case of the model whose specific gravity is one-fifth, our flotation experiments failed entirely; it could not be made to stand alone, and we were obliged to give it up. Still, on a larger scale it might possibly succeed. Next, one with a specific gravity of two-fifths was tried, and we found that its centre of gravity had to be at, or below, a point that would correspond, in the full-sized car, to a point twenty-eight feet from the top. In that case the car floated so that just a little more than the cylindrical part was above water, and this agrees quite closely with results obtained from calculation. We will not ask our readers to follow the calculations. It would need cooler weather.

We will now try another model, this time one whose specific gravity is four-fifths. To make it float upright we have to ballast it until its centre of gravity corresponds to a point, which, in the full-sized car, is about thirty feet from the top. Under these conditions the real car when floating freely would be immersed to a depth of forty-four and a half feet, leaving only five and a half feet of the top of the car above water. Two cars, one with a specific gravity of two-fifths, the other with one of four-fifths, would have each its own advantages and disadvantages, but we think the heavier one would be decidedly the safer. With our models we noticed that the lighter one, on emerging from the water, had a strong inclination to rock violently from side to side through a very large angle. If Mr. Carron's car is to be afflicted with anything like the wild tossing of our little models, then infallibly every passenger would have his neck broken on the first trial. We do not think, however, that such would be the case, for, just as among men, large bodies always move more majestically than small ones, even when their specific gravity is the same. Another reason for preferring the heavier car is, that it would be less liable to be deflected from its course by the wind, and this might be of importance, if it is to be tried, as has been suggested, at the Columbian Fair grounds; for there seems to be a good deal of wind there pretty much all the time.

At any rate, we are ready. The great car has been raised to a height of one thousand feet above the water. The crowd of spectators is gaping, at a very respectful distance. The fifteen passengers are in their seats. (Personally we would like very much to be one of their number, but as we have some *outside* observations to make, we are obliged to wait for the second trip.) The door is securely fastened, the electric light is on, the word is given, and down they go. It will take nearly eight seconds to reach the water—the longest eight seconds probably of a life time. At the instant of reaching the water they will be travelling at the rate of over two hundred and fifty feet per second, or fully one hundred and seventy miles per hour, which is three times as fast as our express trains. Still, this need give us no alarm, for we know that mere velocity, however great, has no injurious effect, provided it be uniform, or nearly so. We are actually falling through space at the rate of about

seventy thousand miles per hour, at a pretty nearly uniform rate, and yet, as far as sensation goes, we are totally unaware of the fall. Falling to the earth is quite a different affair, the motion being not uniform but rapidly accelerated. When we look back through the dim vista of the distant receding years, we recall many experiments in this matter of accelerated motion. At times it was only for a short distance, the length of a cellar-door or of a stair-rail; at other times it was a more dignified affair, a half-mile or more down a snow-clad mountain-side, in the clear, crisp air of our childhood's northern home. Again, we have jumped from moderately high elevations, in the prosecution of certain natatorial experiments; and in all these cases we had a personal knowledge of how it felt. A sort of up-and-down sensation, an exaltation and a depression, a feeling of helplessness in the grasp of a mighty power which we had not measured, a sense of detachment from mere mundane things, and yet a perfect consciousness that our earthly bonds were not dissolved, but that, on the contrary, they were pulling us down harder than ever. The difference between a slide down an inclined plane and a direct fall is merely in the rate at which the onward velocity increases, though the ultimate velocities may turn out to be the same; while the difference between two direct falls, from different heights, is only in the greater or less velocity finally acquired. The rate of increase of velocity (leaving out the resistance of the air) is practically the same whether a body fall a foot or a mile. Therefore, fall one foot or a thousand feet, the sensation will be the same, except that in the former case it will last but one-quarter of a second, while in the latter it will last nearly eight whole seconds. The mere descent then need give us no trouble.

A very curious phenomenon, however, would be that, with respect to the car, objects inside would have no weight, and consequently a person would not exert the least pressure on the chair or floor; he would even remain in mid-air without support, in any position whatever in which he might be placed, and, unless he could lay hold on some portion of the car, he would be unable to change his position. The slightest push in any direction would send him straight against the opposite side of the car.

Dancing could not be indulged in, and even walking about would become an impossible feat. The reason of all this is that the car and any objects within it are pulled down *independently* by the same force, viz., gravity; they start together, and their velocity increases at the same rate; or, perhaps more clearly, the earth is pulling an interior object towards the floor of the car, but at the same time it is pulling the car itself away from that object at the same rate. This peculiar condition, if continued long enough, would probably have some effect on the internal economy, on the circulation of the blood, or in other ways, simply because of its unusualness, but we think we could stand it for eight seconds. When, however, the car, on striking the water, begins to slow up, a person who had been standing on nothing in mid-air, would fall to the floor and strike it with a degree of force depending on the sud-

denness of that slow-up. His impression would not be that he had fallen; rather, he would imagine that the floor of the car had just come up and struck him. We have been told that men sometimes, under quite different circumstances, experience a similar illusion; of this we cannot speak with authority.

So far, then, we have no fear. There is not a case on record of any one having been injured by the mere act of falling. The popular notion that a person falling from a great height is dead before reaching the bottom is certainly an error. Men have often fallen from great heights into water, accidentally or intentionally, and have escaped unhurt. Even when the result has been fatal, there is no reason to believe that injury resulted *during* the fall, unless it possibly were through the nervous system, from fright. No; a fall, as such, need hurt no one; it is the too-sudden stop that does the mischief. It is precisely to obviate this that Mr. Carron gives us the heavily-cushioned chairs, the spring-supported floor, and, especially, the two hundred feet of water? Will these suffice? Let us examine this a little.

When the car strikes the water, at least three resistances, tending to retard its motion and bring it to rest, are developed. First, the buoyancy of the water, an upward thrust due to the weight of the water itself. Secondly, the resistance which the water offers to the passage of a body through it. This depends, among other things, on the density, and probably to some extent on the pressure, of the water. It is of the same kind as the resistance offered to moving bodies by the air, but is, of course, much greater. Thirdly, the surface friction between the car itself and the water. The effect of this third cause is slight and may be neglected. The effect of the first cause may be found by calculation. We have worked it out for three different cars, having respectively a specific gravity of one-fifth, of two-fifths, and of four-fifths, and we find that, from this cause alone, the first car would come to rest at a depth of 244 feet, the second at a depth of 651 feet, the third at a depth of 3906 feet. The second cause of retardation is very difficult, if not impossible, to be reached by calculation, and sufficient experimental data are not at hand. We know that it increases with the velocity, but just in what proportion is still a matter of dispute. Still, from what is known, in a general way, of the force required to drive a torpedo through the water, and from some rather crude experiments with our models, we think the second cause would more than equal the first, and so, as a rough estimate, we will say that car No. 1 will sink to a depth of about 120 feet, No. 2 to about 300, and No. 3 to more than 1000 feet.

The ratio then of the total distance traversed in air and water, to the depth of the plunge, would be, in the three cases, as 1120 to 120, as 1300 to 300, and as 2000 to 1000; or, if we use smaller numbers, the three ratios will be as $9\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, as $4\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, and as 2 to 1. This represents, in each case, the magnitude of the upward pressure which one would experience, as compared with the upward pressure one feels when standing on the ground. In other words, it measures the magnitude of

the shock received. It would be as if a person were to fall a total distance of $9\frac{1}{3}$ feet, or $4\frac{1}{3}$ feet, or 2 feet (before coming to rest), to an ideally-elastic support, which, while exerting a uniform retarding pressure, different, of course, for the different cases, would yield, in an absolutely gradual manner, through a distance of one foot before bringing him to a full stop. This would be the greatest value of the upward pressure; but it would not be quite correct for the beginning of the retardation, since that would be somewhat less while the car is getting under water than after complete submersion. The greater the specific gravity of the car the less would be the shock, but in neither of the three cases would it be dangerous, or even disagreeable. During the descent in the water, instead of feeling lighter, as he did during the free fall, the experimenter would feel as if he had increased in weight from two to about ten fold. So far, again, all would probably go well.

Just as our natural dwelling-place is not the top of a tower, so neither is it the bottom of a well. Our car will rise again to the surface, and at this point, we believe, the real danger begins. For if the car be not balanced perfectly, or if, from any other cause, it should deviate ever so little from the vertical, during its descent in the air or in the water, that deviation would be augmented during the ascent, and on reaching the surface it would be likely to topple over, or at least to get wrestling with vacancy in a most alarming fashion. This might be fun for the car, but the passengers would look upon it in an altogether serious light. Our model No. 2 (specific gravity, two-fifths), when dropped from a sufficient height, on rising, invariably leaps clear of the surface and falls over, and only comes to rest after bowing spasmodically to all points of the compass. It is evident that, if the real car were to behave in the same way, the desire of the passengers for excitement would be more than satisfied. Model No. 3 (specific gravity, four-fifths) is more dignified in its movements, but, for a passenger-car, built on that plan, a well of immense depth would be required. In that case it might be just as well to drop it from the yard-arm of some monster ship in a nice deep spot of the Atlantic ocean.

On the whole, there seem to be some good points in the project and some bad ones; and it is hard to tell which would come out uppermost, but he surely would be a bold man who would attempt to realize it. In fine, much as we would like to see the experiment, we have not yet quite made up our mind to apply for the position either of conductor or brakeman.

SHORT NOTES. .

1. STOPPING RUNAWAY HORSES BY ELECTRICITY.

ACCIDENTS from runaway horses are, as is well known, of frequent occurrence. Sometimes they end in a mere fright, at other times in a bruised limb, but all too often in the more serious consequences of a maiming for life, or even in death itself. Frequently it is hard to tell which of the two, the horse or the driver, is most to blame; but which-

ever it may be, anything which tends to put the balance of power in the hands of the one who holds the reins, must be of very great value. Many and various are the devices which, from time to time, have been invented and patented for this purpose. Some of them aim at a bit which, in case of emergency, may be made to act with great force on the jaws of the horse; they have doubtless saved many a life, but when a horse is fairly wild with fright, they sometimes fail. Others are intended to cramp the action of the horse's forelegs, or hinder it altogether; this is radical enough but may prove dangerous, for it is liable to throw the animal suddenly, and then the driver may be thrown out headlong and be injured, either by the fall or by the struggling horse, or by both. Another way is to have the shafts attached to the vehicle in such a manner, that by the throw of a lever they can be instantaneously detached and the horse set free, a brake being brought into requisition to stop the momentum of the carriage. Neither does this seem to be just what is wanted, for even if the occupants of the carriage escape unhurt, the frightened animal, set free from all control, is almost sure to injure some one else before he is captured, especially if it happen in a crowded thoroughfare. Again, it has been proposed to fix a piece of cloth in such a position that it may be thrown over the horse's head, thus shutting out vision; this is supposed to work, on the ground that a horse will soon stop if he cannot see the road before him. About this we feel a little skeptical; we would like to see it tried.

Now that electricity is being dragged in to attempt all things, the impossible as well as the possible, it would be strange, indeed, if some ingenious inventor did not try it for this purpose as well; and so it has been done.

In this method, the runaway horse is not stopped by main force, nor yet is he to be paralyzed by a young thunderbolt. The end is to be obtained by working on his feelings rather than on his muscles. All that is needed is a couple of cells of a dry-battery, stowed away safely under the seat of the carriage, an insulated wire from each pole of the battery to one end of the bit, so as however to come in contact with the horse's tongue at different points; and a push-button located within easy reach of the driver's hand or foot. When, now, the horse foolishly believes that all the enemies he ever made for himself are in hot pursuit behind him, you touch the button, and the little current of electricity causes a new and surprising taste in his mouth. Not having the capacity to grapple with more than one idea at a time, he forgets about the pursuing enemies and *stops* to investigate.

A variation in this device is to insert in the circuit a small shocking-coil, the action of which would surely cause a surprise not easily forgotten. It seems that this mode of stopping runaway horses has been tried with success. A mettlesome steed, just boiling over with mischief, was harnessed to a light buggy, in which the apparatus just described had been fitted up; the inventor of the device and the owner of the turn-out stepped in; the reins were thrown loose, and the horse urged on till things began to look dangerous. A touch of the button and,

after arguing with the bit for an instant, he decided to stop, and did so almost immediately. And so we have the right thing at last? We are afraid not. A horse may not be able to reason much, but what sense he has is good horse sense, and we are inclined to think that after having found himself fooled a few times, he would despise the whole trick, or mayhaps get used to it, and then come to like it and ask for more.

Before trusting too much to this new plan, we would wish to see it tried on different horses, and on the same ones several times; and then if it proved reliable, we would stand ready to record one more triumph for electricity.

2. A NEW LIFE-SAVING BELT.

This is, of course, for use at sea or wherever there is danger of being drowned. It is the invention of an Italian, Mr. Rossi-Gallico. Its special advantage is that it is self-inflating, whereas the older forms have either to be kept permanently inflated or require to be "blown up" when needed for use. In the former case they are clumsy and must be kept stored out of the way. Then, when an accident calls for their use, they cannot be readily got at, or else people lose their presence of mind and cannot adjust them. In the latter case they are less reliable still, for if a person cannot keep cool enough to put on correctly a life-preserver already inflated, how can he be expected to keep cool enough to do both the inflating and the adjusting?

These disadvantages are got rid of in the new belt. It is very light, and when empty is perfectly flat, so that it can be worn without inconvenience, day and night. It contains a small quantity of some dry acid (*tartaric* will do) and the equivalent of some dry carbonate (*carbonate of soda* is good). These do not react on each other while dry, nor do they absorb moisture spontaneously, but when wetted, they react and give off a large volume of carbonic acid gas. This distends the belt and gives it buoyancy enough to keep a person well above water. A valve is so arranged that when the belt is brought in contact with water, a sufficient quantity will enter to bring about the desired action; the tension of the gas will then close the valve and hold it closed, so that there is no danger of a collapse. This automatic inflation would, however, be a great inconvenience for the sailors and officers who, being exposed to all sorts of weather, cannot keep dry till just the moment when the belt is needed. For them a special form is made in which a pull on a string is needed to open the valve, after which it works like the other. A larger pattern is also made, with clinging-ropes attached; this is intended to be thrown overboard for the benefit of persons struggling in the water. Still another form can be used from the shore, by shooting it from a mortar. A line is attached to this one, by means of which persons may be hauled ashore from a wreck, up to three-fourths of a mile away.

From experiments made with this belt in England, it seems destined to be of great service in the saving of human lives. As far as we have heard, it has not yet been exhibited in this country, but when it does come we will wish it welcome and all success.

3. EXTINGUISHING FIRES BY ELECTRICITY.

If one were to believe all that has been published for the last few years, by the daily press, about electricity, one would think that its sole mission was a mission of destruction and death. All the good it has done has been sedulously kept in the background, or only grudgingly admitted, while whatever little harm could be really attributed to it, has been brought to the front, magnified and exaggerated beyond all the bounds of honesty and truth. It is hard to account for this, except on the grounds of ignorance, but the gentlemen of the press, whatever else they may do, will never plead ignorance. We can indeed understand, to some extent, how corrupt politicians, under the influence of selfishness, may learn to play fast and loose with their consciences, but that the *incorruptible* press,—save the mark,—which glories in styling itself the moulder of public opinion, the mainstay of civil and religious freedom, the defender of virtue, the scourge of vice, and all the rest of it, should descend from its lofty watch-towers to mingle with the ignoble rabble, and set an example of dishonesty and downright lying, passes all belief. Yet any one who has been ever so little behind the scenes, well knows that such is the case. Not all, indeed, of the daily journals are open to this accusation, but many, probably the majority are, and among them not a few of the largest and most influential ones. Over and over again they have boldly attributed to electricity the origin of explosions and fires, not only when such was not proved to be the fact, but often when it was clearly and officially proved not to be the fact. Well, let it pass. We trust that the innate sense of justice which belongs to the human race will, under the guidance of Providence, some day or other, set this matter right. In the meantime, we wish to draw attention to the fact that electricity may be utilized for the purpose of extinguishing instead of igniting fires.

Mr. H. F. Lufkin, a gentleman well known in electrical circles, describes, in a paper read before the National Association of Fire Engineers, an apparatus for this purpose. It may be used to protect a whole city block, or a number of them together, or, with slight modifications, as a private installation; but in either case connection must be had with the mains supplying electricity for light or power. The system may or may not be made entirely automatic, according to which is judged the more desirable.

Suppose we take as an illustration of the system one city block. In a back-yard, or anywhere out of the way, a building is erected as a pumping-station. It should be made very strong, and absolutely fire-proof; not from any fear of danger from within, but in order to resist fire and walls falling on it from without. These two ends can be easily attained, since the building will be quite small and only one story high, and may be built of brick and iron, or, if preferred, entirely of soft steel, and need consist of but one room. Not a foot of wood is required in the whole structure. In this building, or room, is installed a force-pump, the suction-pipe of which is connected with the water-supply of the city, or, if possible, with an independent, unlimited supply, such as a river, lake or harbor. The delivery-pipes of this pump

may be led to every house or every room if desired, also to every outdoor hydrant ; in fine, to every important point in the block. In the same little house is an electric motor, powerful enough to run the pump and keep up a sufficient pressure in the delivery-pipes, no matter how many of them are in use at the same time. The motor is joined up to the electric mains of the street, and, if possible, independently to the mains of two different companies, so that, in case of the failure of one, the other would take its place. Proper electrical communication is made from the motor to every house, or, if need be, to every room in the block, and to every hydrant in the street, at all of which push-buttons or switches are inserted. When now a fire breaks out, all that is necessary is to press one of those buttons or turn one of those switches ; then the motor turns, the pump starts, and the water in the delivery-pipes is under pressure and ready for use. The same touch of the button may be made to call out the firemen of the district, who, arriving with their usual promptness, and finding an abundance of water under pressure, have nothing to do but put the fire out, or, perhaps, before they come "you can do it yourself." If it was a false alarm, no harm has been done except the useless calling out the firemen.

Furthermore, if desired, the switches, especially at important points, may be made to work automatically through the means of a thermostat, thus rendering security doubly secure. The thermostat could be made not only to start the motor, but also to open the valves of an automatic sprinkler, to be supplemented afterwards by the hose, if necessary. The simplicity of this plan recommends it strongly wherever electric plants are in continuous operation, and it need not be confined to a single block. But let us listen to Mr. Lufkin : "A plant of this character, with a capacity of 200 horse-power, which would be capable of delivering about 2500 to 3000 gallons of water per minute, say 165,000 gallons per hour, against 150 pounds pressure, could be set up and piped to cover quite a number of city blocks, say ten or fifteen, at an expense of \$20,000. The cost to operate this plant at its full capacity would not exceed ten dollars per hour, or at the rate of 16,500 gallons of water for every dollar of cost. When the fire is out the cost stops absolutely. The wear-and-tear expense on a large plant of this kind should not be as great as on a single steam fire-engine, to say nothing of maintaining horses and harness."

The engines would, of course, be no longer needed, but horses and harness for hook and ladder and for hose carts would still be required. The cost of the electricity and the care of the plant would be very small, while the security offered would be vastly greater than we now enjoy.

In the case of theatres, public halls, churches, and the like, an isolated plant might be used, in which case the automatic arrangements would be the safest. The motor and pump would easily find a place in the cellar or basement, though it would be better, if circumstance would allow, to have them in a building apart, with underground connections for pipes and wires.

On the whole, this system seems to offer the best solution yet known to the problem of how to preserve our cities from the ravages of fire.

Book Notices.

ACTS OF ENGLISH MARTYRS, HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED. By *John Hungerford Pollen, S. J.* With a Preface by John Morris, of the same Society. London: Burns & Oates, 1891.

This beautiful book is a contribution towards the still unwritten "Lives of the English Martyrs." And a valuable contribution it is; valuable to the Catholic who would enliven his devotion and strengthen his faith; valuable to the man or woman who would, in a small and selfish world, often recall the heroic deeds of simple folk amid great trials and temptations; valuable for the student of English history on account of the many curious details of men and manners here recorded. Not a single document in the volume has been elsewhere published. Many public and private MSS. collections have been ransacked in order to make as complete as possible this volume of "Acts." In the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Privy Council Registers, the Public Record Office; at Stoneyhurst, Oscott, Westminster, Fiesole, Nymphenburg, Father Pollen has gleaned. He could, perhaps, have done more were it not for the unenlightened policy of some of the English officials. Reading a passage in Father John Morris's preface, we could not but think of the warm protests that were for many years published, at becoming intervals, in the English literary journals—protests against the "obscurantism" of the Papacy, because it would not throw open its collections to "scholarship." Here are the words of Father Morris (pp. xii., xiii.): "The Privy Council Books, at Whitehall, can be seen, but they are far more difficult of access than the State Papers in the Record Office. We must be thankful for what we have obtained, but the editor of this volume met with what would seem to be needless obstruction when, in his search for purely literary purposes, he was not allowed to make any complete transcript." Will not the liberal-minded editors of the *Athenæum* and the *Academy* join us in reprobating the quite too unmodern obscurantism of the British crown? Or, is there an English scholarship that cares not for all its brethren at home, but only watches over those who are hampered while abroad?

Father John Pollen has brought to light not only new documents but new books also, books forgotten, perhaps wholly lost, some of which, indeed, there is no known record of. Persecuted as the English Catholics were, they found and took ways and means to print the doings of the men and women who were true to the Church of Christ, as well as to defend the old faith, and to confound the teachers of the new state-worship which was forced on the people by such inhuman means. As we run over those records of a shameful past, we cannot but exclaim: As the Lord liveth, when once the people, great and small, come to know the heroism of these their countrymen, and the horrible injustice done them, for conscience's sake, they will not merely throw off the religion made of tyrannous princes and their knavish counsellors, but they will enthusiastically return to the Church of the people! To think otherwise, would be to deny to the English people the nobility of sentiment that, thanks to the Saviour, is ever kept alive among those who suffer most.

Literary men will be interested in the "Brief of the Life and Death of Sir Edmund Campion," a poem written probably within six months after his death. Though not a great work, the poem is characteristic of the time, quaint in form and expression, powerful in parts, and with more

than one line worthy of being quoted. Take the following stanza, for instance, which has the true Elizabethan flavor :

"If virtue ever live, if valor never die,
 If learned arts forever stand with grace eternally,
 If perfect life get fame, if perfect fame endure,
 If endless durance make us live, and set our honor sure,
 If constance earn a crown, if conquest join the gain,
 If learning armed with godly life do evermore remain,
 If ardent thirst for souls, if aged acts in youth,
 If for to sweat and die the death for the Eternal truth,
 If martyrs purchase life, if meekness last in praise,
 If charity of highest degree do flourish green always,
 If mind invincible do ever blaze and bide,
 If all the gifts of manly mind, and virtues therein tried :
 Then is not Edmund dead, but gone to bliss before,
 He lives among the sacred saints and reigns forevermore."

At page 194-207, Father Pollen prints "The Song of the Death of Mr. Thewlis," from MSS. in the British Museum, and "The Song which Mr. Thewlis Writ for Himself." The former, in a north-country dialect, was evidently a "popular" song, and is in many ways instructive. There is some art and much feeling in the opening stanzas of the first part, and in the second stanza of the second part :

"O God above relent,
 And listen to our cry;
 O Christ, our woes prevent,
 Let not thy children die.

"O God above relent,
 And listen to our cry,
 Sweet Christ thy spouse defend
 From tyrants's crueltie."

In the "Song which Mr. Thewlis Writ for Himself," there are several stanzas that would bear quoting as illustrating the life of a hunted priest during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but we shall select two that testify rather to the spirit of the men who were doomed to the rope and the knife:

"The saints also did suffer death,
 And martyrs as you hear,
 And I myself am now at hand,
 And death I do not fear.
 Then have I trust of greater grace
 Unto my soul will bring,
 Where we shall meet, both face to face,
 Before our heavenly King.

"No hurdle hard, nor hempen rope
 Can make me once afraid,
 No tyrant's knife against my life
 Shall make me dismayed.
 Though flesh and bones be broken and torn
 My soul I trust will sing,
 Amongst the glorious companie,
 With Christ our heavenly King."

If there were a persécution actually here in these United States; if the law condemned to the halter and the butcher's knife, every Catholic that heard or said Mass, or that received or confessed a sacrament, or

that failed to attend a Protestant service—would you go to jail, zealous reader? Would you confess your faith courageously on the scaffold? Would you stand firm as the State-assassin carved up the living body of your friend before your eyes, and hurried the work that he might rip the heart out, smoking hot? God knows! You need not be old in order to know that the world is always full of fair-weather friends; nor need you fear to infer that it is, even now, equally filled with fair-weather Catholics. How easy it is to be bold when neither life nor interest are at stake! Why ask these untimely questions? Are they untimely? *Would you guarantee that what has been shall not be? Read history!* However sure or uncertain about our own constancy under trial, we cannot be surprised at reading here of priests and laymen who were weak, and so bartered Christ for life; nor can we help being moved at the story of many who, having failed to-day, had grace and strength to-morrow, and calmly died for the Saviour's sake. How the conscience of a nineteenth-century Anglican must appeal to him as he reads the words of John Roberto, who never failed? "Dearly beloved friends," said he to the crowd that had gathered around the gibbet on which he was soon to hang, "I am here to die in the presence of God and His angels and of the saints of Paradise, because being a priest, I returned to this country in spite of a statute passed in the 27th year of the late queen's reign which declared this to be high treason. I have committed no fault except this, if this be indeed a fault; nor have I even been charged with any other offence. I die therefore for my faith, and for my faith only, that same faith, I say, which St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, preached when he converted this country from idolatry. The vows of my Order, and the habit I wear, are the same as his, and I observe the same rule and live in the same religious Order as he did. I teach the same faith that he taught. As he delivered you from paganism, so I have tried to deliver you from heresy. I affirmed this before the judges at my trial, and I repeat it to you now in this place where I am about to seal my testimony with my blood." Either John Roberto was sadly mistaken about his faith, or there are many who owe no thanks to "the late queen."

We are tempted to quote the whole book of Father Pollen, but after noting one other affecting incident, we must leave the "Acts" to the reader. Edward Morgan suffered at Tyburn, April 26, 1642. Like many another victim, he had to defend himself, on the scaffold, against the dull argumentation of a minister, who, with a fine intellectual sense, suggested to him to "put his trust in the merits of the Lord, and not in angels and saints." Mr. Morgan answered: "Mistake not yourself, sir, for I put my whole trust and confidence in the infinite merits of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who died for me." "That is well said," the minister replied, and let him alone. Going to the hangman with a merry countenance, Edward Morgan gave him a piece of money and wished him to do his office; and as the hangman sought to arrange him in a suitable posture, Morgan said to him: "I pray thee, teach me, for I never was at this sport before." "Mr. Morgan," said the minister, "this is nor a time to sport, nor is it a jesting matter." "Sir," said Mr. Morgan, "I know it is not a jest, but good sober earnest; but you cannot deny but that God requireth a cheerful sacrifice, and I hope it is no offence to you and these good people that I go cheerfully and merrily to Heaven." God bless thee, John Morgan! Did each one of us daily recall your very Christian teaching, what a merry world this would be! It is not merry, because cheerful sacrifice is not a principle of the current philosophies, or professions of faith or political economies, and yet,

without cheerful sacrifice, there can be neither merry living nor holy dying.

The "Reading Circles" are doing good work; so are the young men's societies, and the Church library associations. To them we heartily recommend this loving work of Father John Pollen. The most learned as the most simple, the most devout as the most worthy, will read it with interest and with advantage. Spread the good books! Spread the good books! Spread the good books!

LIFE OF FATHER CHARLES SIRE, of the Society of Jesus. By his brother, *Rev. Vital Sire*. Translated from the French. Benziger Brothers.

Upon that great secret of God, His employment of suffering, weakness, and other things that seem to stand in the way of human hopes and ambitions, as the most blessed means of recalling errant humanity back to Himself and His love, those who read this book must ponder, if with much of sympathy, with more of gratitude. Virtues made manifest by activity, curious as it seems, are less attractive to us than the uncomplaining submission of the weak. Tears of compassion are sweeter than the most fervid admiration for the heroic; and many an occasion for the shedding of these is in this record made by a loving brother of a brief life eventful only by aims which Heaven saw that it was good to disappoint.

Charles Sire was one of eight sons, seven of whom became priests. The fruitful mother, on the day of his birth, consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, this, her youngest, who was to be the brightest among the jewels in her crown of maternal glory. That was indeed a "fortunate day," as he used to call it, Christmas of 1828, when, four days old, he was brought to the baptismal font. It is delightful to read of that innocent childhood in the village of St. Jvry, particularly of its influence upon Catharine Beillard, a peasant mother of a family, and their consequent friendship, some of whose fruits were destined to be miraculous. A sanctuary-boy at seven years of age, at ten passed over in catechism examinations because known by his pastor to be already as well instructed as himself, it was easy to foresee that he had been chosen for a high career. Not less interesting was his life at the Preparatory Seminary of Polignan, where, as a pupil, and as a member of each of the sodalities, *St. Aloysius Gonzaga* (for all the lay students and such members of the lower classes as wore the cassock), *The Holy Angels* (for the ecclesiastics of the Fifth, Fourth and Third), and *The Blessed Virgin* (for admission of only the most pious of the Second and Rhetoric) he won all hearts. After seven years of sojourn, sad even to tears he left it for the Seminary at Toulouse. "I had found it," he said, "such a blessing to be in a house where reigned innocence, recollection and fervor, and where the Blessed Virgin had granted to me so many favors."

Immediately after leaving he made a pilgrimage to *Our Lady of Garaison*, whose shrine at that time (before the *Apparition* at Lourdes) was the most frequented of all within that region. It was to pray her counsel and guidance in the life that he was to lead in Toulouse. Already with the judgment which sometimes is given to childhood and youth, he had adopted that wise maxim of St. John Berchman, "For me the best of all penances shall be the ordinary life."

Perhaps no man, no saint was ever more guarded against disturbing influences, or more recollected in the thoughts which it was his duty to cultivate. Not gifted with extraordinary genius, naturally subject to lassitude that seemed like indolence, he overcame this, not by irregular,

violent effort, but by study, trustful pursuit of counsels imparted by the Blessed Virgin, whom for so long he had humbly invoked. It was when he had just finished the *Fourth Latin* at Polignan that an elder brother entered among the Sulpicians. Then it was that "he was filled with holy envy, and promised himself to imitate this example, were it the will of God."

One cannot but be touched while reading about the things which for a time seemed destined to prevent his union with the Jesuits, infirmity of the body, and temporary misunderstanding of his own choice of vocation. In this while the friendship between him and Catharine had developed into fondest affection. Prior to his appearing before the Novice-master at Toulouse, with this humble friend he had made two Novenas in honor of JESUS, Mary and Joseph, which were consummated by Holy Communion and pilgrimages to *Our Lady of Good Gift*, and *Our Lady of the Heath*. In his notes, written on the eve of application, he said, "The result of these two Novenas has been to me great consolation of heart, and an ardent desire of making a spiritual Retreat, and applying at once for admission to this society." . . . "I feel that God calls me to live in the Society of Jesus." . . . "There to find a remedy for those waverings of spirit that ever beset me after striving after the most perfect, and knowing not which to choose. There also to obtain an antidote for my sloth and indolence of disposition."

In this little book are some things that one can hardly read without tears. It had not been easy to obtain the consent of his parents. His mother's heart was wrung at the parting from this her youngest, who, in the priesthood sought by him, was to be separated from her even further than the rest of his brethren. In a letter to one of the older, besides many other words, are these: "The poor child! But one thing troubled him; to see me so sad. I was indeed overwhelmed. The sacrifice seemed beyond my strength. I was truly grieved when you left us for St. Sulpice, you and Dominique; but that sacrifice was nothing to this; for I could at least see you occasionally. But a Jesuit! He is lost, as it were, to his family; he returns to them no more. Oh! the thought is crushing! Charles did his best to console me, seeking my presence, and saying all manner of kind and gentle words." . . . "I would smile, but with a heavy heart." . . . "I accompanied him to the boat. Poor child! it was on the water's edge I left him." . . . "He seemed delighted when, as we were awaiting the boat, I related to him that I had consecrated him to Mary on the day of his baptism, and in what manner. It was the first time that I had ever mentioned it to him."

Most fair was that scene, a stripling leaving that dear home with no words except those meant to console the mother whose heart was breaking at the separation, and going with joyousness whither he had already resolved to prefer what nature most abhors, and fly from what it seeks most eagerly. It is possible to submit to inevitable poverty without complaint; but it is above nature to love it, as Charles Sire loved it, to call it his good mother, his faithful companion, his beloved."

Among those who have lived lives of special devoutness are individual peculiarities which lead some to one, and others to another kind of specially fond invocations. To this young Jesuit fond were those to JESUS, Mary and Joseph; but perhaps his most frequent was to his guardian angel. His first in the morning, his last at night were to charge his good angel with some commission. Twice in the profound silence of night he was awakened at appointed hours, in order to lift his thoughts and send his petitions to Heaven. Happy he who in youth can say as this boy

was wont, when speaking of the commissions trusted to this blessed messenger, "Never, never did he fail to execute them."

That he should have been satisfied, even pleased with assignment to a foreign apostolate was but another honoring of his vow to seek the things that are most repugnant to nature. The sudden call to prepare himself for the Island of Bourbon in the Indian Ocean, even before he had taken clerical orders, startled him; but almost immediately afterwards, he responded with alacrity. The ceremonies of orders were hastened, after which he wrote thus to his brother Vital: "As for myself, I am both happy and proud at thoughts of this double elevation, to the priesthood, and the mission to Bourbon; and I love to believe that, far from opposing my departure (which will not take place for a month) you will beg our Lord to confirm my superior's decisions, and advise me how to prepare my parents for the sacrifice."

Tears, still more compassionate, must flow at the parting, the second, the final. Touching was that of Catharine, with whom he had lived, and with whom he was to live ever thereafter in unity of prayer. But with his mother! We know of not one so sad, because of no remonstrance. She said, "I make this sacrifice which rends my soul; but I make it only to please God." They parted at the feet of the Blessed Virgin, in the Church of St. Servin, the signal being the handing a picture to his mother by the missionary. Only God knows all the anguish, with which, when he was moving towards the threshold, she rose and, crying, "I cannot"! started to follow. Only God could have imparted to him the strength to wave her back with promise of the blessedness it would be to her to relinquish a son to martyrdom. Then she stopped, and saying, "Adieu, my son, adieu!" followed only with her eyes as he went forever out of their sight.

It would prolong too far this notice to refer to the brief sojourn at this far distant mission, the quick succumbing to that fearful climate, the re-embarking for France, the continued decline, the mute devotions, full of sweetest expression when the powers of utterance and movement were exhausted, the peaceful death in the silence of night, the burial in the bosom of the sea. Yet in that silence Catharine Beillard, two thousand leagues away, heard as, with the crucifix in his hand, he murmured "All for JESUS, through Mary!" Two persons, unseen of all except her, were beside him, and one of these, a Lady clothed in white, with a black veil thrown over her head, placed a crown of white roses upon his brow.

It was a beautiful life. Few can read its record without having many emotions, among them, thankfulness for so signal a manifestation of the endurance, that richest of earthly inheritances, which Heaven imparts to the meek of this world.

RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON.

LES CHARTES COLONIALES ET LES CONSTITUTIONS DES ÉTATS-UNIS DE L'AMÉRIQUE DU NORD. Par Alphonse Gourd. 2 vols. Paris.

Reviewing M. Auguste Carlier's able work on American institutions, in the April number of this REVIEW, we called the attention of our readers to the intelligent interest shown of late by Europeans, and especially by Frenchmen, in our history and in our polity. M. Gourd's volumes are but another proof of the interest of French students in things American and of the serious methods they follow. Like M. Carlier and M. Claudio Jannet, M. Alphonse Gourd has had a practical acquaintance with America and Americans; indeed were it not that he insists on being a Frenchman we would willingly claim him as an American. His

experience of our institutions has made him all the more competent to deal with the important subjects discussed in these two volumes. Is there a Society of Comparative Legislation in the United States? In France there is, fortunately, such a society; and to its enterprise we are indebted for M. Gourd's book, which bears the imprint of the French government and is printed at public expense.

On parle des Etats Unis plus qu'on ne les connaît, says M. Gourd, with truth, in his "Introduction;" but he has made sure that this criticism cannot be passed on those who read his two volumes. Having, in the course of forty pages, given a summary of all the voyages of exploration that preceded the permanent settlement of North America by Europeans, M. Gourd takes up the English foundations, and sketches the history of the establishment of the thirteen English colonies. It is with their political history that he has especially to do, and therefore he studies, one by one, the separate charters under which the colonies were organized, and the systems of government that were set up by the colonists. Whatever modifications were made in the original charters he notes and explains; whatever changes were effected from time to time in the forms of the colonial governments, he describes with all the detail necessary to a full understanding of the circumstances, and of the scope of the various modifications. M. Gourd wastes no words. He is curt, close, exact; and every statement is fortified by a substantial authority. Our present democracy was not that of the colonists; and M. Gourd brings out this fact clearly, not by a reasoned argument, but by a careful account of our early institutions, by a minute analysis of the different charters, and by insisting on each step of the progress of democratic ideas. To these valuable chapters, which M. Gourd modestly calls "Notices Historiques," he adds a collection of original documents: the first letters-patent of Columbus; the Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI. to Ferdinand and Isabella (May 4, 1493); letters-patent granted to Cabot and Roberval; Jacques Cartier's Commission; the first and second Acadian Charters; the New Plymouth "convention," and a number of the Colonial Charters.

In his second volume the learned author makes a study of the public law of the colonies; of the object and extent of the legislative, executive and judicial authorities. We cannot commend this portion of his work too highly, showing as it does the most patient research and the most skilful analysis. Explaining first the division of the powers, and the mutual relations of the people, proprietors, king and parliament, M. Gourd proceeds to a consideration of the colonial assemblies, of how they were constituted, of the requirements for membership in these bodies, and of the laws regulating their meeting and their deliberations. The powers and duties of the colonial governors and lieutenant-governors, of the councils, sheriffs, aldermen, constables, selectmen, watchmen, treasurers, and the laws referring to these and to all other executive officers are next set forth. In this section, as well as in the following sections, M. Gourd has done good service by a comparison between the the Colonial and the English systems. Treating of the judiciary of the colonies, M. Gourd follows the same lines—setting forth first the division of the judicial powers between the king, the proprietors, the governor, the council, and the various superior and inferior courts. The requirements for jurors, the regulations determining their deliberations, the machinery of the superior and inferior courts, the rules of procedure, crimes and their penalties, are studied with the elaboration of detail that marks the whole of M. Gourd's work; and comparison is again made between English and colonial methods. Nor is the completeness

of the French jurist's work less apparent in the last section of this volume, where he considers the charter regulations, or the laws, governing the various classes of society—proprietors and proprietary companies, slaves and freemen, the poor, landholders and the clergy. Every question connected with each of these classes receives thorough consideration—tenures, the right of succession, taxation, oaths, elections, marriage, tolerance, public instruction, the liberty of the press—to name but a few of the many subjects discussed here with reference to colonial law and to the law of the mother-country.

The conclusions drawn by M. Gourd, from the study of his long and precise investigations, are not to be overlooked. The colonies, he says, were new, in the sense that they were new-born communities; but they were not new, in the sense that they established, at once, a novelty in government. Sprung from England, it was English ideas and usages that the colonists brought with them—the ideas and usages of an old nation. These they modified to suit the circumstances by which they were confronted. "It was as if the English nation, with all its native qualities and customs, had been transported beyond the sea. England it is that is being perpetuated in a new land." This conclusion deserves attention. Undoubtedly just, it will save the student of colonial history from the difficulties that he will encounter on every page, if he starts out with the idea that, when the colonists first put foot on American soil, they forgot all they had been taught, and were miraculously supplied with a fund of wholly new ideas. Evolution there was, slow, painfully slow, we say, as we follow M. Gourd in his patient study of facts and acts, but no astounding revolution.

We have only one fault to find with this book—it is not written in English, and so cannot circulate as widely among Americans as among Frenchmen. As a book of reference it will be invaluable. Students of American history, and of American law, will find it of rare service to them. There is not an American work that we know of which offers the inquirer so complete a summary of information absolutely necessary to an intelligent understanding of the development of American institutions. It is not in France alone that the United States are more talked about than known. There are Americans who are none too well informed about the polity of the United States. However, even the best informed men will derive benefit from the use of these scholarly volumes, and we gladly commend them to the special and to the general reader.

MEDITATIONS ON THE GOSPELS FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR. By *Père Médaille, S. J.* Translated into English under the direction of the Rev. W. N. Eyre, S. J. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. \$1.60.

Father Médaille was a French Jesuit who for thirty years labored zealously as preacher and confessor for the salvation of souls. He died in 1709. His meditations on the Gospels have been translated into Latin, Italian, Spanish, German and Dutch. This is the first English translation. Almost forty editions of the work have thus far been published. This is evident proof of its merit. It reminds us of Father Avancini's "Life and Doctrine of Jesus Christ," taken from the four Gospels. Like Avancini, Father Médaille gives us three very short points for each meditation, each point enforcing one pregnant truth. We open the book at random and give the meditation for Tuesday after the eighth Sunday after Pentecost: "Give an account of thy stewardship: I. Point. We shall be examined *as to the evil which we have done*. We must not hold ourselves so strongly assured of the forgiveness of

our past sins, as not to be in continual fear: *Noli esse sine metu*. And then, too, God will make strict inquiry into the sins which we daily commit. He will unveil each one of them; He will condemn and punish each, unless we punish them ourselves. If their enormity does not alarm us, their number should do so. II. Point. We shall be examined *as to the good we ought to have done, and which we have not done*. To how many obligations have we been wanting? How many acts of virtue, how many good works have been omitted? How many graces have been neglected? How many opportunities of sanctifying ourselves have been entirely lost? We shall be constrained to confess that for every good deed which we have done, we have left undone a thousand. III. Point. We shall be examined *as to the good which we have done*. We shall have to give an account of our good works, because we did them badly: *Ego justitias judicabo*, God says. We have prayed, fasted, frequented the Sacraments and if Religious, have kept our vows and our rules; but with how much negligence, lukewarmness, cowardice, indevotion and self-love, have we done this good? In order to be justified before God, it is not enough to do good, we must do it well, says the Wise Man. *Qui custodierint justa, juste justificabuntur*." This meditation, so terse, so practical, so suggestive, shows the pious author's method of treating each of the Gospel-truths. The book therefore needs no words of approval. It is a favorite with the Jesuits themselves. It is a good sign in our day to see such works published; for it shows that the habit of mental prayer is spreading also amongst the devout laity. They cannot complain that the proper spiritual food is now wanting to them. With Goffine for the epistles and Gospels of the Sundays and festivals, with Challoner, Crasset, Da Ponte, Avancini and Mélaillé for meditations on the Gospels in general, they have what must suit every kind of spiritual taste. For the clergy we know no three works better suited for short sermons than Crasset, Avancini and Mélaillé; while for the laity, we would say by all means have either Avancini or Mélaillé. If only ten or fifteen minutes each day were devoted to one of these short meditations, what immense spiritual progress would be made. The saints all declare that mental prayer or meditation is necessary for sanctification. Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart, says Jesus Christ, and how can we learn the lesson unless we meditate on the Gospel truths. This work of Father Mélaillé has this great advantage, that the Gospels are contemplated in the order of the Church's festivals and liturgy, beginning with the Precursor of Christ and ending with the fulness of Pentecostal grace. We bespeak for it a cordial welcome from both clergy, religious and laity. It deserves all praise.

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGY. By *Paul Schanz, D.D., Ph.*, Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen. Translated by Rev. Michael D. Glancey, Inspector of schools in the Diocese of Birmingham, and Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Mary's, Ascott. In three volumes. Vol. I., God and Nature. 1891. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati.

This clearly is an excellent work. Indeed, in our opinion, it is the best of its kind yet given us in the English language. It is moreover a much needed work and will undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thinking earnest Christians throughout the land. There is no disguising the fact, that at the present day science—so-called—which ought to be the handmaid of religion, deepening men's reverence, and feeding and quickening what is noblest in their nature, is employed to weaken the faith of men and loosen their grasp on the unseen and eternal. With a

large class of men at the present time, it is science not for the sake of science, not for its own beauty and attractiveness, but as a weapon with which to assail religion. That is the spur that doth prick the sides of their intent and for which they toil and labor with a diligence and an earnestness worthy a nobler cause. It is certainly a thing to be deplored, and for a twofold reason. First, for science's own sake; and secondly, for religion's sake. It is deplorable on the side of science, for it degrades science in the esteem of men. They look upon it as prejudicial and hostile to all that is near and dear to them and hence will not trust it. It is moreover deplorable from religion's side of the case; for notwithstanding that men will not place their trust in science avowedly antagonistic to faith and its institutions, nevertheless that very hostility and irreverence on the part of science will lessen their respect for religion and, in greater or less measure, diminish its influence for good. Hence, to undo this evil, the necessity of works like the one before us. True science, we know, can never contradict the revealed word of God; what is scientifically true cannot be religiously false, for God is the author of science, as well as of revelation and He cannot contradict Himself.

Therefore, if we would guard our faith, we must know true science and be able to distinguish it from the false theories and speculations of men however eminent. A great deal passes under that name which in reality is not science. Theories and hypotheses are among the most useful instruments of scientific discovery, but they are not science. What is true science? What are its relations to revealed religion? Has it yet led to discoveries that are calculated to weaken our faith? Does it lead us in harmony with revealed religion to acknowledge a God, supreme and eternal, from whom are all things and in whom they move and have their being? Of all these things, of man's origin, of life, of the soul, of creation, does Dr. Schanz's work treat most learnedly and exhaustively. And therefore should it be known and studied by all who love their faith and would advance the glory and interests of God on earth.

As yet we have but this, the first volume of the work. The two coming volumes are equally important, and we have heard equally thorough and learned. We trust they shall be given us soon and promise for them a ready and high appreciation.

THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD. A Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the *Abbe Constant Fouard*. Translated from the Fifth Edition with the author's sanction by George F. X. Griffith. With an introduction by Cardinal Manning. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

The author of this work has correctly described it as "an Act of Faith." He has deliberately excluded controversy from his pages. For, as he well says, the Gospels combated at a thousand points, have triumphed over their critics. . . . What is left for this generation, unless it be to avail ourselves of the inspired Witnesses and by drawing from them an account of the actions of Jesus, demonstrate that He, whose death some have published to the world, lives still, is indeed the very Life itself? . . . We only desire to make the Saviour better known and loved."

In accordance with this thought the learned author abstains from restating the proofs of the authenticity, veracity and divine inspiration of the Record of our Saviour's life on earth. He deems it wiser to refer the reader to the apologists who have triumphantly defended them. For, "written by the Spirit of God, independently of each other," the

Gospels "shine forth in the white light of truth which nothing can obscure."

In the selection of the guides whom he should follow the Abbe Fouard names, as first and most trustworthy, the Gospel itself, read in the original tongue which the sacred historians employed; next, the translations by disciples of the Apostles. Then the first Fathers of the Church must be consulted, for their preaching "is little more than a commentary upon the Good Tidings reproducing the Gospel for us, almost in its entirety; and consequently we can reconstruct from their homilies so many versions ante-dating any which we know to-day." Accordingly the author closely follows sacred tradition in interpreting those words of our Saviour which are the immovable foundation of Christian dogma.

Yet, as the author says, it is not enough in a Life of Christ to set forth the Evangelical Doctrine; it is necessary to learn from contemporary history what thoughts then occupied men's minds, and what manner of people they were among whom Jesus lived.

For the successful realization of his pious purpose Abbe Fouard possesses rare advantages. He is known throughout all Europe as an eminent Hellenist and Hebraist. He has carefully studied the Aramaic Paraphrases, the traditions contained in the Talmud and the Jewish writers; and also the discoveries recently made in Egypt, Assyria and Judea, which have revealed the secrets of their institutions.

The result of these labors on the part of Abbe Fouard is the work before us. It has been highly commended by the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII.; by His Eminence Cardinal Manning, and by other distinguished ecclesiastics and scholars.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SIR THOMAS MORE, Lord Chancellor of England, and Martyr under Henry VIII. By the *Rev. T. E. Bridgett*, of the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1891.

Among all those who suffered death for the faith, in England, under King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, from 1535 to 1583, and who have been declared Blessed by the Holy See, there is no one who is universally more warmly esteemed than Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England. Every historian, of even the slightest pretensions to accuracy and fairness, and however bigoted or prejudiced in other respects, who has written about Henry VIII., when referring to Sir Thomas More, testifies to his amiability, his sincerity, unswerving honesty of intention and purpose, unimpeachable integrity, gentleness, disinterestedness, sagacity, prudence, learning, gentle wit, truthfulness and love of truth, which no threats on the part of a tyrannical despot or fear of torture or death, could cause him to swerve from, in even the slightest degree. Yet he was not an austere ascetic, or stern reprover of the sins of others. He was simply a prudent, gifted, learned, virtuous, English gentleman, who discharged the duties of high offices thrust upon him rather than sought by him, with singular fidelity and efficiency, and who, when dismissed from office, gladly retired from public view, and endeavored to lead a quiet, peaceable, Christian life.

That such a man should be dragged from the obscurity he courted, compelled by the subservient tools of Henry VIII. to disclose his disapproval of the licentiousness and tyranny of that brutal despot; that such a man should be sought out and put to death for no other cause than that of truth and justice, served at the time to reveal, and has ever since served to reveal, to the English public mind, the real character of

Henry VIII., more clearly than almost any other of the crimes he perpetrated.

The work before us is not an indiscriminating panegyric of Sir Thomas More, nor a repetition of what others have written about him. It is a careful exhibit of what he was, and said, and did, after a laborious, pains-taking study of original sources of information, and of State papers, many of which have only recently become accessible.

HOW TO GET ON, By *Rev. Bernard Feeney*, Author of "Lessons from the Passion," Home Duties, etc. With Preface by Most Rev. W. H. Gross, D.D., C. SS. R., Archbishop of Oregon. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1891.

Most earnestly would we desire were it possible to realize our wish, that this little book, were placed in the hands of every school-boy and young man in our country. As the Most Rev. Archbishop Gross has well said, "energy and strength of purpose are eminently characteristic of the American people." But strength of purpose, unless combined with prudence and moderation, becomes obstinacy, and energy if misdirected does harm instead of good both to the possessor and those with whom he is brought into contact. To subserve the design of our Creator in endowing us with free will and energy, these admirable qualities must be guided into proper paths and employed for the attainment of noble objects.

This was plainly the thought which impelled the author of this book to write it. The titles of the first three chapters following the introduction, sufficiently indicate the author's general plan. They are: "A High Ideal;" "Be Determined to Succeed; Some Ways and Means of Success." The main body of the book is made up of statements and explanations of these means of success. These statements and the author's comments upon them are so practical and judicious, that we give them in the order in which they occur at the head of the successive chapters. They are: A Healthy Tone of Mind; Cheerfulness; Love of Home; Recreation; Curb the Passions; Intemperance; Gambling, etc.; Gold Worship; Pride and Ambition; Sloth; Some other Vices; Independence of Character; Kindliness, Mental Culture; Life Spiritualized; Why We Believe; Loyalty to the Church; Final Suggestions.

The manner in which the author illustrates and enforces his suggestions is eminently happy. Anecdote, story, dialogue, and explanation and argument are in turn so resorted to that every chapter is attractive and entertaining as well as instructive. There is not a dry or tedious page in the whole volume. We commend it most warmly to parents as an excellent book to present to their children.

ABÆLARD. 1121 zu Soissons verurtheilter *Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina*. Aufgefunden und erstmals herausgegeben von *Dr. Remigius Stölzle*, Professor der Philosophie zu Würzburg. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1891. St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$1.00.

Professor Stölzle publishes this *Tractatus* as the original document of Abelard, which was condemned in the Council of Soissons in 1121. He discovered it amongst the manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Erlangen, bound up in one volume with three other manuscripts on theological subjects. The "*Theologia Christiana*," by Abelard, had long been well known to critics. It was this work which met with such opposition from the great St. Bernard, which was brought

before the Council of Sens, and which Abelard came personally to defend before that council and in the presence of a host of his disciples. This controversy between the great Saint Bernard and the renowned philosopher has become historic. Abelard was unable to answer the arguments of the Saint, and his doctrine was condemned by the Fathers of the Council (1140). He appealed to the Pope, and again the decision was adverse. He then retired to the monastery of Peter of Cluny, where he remained till his death, a few years afterwards. We would have, therefore, three works of Abelard on theology: (a) This "Tractatus de Unitate et Trinitate Divina," of the year 1121; (b) the "Theologia Christiana," which is an enlarged defence of the treatise of 1121; (c) and the "Introductio ad Theologiam," which was published in 1141, after the condemnation by the Council of Sens. In a learned introduction our author defends the authenticity of this manuscript as the first work on theology published by Abelard which brought on him the censure of ecclesiastical authority. This work is entirely critical, and one of its principal results will be the correction of many errors contained in the larger work "Theologia Christiana."

THE CHRISTIAN VIRGIN IN HER FAMILY AND IN THE WORLD. HER VIRTUES AND HER MISSION AT THE PRESENT TIME. London: Burns & Oates. New York. Catholic Publication Society.

The pious authoress of this work does not give us her name. She writes with enthusiastic love of her subject for those of her own sex, especially in France, but we feel sure her words will be welcomed and treasured by devout souls everywhere.

It is truly a most timely work, filling a void, and supplying a want which many must often have lamented and which she herself says would have been of priceless advantage to her own soul, had any one come to her assistance in the same way. It is a most practical work, as well, showing how in every age, the Christian virgin has had a noble mission, a sublime vocation, outside the convent walls; that very frequently she can do far more for God's glory and the good of souls by living in the world, by remaining in the family circle, by mingling in society and by her work, by her example, by her conversation, by the sweet odor of her virtues, making religion and faith and the Church attractive to souls that could not be otherwise reached.

The book is divided into four parts: (a) Virginité in the World; (b) Jesus Christ, Spouse of Virgins; (c) Virtues and Mission of a Virgin in the World; with an appendix on Widowhood; (d) Practices of Devotion for a Virgin living in the world.

The work is full of sound doctrine, illustrated by the examples of the saints and it is a pity that it has no index whatsoever, not even an index of the chapters contained in each part.

The book deserves a wide circulation amongst the children of Mary and all lovers of the holy virtue.

THE SOUL OF MAN. An investigation of the facts of physiological and experimental psychology. By *Dr. Paul Carus*. With 152 illustrations and diagrams. Chicago, Ill.: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1891.

What good is this work likely to effect? In our opinion very little. We have been disappointed in it. We were led to think it abler, more original, than on careful perusal we found it. We looked for things new and definite, things at least, more thoroughly scientific, more ad-

vanced, than had yet been given us in works of its kind, but we have met with keenest disappointment. Why, the old books advanced theories almost identical with the leading thoughts of this book. "Is the soul of man a mechanism?" The old, old problem and yet so far away from the truth. Verily we should give much to read something new on this question.

We should like very much to have the author give us a clear, candid, categorical definition of the soul, as he understands it. We have been taught, and sound reasoning sustains us in the view, to look upon the soul as the principle of life, and the essential form of man. From what we know of the intellect and its operations, its faculty of perception, of penetrating down into the essences of things, we have been led to believe it, not an organic and material faculty, but a spiritual power. So too have we been led by sound reasoning to judge of the human will.

In this book there are some interesting chapters, but they are only interesting; and that for their peculiarities, not for their sound philosophy or scientific value.

CONSIDERATIONES PRO REFORMATIONE VITÆ IN USUM SACERDOTUM, MAXIME TEMPORIS EXERCITIUM SPIRITUALIUM. Conscripsit *G. Roder, S. J.* Editio altera. Friburgi Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder. 1891. Herder, St. Louis. Price, 55 cents.

Father Roder dedicates this little but most practical work to the clergy whose retreats he so often directed. Many of our clergy must be familiar with the "Examination of Conscience for the Use of Priests who are Making a Retreat," translated by Father Grimm, C. S. S. R., from the French of Gaduel. It is an admirable examination of conscience, going over the whole field of priestly life in the form of questions, which each one's conscience should answer. Father Roder's work, however, is scientific. It may be said to be a compendium of moral theology adapted to the sanctification of the priest. No better work could be taken to the retreat than this little manual. It ought to be found amongst the spiritual books of every priest's library. It is enriched by eight appendices. 1. A general table of sins. 2. Particular examination of conscience. 3. Scrupulosity. 4. Meditation. 5. Defects in the celebration of Mass. 6. Three days' retreat made privately. 7. Censures, excommunications. 8. Special prayers to be used by the clergy.

MORES CATHOLICI; OR, AGES OF FAITH. By *Kenelm H. Digby*. Vol. III., containing Books VII., VIII. and IX. New York: P. O'Shea. 1891.

In our notices of the first and second volumes of this admirable work, as they were successively published, we described at length its leading characteristics. Suffice it to say that it is a monument of the indefatigable industry, the profound learning and eminent ability of its author. In composing it he laid under contribution the treasures of knowledge accumulated by writers of every age, their sublimest thoughts and most devout meditations.

The volume before us treats of the fifth, sixth and seventh Beatitudes. They describe, in as many separate "Books," the blessedness of the Merciful, of the Clean of Heart, and of the Peace Makers. They show how profoundly these virtues interiorly penetrated the spirit of the Middle Ages and powerfully influenced society.

We congratulate Mr. O'Shea on having thus far progressed in his

laudable design of republishing all the works of Kenelm H. Digby in a uniform edition, and sincerely hope that he will receive such encouragement as will enable him to carry forward the enterprise to a successful termination.

LIFE OF ST. ALOYSIUS GONZAGA, OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. Edited by *Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J.* Written by the Students of Rhetoric, Class of '92, of St. Francis Xavier's College, New York City. Tercentenary Edition. St. Francis Xavier's College, New York. 1891.

The publication of this unpretentious but excellent book, just before the celebration of the Tercentenary of St. Aloysius, was certainly very opportune. It is a fitting tribute from a noble band of youths to the memory of a youthful Saint, and one whose characteristic virtues are precisely those which it is all important the young should practice. Love of wealth, of pleasure, of ease, are eating away the hearts of the young men and young women of our day. The allurements of fashion and ambition, of luxury, of superficial refinement are leading them away from habits of virtue into the devious paths of sin.

In strong contrast with all this, were the characteristic virtues of St. Aloysius—unselfishness, purity, humility, penance. And just these are virtues which, in this age, it is most important to practice, and the cultivation of which by the young will form their strongest safeguard against their becoming victims to the prevalent vices and sins of our times.

The charming style in which the work is written enhances the interest of the subject itself.

BLESSED J. B. DE LA SALLE, Founder of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. By *Armand Ravelet*. Paris: Charles Poussielgue.

Blessed de la Salle is one of the great figures of his time, and not only of his own time, but of this, our time. For he still lives in his successors, the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and in the work which he planned and instituted, and which they are carrying on. It is impossible to mention popular education without bringing his name to mind. He was the first to found pedagogical teaching and the first to write for ignorant little children, to draw up and correct alphabets, catechisms, manuals of Christian politeness—the smallest and humblest class-books of the poor man's child.

The volume before us is not only a Life of the Blessed de la Salle, but also describes his methods of education, the foundation of his institute and the lives and labors of his chief successors.

To all who are concerned about the subject of Christian education, and especially the education of the poor, this book will be both interesting and valuable.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KATHOLISCHE THEOLOGIE. III. and IV. Quartalheft, 1890. I., 1891. Innsbruck: Fel. Rauch. Vol. XIV.

The magazine is published by the Jesuit Fathers of the University of Innsbruck. It is made up of essays, reviews, book notices and literary notes. Part III. has articles on the nature of sin; the existence of sects in the Russian Church; and on Rome and the French Church in the 6th century. Part IV. has the continuation of the article on the nature of sin, and on papal infallibility in the canonization of saints; special

teachings of Luther; the relation of quantity to substance. Part I., 1891, has articles on Atheism and the Social Question; the restoration of the merit of good works lost by mortal sin; the appeal to the heart in the sermon and catechism; definition and nature of quantity; Professor Stralek on Altmann of Passau and Gregory VII. Each part is rich in book reviews and book notices. We need not add that the magazine is of the highest literary character, worthy of the Jesuit Faculty and of the University.

HISTORISCHES JAHRBUCH. Von *Dr. Hermann Grauert*, Professor of History in the University of Munich. XI., part III., and XII., part I.

We have called attention before to this admirable historical magazine. The first part of volume xii. informs us that hereafter the famous Dr. Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck, and Dr. Gustav Schnürer, Professor of History in the University of Freiburg, Switzerland, will act as associate editors, names which will certainly add greatly to the renown and usefulness of the magazine. The various historical dissertations to be found in each number are all by distinguished writers, whilst the reviews and notices of historical publications in every language and country in the world, make the magazine simply a necessity to the lover of history. We cannot see how any library that wishes to be considered "up to the times" can fail to subscribe to this valuable publication.

PERCY WYNN; OR, MAKING A BOY OF HIM. By *Francis J. Finn, S. J.* (Neenah.) Benziger Bros. 12mo. Cloth. Gilt. \$1.00.

Whoever has read Tom Brown at Rugby, the most popular book and classic for boys that has appeared in the last half century, will see at once that Tom Playfair and Percy are the Catholic models of Tom Brown and Arthur. It is a capital story of boy-life at a Jesuit boarding-school by one who has evidently been all through it himself. Without any sermonizing, moral lessons of the highest interest, drawn from the various incidents of school life are inculcated, almost without the reader being aware of it, so naturally do they flow from the course of the story. No boy can begin to read the book without finishing it, and no one can read it without being improved by it. It will certainly become a favorite premium book in our schools and deserves it. This is the second edition which has been greatly improved and enlarged by the addition of two new chapters.

THE HOLY FACE OF JESUS. A series of meditations on the Litany of the Holy Face. Adapted from the French of *Abbé J. B. Fourault*, Priest of the Holy Face. Benziger Bros. 1891. 32mo. 50 cents.

Rt. Rev. Monsignor Preston, D.D., introduces this little work to the American Catholic reader. It is wonderful how rapidly the devotion to the Holy Face of our divine Lord has spread during the last ten years. In many of the churches it has taken its place as one of the recognized devotions of the parish. We are sure that this series of short meditations will be welcomed by all who have been attracted by the devotion itself. It is an excellent manual not only for the month of April, the month dedicated to the Holy Face, but for any time.

LIFE AND SCENERY IN MISSOURI. Reminiscences of a Missionary Priest. Dublin: James Duffy & Co. 1890.

The title of this work is misleading. It is too modest and not sufficiently comprehensive. The sketches of which it consists give, it is true, many interesting and graphic descriptions of "life and scenery in Missouri;" but in addition to these, there is a large amount of valuable information respecting the history and growth of the Church in Missouri, and also a number of like descriptions and biographical sketches of priests and other ecclesiastics, and also of Catholic laymen whose labors largely contributed to the progress of Catholicity in Missouri.

SHORT SERMONS ON THE GOSPELS. For Every Sunday in the Year. By *Rev. N. M. Redmond*. 1890. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati.

That these sermons are really short, the fact that a 12mo. volume of 222 pages contains them sufficiently proves. But brevity is not their only merit; they are practical, lucid, and forcible, and particularly well adapted for the use of persons who are so situated as not to have opportunities for listening to regular courses of instruction. To priests on the mission they will also prove of service in the way of assisting them to prepare discourses on occasions when they have little or no time for previous study or reflection.

THE AVE MARIA. A Catholic Family Magazine, devoted to the Honor of the Blessed Virgin. Edited by a Priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. New Series. Volume Thirty-first. July—December, 1890. Notre Dame, Indiana.

To praise the *Ave Maria* is needless. Its merits are too widely known and too highly appreciated to require any commendation at our hands. The binding of the volume before us well befits its interesting, instructive and edifying contents.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

RUNDSCHREIBEN ERLASSEN VON U. H. VATER LEO XIII. UBER DIE ARBEITERFRAGE. Ssmi *D. N. Leonis* D. P. Papæ XIII. Litteræ Encyclicæ. De Conditione Opificum. St. Louis: Herder. Price, 22 cents. A German and Latin edition of the Pope's Encyclical. "*Rerum Novarum*."

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT AND THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN AT LIÈGE. By *Dean Cruls*. Translated, by permission of Monsiegnor Doutreloux, Bishop of Liège, By William S. Preston. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates.

THE LIFE OF THE VENERABLE MADELINE BARAT, Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Drawn and Abridged from the French. By *Lady Georgiana Fullerton*. New York: P. O'Shea, Publisher. 1891.

SELECTED SERMONS. By *Rev. Christopher Hughes*, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Fall River, Mass. Introduction by Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1891.

TWO WAYS. By Anna Hanson Dorsey. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1891.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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AQUINAS RESUSCITATUS.

HOWEVER far we may be removed from its immediate influence, the great revival of the study of St. Thomas Aquinas, now in its fiftieth year, can hardly fail to be a subject of interest to those who have the defence and spread of the Catholic faith at heart.

This movement owes its origin chiefly to Cajetan Sanseverino as far back as 1840. He was the first of any note who set his face boldly against that eclecticism in philosophy which had become almost universal in Europe, both among Catholics and Protestants.

The cause was then taken up, sustained, and furthered by Frs. Liberatore, Kleutgen, and a few others; and after a struggle of forty years, it took a more definite shape, when it was officially recognized, approved, and organized by the Encyclical "Aeterni Patris," October 4, 1879.

Its promoters are now very numerous, and as zealous as ever, and they have as their leader and patron the Sovereign Pontiff himself. They are professedly reformers, and that of no very compromising character; for they aim at nothing less than making the "Summa" of St. Thomas the text-book of Christendom, so that it shall be to its philosophy and theology what the missal and breviary are to its liturgy; that is, a universal standard to which all shall conform, whereby all differences shall be, more or less, eliminated, and all schools of opinion merged, as far as possible, into one great Catholic school.

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That this estimate of their views is not exaggerated, will best appear from the terms in which the practical conclusion of the Encyclical is summed up: "While, then, we enjoin that whatever wise things others have said, whosoever they be; whatever fruitful discoveries and inventions they have made, should be welcomed with a liberal mind; at the same time we most earnestly exhort you, venerable brethren, for the honor and defence of the Catholic faith, for the advancement of science, for the welfare of society, to restore and spread, far and wide, the golden wisdom of St. Thomas. We say the '*wisdom* of St. Thomas,' for if the scholastics have been in any way over subtle in their inquisitions, or if they have too rashly accepted traditions, or if they have said anything not in keeping with the proven results of later research, or in any way not susceptible of proof, it is far from our intention that they should be followed in these matters. But let carefully chosen professors strive to instil into the minds of their pupils the teaching of Aquinas, and to make them clearly see how it excels all other in point of solidity. And let the academies which you may have already founded, or shall found hereafter, explain and defend his teaching, and apply it to the refutation of prevalent error. And that there may be no confusion between the pretence and the reality, the poisoned waters and the pure, you must take care that this wisdom of St. Thomas is drawn from the fountain-head, or at least from those streams which flow from it, and are, in the unanimous judgment of the most learned, beyond all doubt still pure and undefiled."

Ten days later, referring to this Encyclical in a brief addressed to Cardinal de Lucca, Prefect of Ecclesiastical Studies, the Holy Father says: "We earnestly exhorted the bishops to join their efforts with ours, to restore to the Catholic schools that ancient philosophy which has been pushed out into the cold and almost abandoned, and to replace it in that position of honor which it formerly occupied."

The best commentary on all this is the fact that in the Roman Seminary, which is under the immediate supervision of the Pope, there is no text-book recognized except the "*Summa*" of Aquinas, pure and simple. Furthermore, when we look at the special edition of St. Thomas with its commentaries, and the various reprints of the old scholastics which have been issued in pursuance of the Holy Father's wishes, we cannot but think that by the "pure unmixed streams" from which beginners are to imbibe the system of Aquinas, are meant those interpreters who, like Cajetan, Ferrariensis, Alamannus, etc., simply sought to learn what their master meant, rather than those critical interpreters who do not scruple to depart from him when their reason suggests it, and might perhaps

in some sense rival him as masters themselves. Nor does this in any way lessen the honor due to those great originals, but merely implies that for those whose present and immediate aim is to understand St. Thomas, the more direct and easier route lies elsewhere. It does not mean that they are to be studied less, but later on. Lastly, in more than one case, men of high intellectual attainments and great originality, who were unable to fall in comfortably with the new requirements, and to adapt themselves without reserve to the spirit of the reform, have had to resign their professorial chairs and to give place to others, in some cases, it may be, of inferior genius.

From all this it may be concluded as evident, in the words of a writer in the *Dublin Review* (January, 1880): "that it is intended to effect a very great work; to bring about unity in Catholic philosophy, and that, by the universal adoption of the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas."

Now, the feelings with which this movement is regarded will vary according to the point from which it is viewed. There are, however, two very vigorous types of feeling, the one favorable, the other adverse to it, yet both probably based on an entire misapprehension of its true significance, which we propose to discuss briefly, and to point out the fallacies on which they rely for their intellectual basis. And here we must crave pardon if, for the sake of clearness, we seem altogether to exaggerate the views of those whom we oppose.

We do not pretend to represent any individual cases that have come under our notice, but rather two extreme types,—caricatures if you will,—towards the realization of which many are tending, more or less, but none or very few ever attaining.

First, then, we have those enthusiastic and not altogether discreet admirers of Aquinas, who seem to be quite intolerant of the existence of any other theologians whatever; who seem almost to wish to make the *ipse dixit* of their idol the ultimate solvent of all controversies, and that not only in matters pertaining to faith and philosophy, but even in things belonging to the domain of empirical science. It is his influence as an authority, not as a reasoner, which they desire to see exalted. They seem to regard the "Summa" as containing the last word that is to be said in the science of theology, which for them lies closed up between the covers of St. Thomas, as does the canon of inspired scriptures between those of the Bible. No doubt many, though not all, who incline to this extreme view belong to that school which claims Aquinas as its founder, and which has rendered valuable service to theology by much learned commentary on his works, and by pre-

serving the tradition which regards his system as the most perfect theological method.

We cannot, however, acquit them of the charge of over-exclusiveness in their devotion, in so far as they have sometimes been conservative of the letter rather than of the spirit of their master, who, in the words of Bacon (no friend of the schools), "had the largest heart of all the school divines."

It has often been said, and very truly, that the blind admirers of an original are his worst enemies, since they imitate him in everything except his originality—" *inimici hominis domestici ejus*;" his sayings, doings and institutions are petrified into models for slavish imitation; the principles from which they spring are trodden underfoot; the spirit which quickened them and moulded them to the circumstances of the past is forgotten. That this general law, founded in the weakness of our nature, has been to some extent verified in the school to which St. Thomas especially belongs, is of course to be expected. To some extent only; for in every school there are to be found many men of wide and comprehensive mind capable of truly appreciating the tenets and principles they profess to maintain, but the majority will necessarily be made up of unoriginal, imitative minds, and in most cases the numerical majority gives the tone to the whole. It may well be that some of these extreme enthusiasts hail with delight the revival of the study of Aquinas, and regard the patronage and approval which the Holy Father has accorded to it as a sort of *ex cathedra* declaration in favor of all exclusively Thomistic opinions. "*Roma locuta est*" they would seem to say—really meaning, therefore, that the question of physical predetermination and many others of the same kind are forever at rest.

Surely, this would be a complete misinterpretation of the mind of the Roman Pontiff. If, indeed, St. Thomas were to be taken as a guide in this exclusive sense, the narrowing result of such a system would be disastrous in the extreme. In no way would it be a true revival of the teaching of St. Thomas, while it would be the death-blow to theology as a living science, capable of indefinite evolution and perfection. And, indeed, it must be acknowledged that whatever efforts have been made in these latter days to arouse theology from its long-continued lethargy, whatever has been done in the way of reconciling differences and of meeting contemporary error on its own ground and combating it with its own weapons, is to be ascribed, as a rule, not to the exclusive followers of any of the old masters, but to eclectics who belonged to no particular school, while more or less approving of all.

And now, in direct opposition to these enthusiasts (whose tendency is somewhat retrograde, in that they regard a return to the

past as the only remedy for present evils), we have many very zealous Catholics who are keenly alive to the intellectual needs of the present day, and also to the inability of so many of our clergy to supply them. As in every other line, so in this—the harvest is great, the laborers few and inefficient. They are therefore impatient to see an immediate and direct application of clerical studies to the circumstances of our own times. It was not so in the days when theology was commonly regarded as the queen of sciences, and was by itself sufficient to rank a man with the most highly educated. Not only with a view to the work of education of youth, but in order to be able to understand the minds with which they have to deal, and to command that respect which is due to their office, it is needful that priests should be not only theologians, but also men of general education, which now-a-days requires a considerably prolonged period of preparation. And so they feel that the method of the old schools, with its lengthy lectures, its formal disputations (so unlike newspaper controversy), is intolerably cumbersome, and though respect seals their lips, they fret inwardly at what seems to them a short-sighted conservatism, lazily cleaving to an effete and unpractical system. Seven years seems to them far too large a proportion of one's education time to devote to the study of an antiquated form of theology which needs so much alteration before it can be applied to present purposes. "Why should we concern ourselves with the errors of Manichæus or Pelagius, of Avicenna or Averrhoes? It is not the Mahometan, but the atheist, the pantheist, the agnostic whom we have to encounter now. How can a book written to suit the needs of the thirteenth century be applied to those of the nineteenth? Heresy will soon be a thing of the past. Time is making evident to all what was always true, namely, the untenableness of any position between pure rationalism and absolute submission to a living revelation. Consequently, to be able to prove the existence of a revelation, to point to the Church as its only legitimate guardian and interpreter, is the most pressing, the only essential part of theological education in these days. And yet where are we to look in the "Summa" for a treatise *de vera religione* or *de ecclesia* as those questions have to be treated now? Where are we to find answers to those hosts of difficulties raised by sciences which had practically no existence in the days of St. Thomas?" "We have every respect," say they, "for St. Thomas, and we are always proud to be able to quote him in favor of our views. But as he was a man of his time, so let us be men of ours. Let us bring our philosophy to bear directly on the false philosophies of our contemporaries. Of course, we must first learn our own position. But for this let manuals suffice. After all, the authors of these manuals have

drawn, directly or indirectly, from the old masters all that is best and most needful for present emergencies. And by this means we shall have leisure to read up Kant and Hegel, Spencer, Mill, Bacon and the rest of these great bugbears; and having read them, to write clever articles about them in their own easy, self-confident style; we shall be able to prepare ourselves for the lecture-room and for that glorious arena of small controversy, the railway carriage; we shall be able to *think* in English, and, consequently, when we do appear in print, to express our thoughts in a manner intelligible to our contemporaries, and not in the rigid mould and pedantic phraseology of antiquity. In a word, we shall be up to date, and shall be men of our time in every respect consistent with our duty as Catholics."

To those who look at the matter in this light, the revival of the study of St. Thomas is by no means welcome, except as an index of the general reawakening of mental activity in the interests of theology. They sacredly believe and hope that it is only a passing phase, perhaps a passing craze; that as it owes its strength mainly to the influence of the present Pope, so when that influence is withdrawn the "Summa" will once more be put on the shelf, and text-books, as before, will increase and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it.

There is much, very much, to sympathize with in the position of these well-intentioned utilitarians, and yet, while admitting many of their premises, we cannot but think that their practical conclusion is rather rash and short-sighted. We think that they are looking to the greatest present result, and not to the greatest eventual gain; that they are considering the solitary laborer, and not him who is but a part of one great mechanism. The perfectly isolated worker, if such there now be, may direct his preparation exclusively to those needs and opportunities with which he will come in direct personal contact. If a philanthropist, he may prepare himself to do as much good as lies within the power of one man to effect in the course of a short life, and without assistance. But if he be a man of wider views, he will see that in most cases he will effect far more good eventually by performing his duty as a member of an organized body devoted to philanthropic ends, however remotely that duty may bear on the happiness of others, however impatient he may naturally be to see the fruit of his labor, however unwilling to be able to claim a merely fractional share in the result.

Now the Church is an organized body, of which the clergy are active members. She looks at the present with loving anxiety and pain, but she has also to look far into the future, and to consider the millions of her yet unborn children, and the manifold thorny

dangers which, now only in seed, may spring up hereafter to choke the good grain. She knows how false a zeal it is which would "take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs," that would turn away the intellectual energies of her priests from the work of illustrating and harmonizing the mysteries of faith, by which the minds of her saints are fed and enlightened, in order to silence the barking of dogs, who deny the very existence of that faith. To preserve and cherish the souls within her pale is her first care; her second (not co-ordinate but subordinate), to save the wanderers without, and draw them into the fold. As it is by sanctifying himself, and in no other way, that a man best consults for the sanctification of his neighbor, so it is by turning our energies inward, and by perfecting ourselves as a body, that we shall actually and most effectually exercise our apostolate to the world at large. Controversy and polemics have their legitimate sphere, but they are not the be-all and end-all of theology. It is well and needful for the faithful to see that their religion is able to defend itself against the charge of unreasonableness. And for those who are already sincerely seeking the truth, whose will has been, by other means, disposed toward the Church, the solution of difficulties is often a necessary condition for the completion of the good work, a *causa removens prohibens*. But if we look for the motive power, the efficient cause, it is by the cords of love and through the will that men are drawn into the Church, and not by the haggling of controversy. It may be the beauty, sublimity, and intimate harmony of Catholic doctrine which first exerts a spell; it may be the repose and peace which submission to an infallible authority affords to the thought-wearied mind; it may be the help and consolation of the sacraments, the Eucharistic *Schechina* which hallows our churches; it may be the gentle glory of the Saints, the only adequate fruit of the Catholic religion by which the tree can be tested; it may be the self-sacrifice of such men as Father Damien, and hundreds of men and women, who, in or out of religious orders, lead lives as heroic as his; it is often admiration for what the Church has done in advocating the cause of the poor, in maintaining liberty and order in due proportion; it is sometimes even the grace and dignity of her rites, the majesty of her temples, which gives the will its first bent contrary to that which it received by education. These are the arguments that tell; these the weapons of the most fruitful controversy of all.

Having thus pointed out these two contrary, and we believe quite incorrect, views of the significance of the Thomistic revival (a term whose misinterpretation has now been guarded against), we may venture to give what we believe to be the true interpretation of the mind of the Holy Father as shown in the Encyclical *Acterni*

Patris, and in his subsequent action in furtherance of the wishes therein expressed.

While, on the one hand, we should not exaggerate, on the other, we should not underrate so solemn and deliberate a disciplinary measure of a Pontiff so eminently liberal-minded and enlightened, keenly alive to the peculiar needs of the Church in the nineteenth century ; of one so conciliatory, so utterly incapable of imposing his private opinions and idiosyncrasies on numbers of men of opposite views without grave and wide-spreading reasons. Nor is it likely that in a matter so intimately connected with the evolution, defence and spread of the Christian faith that the assistance, or even the guidance of the Holy Spirit would be wanting.

It will help very much to the formation of a correct opinion on this subject to have a clear idea of the distinction between positive and scientific or scholastic theology. Positive knowledge in any department is that acquaintance with facts, conclusions, or even arguments, which is acquired by way of information, whether for the sake of one's own mental improvement or with a view to imparting the same to others. It remains in the mind as it entered it. It is not dissected or analyzed, with a view to extracting the principle involved, or separating the general from the particular. Thus, one may acquire historical knowledge, to gratify his natural and laudable curiosity, or with a view to teaching others, or in order to furnish materials for the scientific historian and the sociologist. But the latter values this information, not for what it is in itself, but for what he can draw out of it, namely, the theories and laws of social life and its conditions.

Now the scientist, in whatever department, needs a long and careful preparation for his work. First of all, he must know what a science is, and for this he must go to logic, which treats about science in general, and as a practical issue lays down those rules for the conduct of reasoning which constitute the art of speculation. Besides knowing the art, he must acquire skill in the application of its rules, and for this it will be well to apply them first to some of those sciences the nature of whose object is wholly comprehensible to man, being in some sense the creation of his own mind, such as numbers, measurements, mechanical contrivances, and the like. Here the terminology can be most exact and free from ambiguity, and there is no room for other fallacies than those of form. When he has acquired some skill in these matters, he may pass on to those sciences which deal with natures more or less obscure, and where the terms are open to ambiguous interpretation, and there is need of very careful distinction in order to guard against "real" fallacies. According then to the complexity of the subject-matter, the scientist will need more or less gymnastic train-

ing in the subtilties peculiar to it before he can even begin to labor at the extension and improvement of the science in question.¹

Now it will be quite plain to the most casual reader that the Encyclical has in view the scientific (that is, the scholastic) and not the positive theologian. The distinction is one that has been always recognized *theoretically*, and is most necessary for the work of the Church. In old times, the episcopal seminaries were schools of positive theology, while the university course was scholastic or scientific. To know the received conclusions and the arguments by which they are defended from ordinary objections is the part of the positive theologian. To find new arguments, to advance to new conclusions, to be ready for all possible difficulties, is, among other things, the part of the scholastic theologian. Positive theology is a weapon offensive and defensive for particular foreseen emergencies; scholastic theology is a weapon of universal applicability, or rather a skill to fashion weapons suited to the most unforeseen assaults. A course of positive theology is something final, at the end of which a man is fit to preach and catechise; a course of scholastic theology is essentially preparatory, at the end of which a man is not fit to teach, but only to prepare himself for teaching theology to others. In an examination, an unsound opinion is a fatal error in the positive theologian, while a fallacious argument is but venial; whereas the converse is true as regards the student of scholastic theology. To be perfect in either sphere requires powers of a very high order, though wholly distinct in kind. Those necessary for the positive theologian are more generally useful and fortunately more widely diffused.

Practically, however, the distinction has been much overlooked, owing, no doubt to the almost complete oblivion into which scholastic philosophy had fallen, until about fifty years ago; and so we still find many who speak of the difference as one of degree rather than of kind. "The scholastic theologian shall go *more* into the reasons of things," say they. And if we take up text-books professing to belong to these different departments, we often find little beyond the title-page and the dimensions to tell us to which we should assign it. All alike argue successively from Scripture, from the Councils, from the Fathers, from reason, varying, perhaps, only in the proportion of the ingredients. All are padded with exegetical and historical discussions and controversies set forth, as a rule, not in the clear, unpretending scholastic dialect, but in dis-

¹ By *subtily*, here and throughout, we do not mean that ingenious trifling with which the later schoolmen have been rightly or wrongly accredited, and which cannot be too severely condemned, but that accuracy and keenness of perception, that exactitude of expression which is the antithesis, not of depth, but of obscurity; not of breadth, but of vagueness.

cursive and would-be rhetorical Latin which disgusts the learned and puzzles the unlearned. All seem to suppose—what in most cases is quite true—that the student is never to have leisure to study Holy Scripture, or the Councils, or the Fathers, for himself, and therefore must find within the limits of one or two small volumes, all that he is ever to know of scholastic, dogmatic and patristic theology.

Naturally enough, the beginner wonders if three years' drilling in scholastic philosophy is really such a very essential prerequisite to the study of theology; and whether common sense and a few weeks would not be amply sufficient for the purpose. In truth, the tradition dates from the time when scholastic theology was in full vigor. But for one who really appreciates what is meant by scholastic theology, and the relation (so well set forth in our Encyclical) which Aristotelian philosophy bears to it, three years is even too short a time to leave any room for those encounters with current philosophical heresies, with which so much of that valuable time is wasted, and to so little purpose.

Of course, the scholastic theologian before he can teach, must know all that the positive theologian knows, and much more; but his aim as a *student* is to cultivate the subtle habit of mind needful for one who intends to *work at* the science eventually. This is not simply to practice logic, as some may object, but to practice the *application* of logic to the most difficult and complex matter, and to get well acquainted with the windings and turnings of the way. We can well understand how it is possible, and not uncommon, for a man to know a text-book of scholastic theology from end to end, to repeat the arguments glibly, to solve the usual objections, and, at the same time, to be a mere intellectual cripple as far as any original work is concerned—much as little boys who are crammed rather than taught, will rattle off the propositions of Euclid and as many problems as have been done for them, provided the letters are the same and the figures not turned topsy-turvy.

This sort of thing will no more make a theologian than to learn a volume of sermons by heart will make a preacher; this will in no way conduce to that subtle habit of mind which will make it possible to solve new and unforeseen difficulties by recourse to first principles however remote. He alone can alter and adapt, who thoroughly understands the principles of construction.

The greatest difficulty presented by this high standard of the requirements of the scholastic theologian is that relating to the time to be consumed in merely preparatory work. There are now "so many worlds, so much to do," so great a harvest, so few laborers. Besides the ministry of the Word, there is the ministry

of the sacraments, the education of youth, the service of the poor, all matters of urgent importance for the Church. Certainly, if a man is to be an accomplished theologian, he cannot hope to be a distinguished historian, mathematician or linguist; if at the end of his seven years he is only fit to begin to *work at* the science, how long shall we have to wait for him if he is to be an active missionary, an eloquent preacher, a finished mathematician, or a profound classical scholar? In truth, nothing can be done now-a-days without specialization and co-operation. To be perfect in any one of the above lines is the work of a lifetime; and for the rest, a man must be content with just sufficient ability to enable him to act as a stop-gap on an emergency. This is the sacrifice which all must now make, who desire to be masters in any one of the many mansions of knowledge.

As regards the preservation, defence and spread of Christian doctrine, it is quite sufficient for the large majority of the clergy in their ordinary intercourse with the world, to know clearly the explanations, arguments and solutions that have been elaborated by proficients in theology. But this supposes that there are some—and they need not be relatively many—who are set apart for this work of elaboration, who supply the weapons to others, or alter them to suit new requirements. For these, indeed, long training and life-long devotion is almost indispensable.

The writer in the *Dublin Review*, already referred to, predicts that in order to carry out this new reform, it will be found necessary to prolong the time given to the study of theology. This only shows how impossible it is to suppose that it is intended to subject all the clergy indiscriminately to so elaborate a training, for where is the time to come from? Therefore another consequence will be that fewer will be able to attempt the higher course of theology. And since it is impossible to have a double staff of professors in every theologate, for the sake of ten per cent. or less of the students, we might predict as another consequence, the specialization of colleges to each of the branches, positive and scholastic.

We have next to consider the expediency of imposing as a standard upon all students of scientific theology, during the period of their preparation, the works of some great master, such as St. Thomas Aquinas. The reasons are very urgent, and we think very obviously so.

No one can fail to see how needful it is in a world-wide perpetual institution, like the Christian Church, to have a catholic language, such as Latin, which from the very fact of its being a dead language, can be used to register and express ideas with an exactness approaching that of purely arbitrary signs, retaining the same value

for all differences of place and time. Now theology, like every other science, is forwarded and perfected by nothing so much as by the interchange of ideas between men of different countries and different casts of thought, and by the comparison of the past with the present; and everything that facilitates this communion and intercourse, is, so far, to be desired. It is with a view to this, that Latin has been adopted in the West as the common language of the schools and Councils. But, in the case of very abstract and subtle questions, such as occur in philosophy and scientific theology, this alone is not sufficient to secure this interchange of ideas without much friction, waste of time and energy, and other grave inconveniences. For here it is necessary, sometimes, to coin new words and phrases, and sometimes to take old words and phrases which, by nature signify ordinary and familiar notions, and to apply them to the expression of reflex ideas, often differing from one another by the merest shade of meaning. No common language is fit for this purpose, save by the use of such circumlocutions as would make converse impossible. If, in natural philosophy, a fixed terminology and symbolism is necessary, how much more so in mental philosophy. When there is question of naming an external object, we can point to it and say: "Let us call this *e.g.*, a zoophite, and that a trilobite"; but when we have to name mental processes, modes, ratios, abstractions, analogies, and the like, it is very difficult to be sure that each has the same idea in his head; for, we cannot read the thoughts of another, save in the blurred type of material signs. It is just possible, by a tedious process of induction, and after many mistakes and explanations, for two minds to be certain that each has the same thought as the other; and then, indeed, if they agree about terminology, it will be possible for them to converse intelligently about it afterwards. But a like labor must be undergone by every other mind in order to understand the term in question; and this it is that makes abstract studies so very difficult, and why, in old times, they were deferred till the mind was matured and hardened.

All this shows the great need of having one way of looking at and speaking of philosophical notions; and this can only be secured by taking some one mind as the standard for all; not a living, changing mind; but a mind registered and fixed for ever on paper. There are few students who have not lost hours and hours of time, and suffered endless annoyance, owing to the diverse senses which authors attach to the same terms. A very slight error in terminology is usually enormous in its consequences—a little thing in itself, but quite capable of throwing the whole machinery of the mind out of gear. Is it too much to say, that at least half of the internal controversies of Catholic the-

ologians and philosophers, which fill the pages of our textbooks, and puzzle and discourage the beginner, owe their origin to the lack of this strict uniformity in the use of terms? How else is it possible that, in most of these disputes, each party claims St. Thomas in support of his opinion? Or, that men can refer to his writings for years, and yet deny that he taught principles which those who have made him their special study declare to be essential to his system, and to permeate his thought from beginning to end? When we have such able men, on both sides, is it not much more reasonable to impute these differences to some variety in the meaning attached to elementary terms and axioms, than to the stupidity or ignorance with which they are sometimes inclined to upbraid one another? Nor is it altogether with a view to interchange of ideas, but even for the successful issue of our own solitary reasoning, that an accurately-defined terminology is needed. As a matter of fact, though we might, yet we never do, determine within ourselves to give a fixed meaning to a certain expression, but we take words as we find them used by others, with all that ambiguity and vagueness which makes thought tiresome and profitless.

Allowing the need of choosing some of the great doctors as a standard, the reasons for giving the preference to St. Thomas, which are so fully set forth in the Encyclical "Aeterni Patris," are not likely to be disputed. It may, not, however be amiss to quote what has been so well said by Rev. Dr. Wm. Barry, in the *Contemporary Review*, for November, 1883 ("The New Birth of Christian Philosophy"): "In this name (St. Thomas Aquinas), so well known to Catholic metaphysicians—so dim and distant to the world at large—the strength and beauty of mediævalism, as a system of thought, are forever expressed. Aquinas is the thinker, as Dante is the poet, of thirteenth-century Christianity; and the 'Paradise' of Dante, which to Carlyle seemed inarticulate music, borrows its noblest rhythms, and most lovely conceptions, from that other poem, the 'Summa Theologica'; or, employing a more suggestive comparison, as the modern world reads Aristotle with the eyes of Kant, so the mediæval read him with those of the *Angelic Doctor*—as Catholics style St. Thomas. Others were as original, or more so; and one, Albertus Magnus of Cologne, possessed a knowledge of natural science, which in the 'Summa' we do not find; but none were so faithful to the spirit of Aristotle, or comprehended with so clear a glance the bearings of Christian doctrines on Christianity as a whole. His characteristic is *balance*, or the power of adjusting seemingly opposed statements, so that they shall throw light upon each other—a power which might be termed artistic by the Greeks, and architectonic by Aristotle. It is the faculty of

proving by systematizing; of winning a demonstration by marshalling a number of theses in their metaphysical order; or, of indicating the composition of thought in its relation to being."

And further on with reference to his style and terminology, he says: "No writer has ever been more lucid; and he possesses the charm of lucidity; for, to read him refreshes, and does not tire. His Latin, which is curiously like Greek in construction, and what I may call tone, is a subtle instrument, never rhetorical, eschewing the slightest ornament; but, full of the peculiar grace of an exquisite logical arrangement, it has the conciseness and strength of the highest algebra. He is never ruffled, or moved from the calm that mediæval cloisters created around him; his dispassionateness, in our times, would, by the superficial be suspected as indifference, for in all he has written, there is no word of personal rebuke for his adversaries. He cannot be angry; and his only way of striking an enemy down, is to offer him a fresh argument."

Again, a writer in the *Dublin Review*, for April, 1880 ("Text-books of Philosophy") says: "It is indisputably true, that scholastic philosophy owes its form, its compensative completeness, its harmony with Revelation, and the subtle illumination which it derives everywhere from Revelation, to St. Thomas of Aquin. But what he in Latin began, his successors and disciples in Latin continued. St. Thomas may be almost said to have invented a new dialect of Latin. Without denying the power and influence of those who preceded him, and especially of Blessed Albert the Great—who would have been a worthy leader and patron of the great Dominican school, had there been no Thomas to succeed him—it may be said, with perfect truth, that he formed a language, somewhat in the sense in which the 'Divina Commedia' formed a language. The Latin of the 'Summa Theologica' is as remote from the Latin of Cicero, or even of Seneca, as is Italian or Spanish. But it is a true language, having a body of terms, a regular and unique construction, a perfect flexibility, and above all—what may be considered as the test of a cultured language—an altogether marvellous capacity for the deft expression of abstract thought and speculation."¹

It may perhaps be objected, that it will be morally impossible now, to fix the precise meaning which St. Thomas attached to the terms and axioms which he used. In reply, it may be said, that to do so indeed is a work of laborious induction and comparison, far beyond the power of any solitary theologian; and involving a comparative study, not only of all the works of Aquinas, but of those of his contemporaries and immediate followers. This is a task for a college or school such as the present "Accademia di

¹ Cf. Milman's *History of Lat. Christianity*, viii., p. 265, sqq.

San Tommaso;" and will for a time no doubt, give rise to a certain amount of dispute; but must be eventually completed. No private individual, unassisted by a commentary, could determine the exact shade of meaning which many common words bore in Shakespeare's mind, but this has now been fairly determined by the continual labor of commentators; and as long as these commentaries themselves are not antiquated, the meaning of a word used in the Shakesperean sense is something fixed and unalterable for all time. For the student of St. Thomas, such a guide or commentary will a ways be needed, and it will be the duty of those who undertake to supply such a want to divest themselves of all prepossession as to what they would *wish* the text to mean, and confine themselves strictly to proving by induction what it does mean. How often do we find books professing to be introductions to the study of St. Thomas, whose sole aim is to read into the words of Aquinas, the peculiar opinions of the author or his party.

And so we may conclude, that as he who wishes to be a profound lawyer will not think it waste of time to study the pandects of Justinian, and ancient codes relating to long-forgotten politics, whose value does not lie in their immediate applicability to present circumstances, but to their embodying and exemplifying all the principles of just legislation, and serving as a guide for the construction and alteration of modern codes; so for a deep and thorough mastery of theology it is a most necessary preparation to master that great master who, with his eyes fixed on the crucifix drew his wisdom *ex fontibus Salvatoris*.

It is then, to the trained scholastic theologian alone, that the Church must look in the future for the intellectual defence of the faith; for he alone will be able to supply weapons to those whose ministry leaves them no time to forge them for themselves.

Even for the advance and improvement of apologetic theology, for the critical study of scripture, of ecclesiastical history, for the refutation of sophistical philosophy in every department, nothing is so primarily necessary as the power of seeing far into the remotest consequences of principles, and detecting the fallacies lurking in the labyrinths of plausibility. He who has thoroughly mastered any one system, whatever it be; who has not been mastered by it, or enslaved to it, but has trained his intellect to abstract from its private assents and prepossessions and to follow the workings of another mind, will be able with least difficulty to comprehend the ideas of a different system.

Of course, it will be needful for the scholastic theologian, as soon as he has secured his own fortifications, to familiarize himself with the enemy's ground, and with a view to active operations he must acquaint himself fully with the language and terminology of his

opponents. But it may be questioned whether the failure that has sometimes attended the attempts to put Catholic theology and philosophy into English garb, is not just as much due to hazy and indistinct notions as to any literary deficiency. Certainly, it is the experience of most, that as one's own ideas grow more clearly defined, it becomes easier to express them in the mother-tongue.

Finally, the interests of moral theology will be best cared for by this new system if it should ever prevail. Here, if anywhere, there not only remains much to be done yet in the way of organizing and completing the science; but there is always a standing need of new adaptation to the ever-varying circumstances of social life. And for this work of completion and adaptation he will be most fit who has been well drilled in the second part of the "Summa," for he alone can adapt who understands the principles of construction, as has been said before. It is needless to say that, as a direct preparation for the work of the confessional, manuals will always be necessary and sufficient, since to a great extent the knowledge required is positive, and to dream of confining one's attention to St. Thomas in such matters would be wildly impractical. Yet after this necessary knowledge has been secured, its fruitfulness may be multiplied thirty-, sixty-, or a hundred-fold by digging deep about its roots.

Before concluding, the writer would wish to guard against any misapprehension that might arise as to the practical bearings of this article from his very hasty and inadequate treatment of so difficult a question. It is *not* contended here that every priest shall receive his theology directly from the "Summa Theologica," but only those, and all those, whose duty it will be to teach that science to others; those, in other words, who are studying for the doctorate. This will be quite sufficient to secure the desired uniformity in method and terminology; for the large majority of the clergy, text-books will still have their legitimate use.

It is not supposed that the young student of scholastic theology should be allowed to flounder about in the "Summa" in a desultory fashion, but that he should hear an orderly course of lectures on the text by efficient professors, themselves masters of the system. It is not for a moment intended that Suarez, Billuart, De Lugo, Gonet, Petavius, etc., should be studied less than heretofore, but that they should be approached with a mature mind already master of one system, and not at an earlier period when their study would be productive of confusion rather than of light. Lastly, it is contended that if the standard for the doctorate in theology be raised, and the time of preparation lengthened, the gain will, in the long run, be enormous for the Church, although the relative number of such specialists will necessarily decrease.

And now, if the Angel of the Schools, that wide and gentle spirit, comes amongst us once more with his "golden wisdom," he comes to a world older and wiser by centuries of bitter experience. Look at his philosophy, even as it is now, just awakening from its long torpor, and shaking itself free from the grave-clothes in which it has been cramped and confined. Is there any other system like it which has been so widely received,—as widely as the Catholic faith itself; that has had so many master-minds at work upon it, and that for so long a time, whose every point has been so keenly contested, over and over again, that from the very nature of the case it is impossible to find it at variance with itself? Has any philosophy ever had such a genesis, such a trial as this, the philosophy of the strong common-sense of mankind; that realism which is engrained in our very nature, and cannot be shaken off in practice even by its most bitter opponents, but must and therefore will prevail as long as man is a "rational animal," and continues to be born with five senses and a mind as blank as a clean sheet of note-paper.

It was by stimulating thought that scholastic philosophy began first to be felt as a power, and gradually filled the mediæval universities with thousands of eager, active minds, all speaking, as it were, one great mind-language, and at last culminated in the production of the "*Summa Theologica*" of Aquinas.

But as soon as the worship due to the spirit was insensibly diverted to the letter; as soon as the "*ipse dixit*" of St. Thomas took the place of the criterion by which he himself was guided; as soon as the system changed its political sway for a despotism, opposing itself to the irresistible force of progressive thought, it began to sink into that oblivion which eventually became its grave. And as it withered away, there grew up in its place the false spirit of eclectic philosophy, whose disciples went about plucking the prettiest flowers along the wayside and arranging them in bouquets, lifeless and rootless, destined to fade in the hand of the gatherer, and to be then thrown away and forgotten. And so for a remedy it will not be sufficient to return to St. Thomas unless we return to him in his own liberal spirit, with his large-hearted sympathy for others, and his single intention for the glory of God and the honor of His Holy Church.

One who had the kindness to read this paper through and to make valuable suggestions, asked, amongst other things, if St. Thomas were alive now, would he recommend the study of his own "*Summa*?" Would he not rather sit down and write a philosophy directed against the errors current in our own day? But it seems to me that this question is somewhat beside the mark. We may confidently appeal from what St. Thomas did to what he

would do. He saw that the mastery of Aristotle was eventually the shortest way to master and refute the errors of the thirteenth century. So we may presume that were it possible to find some one now precisely like-minded with St. Thomas, he would for similar reasons recognize the study of the thirteenth century Doctor as the fittest foundation for ecclesiastical training. What can be more in the spirit of modern enlightenment than the critical study of the thought of distant ages and countries. Of course, were such a study not conducted with a broad and open mind; were it directed to the formation of premature assents, it would infallibly produce that narrowness and mental paralysis which it is precisely designed to correct. All attempts to modernize and adapt St. Thomas imply that he is to be studied as a rule of philosophical and theological certitude rather than as a pattern of ancient method and forms of thought. Studied in an enlightened spirit, even his physics would be both interesting and instructive. By not forcing the beginner to yield a premature assent to what he really does not yet understand and cannot accept, he will eventually be led to accept a great deal more than he would otherwise be inclined to do.

No doubt were St. Thomas to come on earth again, he would make many alterations in his writings, but they would rather be in the direction of separating abstract philosophy more entirely from physics than of adapting it to modern discoveries and hypotheses, and would render it to a still greater extent independent of the vicissitudes of experimental science. For certainly the fault of metaphysicians in the past has been an over-readiness to yield credence to the physicist.

DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH CATHOLIC
LITERATURE.

BEFORE the time of Catholic Emancipation (1829) English Catholic literature was under a ban. If an English Catholic happened to possess a Catholic book, he might carry it in his pocket, but he would not carry it in his hand, for fear of the gibes or the "informing" of the Papist-hunters. In the libraries of the Catholic gentry there would be a few well-known, treasured books, but to the outside world a "Popish book" would be almost as rare a curiosity as a copy of the Koran or of the Vedas. Imagine a Catholic literature so much as existing in a country where priests had to go about dressed in a suit of brown cloth, so as to escape the insults which would be offered to their office, or where, as an old Oscotian could describe his experience (in the year 1805): "we could seldom walk in the streets without being jeered at; when we said Mass it was in a garret or in some obscure locality, and we were occasionally hooted or had stones thrown at us." The literature of such a caste would not have been popular. It would have been thought fit pabulum for the attentions of the public hangman. And yet, spite of the woful ignorance of the Protestant Dark Ages, there was the same knowledge of Catholic doctrines among English Catholics as there is in these days of much writing.

The second period was when, at the dawn of Catholic Emancipation, such names as Milner, Challoner, Lingard, Alban Butler and Wiseman attracted more or less popular attention; so that even the newspapers (few in number) took note of their writings, and Anglican clergymen stooped to "reply" to their apologies. Perhaps the most prolific of the writers of that period was the ever-to-be-revered Bishop Milner, who, fearless in temperament as he was single in purpose, attacked a nation with equal boldness and severity. Every Catholic now knows "The End of Controversy," published about the year 1824 by the Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District, but every Catholic does not know the storm of Answers, of Confutations, which this most admirable series of letters quickly evoked. Innumerable historical fragments by the same fertile writer both preceded and followed "The End of Controversy;" besides voluminous correspondence on political questions of the period and on controversies which in these days have lost their interest. We can imagine the sense of literary isolation with which an almost alone Catholic champion must have attacked

a nation which was Protestant to the core. Holes and corners were the accustomed retreats of learned Catholics. Great praise—historic praise—is due to those few noblemen and gentlemen whose houses were always the homes of the Catholic priesthood, and but for whom, through two centuries, there would have been little chance of classic repose for the harried Papists whom a nation looked upon as rebels. Contrast two such periods as 1790 and 1850; contrast the feelings of Bishop Milner, who, in 1790, preached a sermon, in the private chapel of Lulworth Castle, on the occasion of the consecration of Dr. Gibson to the “in partibus infidelium” bishopric of Acanthos, with the feelings of Dr. Newman, who, in 1850, preached a sermon in the new church of St. Mary, Oscott, on the occasion of the formal opening of the splendid college. Sixty years had brought the “Second Spring” out of the long winter, and from that moment a sort of Catholic summer came into prospect.

Another honored literary name is that of Bishop Challoner, whose “*Britannia Sancta, or lives of the most celebrated English, Scottish and Irish Saints*” (published somewhere about 1750); whose “*Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church in Matters of Faith*,” and whose numerous ascetical and expository publications give him high place in præ-Emancipation distinction. Nor must we omit Alban Butler, whose “*History of the Primitive Church*,” whose “*Lives of the Popes*,” whose “*Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints*,” and also whose “*Lives of Irish Saints*” have entitled him to a niche in literary fame.—Dr. Lingard, again, is a name worthy to be honored, considering the painful times in which he wrote, and certainly the bitter “replies” which were made to his Catholic statements showed how earnestly and how honestly he worked for truth.

Yet the name of Wiseman will naturally command most respect, because of the now historical association of that name with the restoration of the English Catholic hierarchy. Some notion may be derived of the bitter antagonism of the English people to the Catholic products of Dr. Wiseman's prolific pen, from the mere titles of scores of pamphlets and lampoons which were issued in “confutation” of his writings. We may read in the catalogue of the British Museum library any number of such nasty titles as “*Dr. Wiseman's Popish Literary Blunders Exposed*,” “*Popish Frauds Exemplified by Dr. Wiseman's Lectures*,” “*Idolatry of the Church of Rome Proved out of Dr. Wiseman's Third Lecture*,” and so on. This was the sort of angry and feeble twaddle which was thought good enough for the learned and accomplished critic who wrote such admirable essays on Christian Art, whose “*Recollections of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in Their Days*,”

might well have tempered the ferocity of national bigotry; whose "Points of Contact between Science and Art," or whose essay on the "Prospects of Beautiful Architecture in England" might have taught refinement in controversy to his adversaries; or whose "Fabiola," whose "Hidden Gem," showed the delicacy of a powerful mind, not likely to be roughly swayed by mere bullying. But the fortress of national bigotry had not in those days been carried, for we find that even High Church clergymen used to grow rampant. It is a curious fact, as showing the vicissitudes of the Anglican mind when on its road out of Anglicanism into Catholicity, that Mr. William Palmer, the well-known would-be apostle of the union of the Greek and Anglican Churches, attacked Dr. Wiseman for some statements about Anglican history which he considered to be disrespectful to the Anglican theory. A short time afterwards Mr. Palmer met Dr. Wiseman in Rome, and fraternized with him as a true Catholic. And certainly mention ought to be made of Mr. Palmer in any treatment of the transition-period of English literature; for Mr. Palmer's essays on Early Christian Symbolism were very useful in instructing English friends and foes. We might also consistently speak of such a man as Mr. Welby Pugin, when writing on the transition-period in Catholic literature, for it is more than probable that his "Sermons in Stones" did a good deal towards re-educating the national mind in the idea of the primitive beauty of church architecture. "Æstheticism" was not to be despised as a stepping-stone out of three centuries of ecclesiastical barbarism, the idea of primitive beauty in things material being harmonious with that of primitive beauty in truth.

A third period of the Catholic literary revival may be said to be that of the ripeness of the Oxford Movement, when Dr. Newman shook the foundations of High Churchism by "going over" to the very Church which it repudiated. And at this point it may be interesting to note what had been the increase or the decrease in the number of English Catholics since the Reformation; for the number of Catholics in any country must necessarily affect Catholic literature, not so much because many Catholics mean many writers, as because few Catholics mean few readers, few book-buyers. England finally fell in 1570, when the Rule of Deposition by Pope Pius V. obliged Queen Elizabeth to "declare her colors." There were at that time 250 Catholic priests. Within sixty-five years the number had doubled, owing to the thickening of the ranks of the Seminarists and the heroism of the missionaries from "beyond the seas." When we get down to 1746 we find the number of English priests to be fewer, while the Catholic laity were said to be 50,635; and at the beginning of the present century it does not appear that English Catholics could be numbered

at more than about seventy thousand. In 1841 they were 800,000. An attempt at numbering Catholics in 1888 resulted in the somewhat surprising discovery that they might be put down at 1,354,000; so that the proportionate increase of the English Catholic population might be said to have been relatively satisfactory; though, to speak plainly, had less money been expended on noble architecture and more money on the living instruments of conversion, the advance ought to have been considerably greater. Still, if in 1841 there were only 800,000 Catholics, the addition of 554,000 in thirty-seven years is not wholly without (numerical) consolation. The truth is that about \$25,000,000 dollars have been spent on architecture in the last thirty or forty years; splendid colleges have been built for the few; exquisite works of art have been presented to churches; but, as a well-known English priest has recently observed, there ought to be now four million English Catholics, if material fabrics had been less lavishly erected, and the "*corpus mysticum et morale*" had been more cherished. And at this point it may be added that Father Werner, of the Roman province of the Society of Jesus, not long since put down the Catholic population of Great Britain and Ireland as being, at least proximately, as follows: Ireland, 3,815,000; England, 1,439,831 (slightly more than the English census made it in 1888); Scotland, 342,000; total for Great Britain and Ireland, 5,596,831.

The enormous majority of eminent Catholic writers since the period of Catholic Emancipation have been religious or secular priests. Unfortunately, no record has been kept either of the titles or the authorship of Catholic books; at least, not in such form as would enable us to trace proportionate progress from the year 1829 to 1891. It was not until Dr. Newman became a Catholic that English Catholic literature became a power. The reason is perhaps not far to reach. Before that national surprise—that national stirring of dry bones—Catholic writings had been mainly apologetic. Henceforth they became didactic, even aggressive. They who had been for three centuries on the defensive now accepted the nation's challenge to literary combat. And, happily, the new champion of Catholic rights was the exact man for both the Catholics and the Protestants. Gentle, yet powerful; unobtrusive, yet vigilant; a typical and proverbial lover of precise truth, yet exquisitely considerate for others' beliefs, Dr. Newman was the sort of man whom men of all sides would have selected to represent the highest tone of their ideas. He gave the keynote to English Catholic literature, which for forty years has been temperate yet unflinching, both defensive and aggressive in good taste. More than this, he created a new Anglican literature, in

the sense that he invited a friendly reconsideration. What have been called "Catholic books by non-Catholics" were, in great measure, a fruit of that truth-loving peaceableness which the spirit of Dr. Newman's writings seemed to commend. Not a few Anglican writers have published criticisms on the Reformation—on controverted historical and doctrinal points—which have opened the eyes of their brother Anglicans to the perfectly new possibility that Protestant "History" may have been a conspiracy against the truth. It was "Newman's example" which initiated this disillusioning. The school of Dr. Littledale—the school of intensely Protestant Ritualists—has been very small in number and in literary influence, compared with the school of Dr. F. G. Lee, which has sought to emulate Dr. Newman in reading history without wearing Protestant spectacles. A large variety of Anglican works have been so honest, so "good-hearted," that any Catholic may thoroughly approve and enjoy them, while any Anglican may get nearer the truth by reading them. Before the conversion of Dr. Newman it was perfectly natural that such Anglican magnates as Dr. Pusey, Dr. Wilberforce, Dr. Jacobson should shrink instinctively from recognition of Catholic claims. They were men who "taught" before the days when the fortress of traditional bigotry had been carried by storm through the quiet "submission" of scores of the clergy; before the days when Ritualism had developed a craving for Catholic symbols, or Liberalism had developed indifference to truth and error. After "Newman" began to write as a Catholic, Anglican literature caught his spirit of magnanimity; so that it is not too much to say that the great majority of Anglican books during the period of the last twenty or thirty years have been tempered by a quiet esteem for that Catholic ancestry from whom the whole of Anglican orthodoxy has been borrowed. While even as to the good tone of such Anglican writers as treat rather of antiquarianism than of mediævalism—men who strive to prove the credibility of the Mosaic record, or, indeed, that of the whole of the Old Testament—how excellent in disposition as in purpose are the writings of such an eminent philologist as Professor Sayce, whose "Witness of the Ancient Monuments to the Old Testament Scriptures" is a gem of scholarly accuracy and sound inference. All England is under obligation to this high school of laborious students, who cut the ground from under the feet of the scoffers, and who succeed so well that no one attempts to answer them.

If we were to be asked: "What writers would you think of, principally, as having won over the English mind to Catholic sympathies; not speaking for the moment of Cardinals Newman and Manning, whose princely rank has possibly gained for them a

wider hearing?" might we not say that Father Faber led the way, and that Mr. Allies, Canon Oakley, Fathers Formby, Morris, Coleridge, Bridgett, Harper, and Dr. Ward come in the front rank; though certainly Faber will be thought "*primus into pares*." Father Faber was perhaps the most popular writer of his day, because he was both poet and theologian, a man of personal winningness and a great preacher. He seemed to meet society, all society, on its own terms; for he appealed to the purest sentiments of human nature, and was equally domestic and ascetic in his writings. As his great friend, Father Watts Russell, said of him, "power and sweetness combine to make Faber an apostle, equally to the educated and the uneducated." He seemed to "fit into," the sensitive period in which he lived. His books were heart-songs, flowing from intense faith. And never was his theology called in question, though he made theology the very strings of his Catholic harp. How different was the tone of Canon Oakley, so severe, so scholarly, so reliable. And then to speak of Mr. Allies—what a great work he has done—forty years of historic research, with immense results. His last work, the "*Formation of Christendom*," is a noble effort; a worthy finish to a Catholic career which began with tracing (was it in 1849?) the unbroken claim of the See of St. Peter to supremacy. Few writers have worked more with a single object than has Mr. Allies, "*The Throne of the Fisherman*" being always his starting-point, or rather the point to which he led up through long researches. True, "each man to his own place"; nor can any man command more than a range of admirers; and it is a happy thing that the grave historian, the lucid expositor, the brilliant essayist, does not eclipse the value of the man of science nor even of the satirist, provided the good fruits of their just contention be demonstrated. Some Catholics will put down the volumes of Mr. Allies or of Father Faber, and will take up those of Mr. W. S. Lilly or Mr. St. George Mivart, because there is more diversion in a clash of arms where the combatants are well matched, or where the weapons are chiefly pointed by natural reason. "A century of revolutions" will enable Mr. Lilly to instruct us on "the four great factors of civilization as it exists in the world, liberty, religion, science and art;" or a treatise "on right and wrong" will give Mr. Lilly the opportunity of proving Mr. Huxley and Mr. Spencer to be materialists, and then proceeding to attack their positions with some such introductory reflection as "the great objection to modern scientists is, exactly, that they are so unscientific." While Mr. St. George Mivart will equally delight a class of readers who appreciate a guide who thoroughly knows what he is talking about, who always seems to enjoy his chosen subject, and who can compress into a few pages (witness his

"Catechism for Beginners") more mental food than most writers can get into a big book. In this year, 1891, English Catholics want to be informed, briefly, how agnosticism and a number of other fine conceits can be properly and adequately answered in a few minutes; how common sense can suffice to knock them to pieces, as it were, colloquially, and without the long, laborious process of deep reasoning. Mr. Mivart is just the man to do this admirably. "Nature and Thought" showed his fitness to guide others; and his little "Catechism" is certainly a boon to more than "beginners," for it compasses the whole domain of common sense. There would be no fear of the sophisms of modern skeptics doing harm either to the young or to the old, if all were provided with this little armory of sound reasoning which is condensed into Mr. Mivart's little catechism.

Of men who are so associated with their own time that to speak of them is to recall an epoch in history, Dr. Ward seems to be all one with the Oxford Movement, so that to name him is like going back forty years. His writings are still interesting, and his whole life is still interesting, because they made inquiry and aspiration primary duties. Modern Ritualism is no more like ancient Tractarianism, of which Ward was a pillar and an ornament, than a *mis en scene* is like analysis or synthesis. Ritualism is the settling down into acquiescence with the appearances—the "clothes," as Mr. Wilford Ward calls them, of a semi-catholicism; Tractarianism was the groping the way out of contentious Protestantism towards the oldest, and therefore the purest, forms of truth. This is why the name of Ward, like that of many other early converts, is so honorable, so historic, so didactic; and this is why his numerous writings—indeed, we may say also his Oxford life—claim a front place in the formation of modern literature; because, like Cardinals Newman and Manning, having come out of the thick wood, Ward knew what he had left, what he had found. In this short essay we are not reviewing Catholic books, but only recalling a few of the chief men who have written them; and a string of names occurs to us from whom it seems unfair to make choice, because each one was meritorious in his way. Some great books are necessarily doomed to be short lived, because they only affect to treat of matters up to date. T. W. Marshall's "Christian Missions" was one of these, yet it appears to have stimulated the energies of those whose foibles it showed up, so that they have multiplied the visible fruits of their labors. Yet even ephemeral publications may have great merit, and may do a good which is unseen, untraceable; for who shall say that such playful ventures as the "Life of a Prig," or "The Process of Canonization in the Church of England," may not have opened the eyes of some men while

making them smile; just as "Loss and Gain," which combined gravity with play, may have touched the chords of men who had a keen sense of humor? Perhaps one of the happiest graces of the great Newman was that ("Loss and Gain" only excepted—and this he began to write in a railway carriage for his diversion) he almost totally suppressed his natural vein of irony, which all the world knew he could cut with as with a scimitar. And Cardinal Manning, too, has a natural vein of irony (what great mind was ever totally devoid of it?), which he never indulges save in the society of his friends, and then only in the spirit of pleasantry. This allusion to his Eminence suggests this remark: that his writings have won the favor of the English people (1) by their practical, their thoroughly common-sense bearing, and (2) by their scholarliness of tone, style, and calm. True, only a portion of the Cardinal's (doctrinal) writings has found its way into Anglican drawing-rooms or libraries, yet the English people are naturally disposed to think believingly of an ecclesiastic who shows his faith by his works, by his philanthropy. From a literary point of view Cardinal Manning holds front place as a writer of pure English and simple sense, nor has any Protestant combatant ever attempted to break a lance with him on his distinctively Catholic ground as a truth-teacher. In the old days of Cardinal Wiseman it was a common thing for Protestant critics to try to pull to pieces the Cardinal's teachings; no such antagonism has been ventured upon with Cardinal Manning, and this not only because the English have begun to understand Catholic teaching, but because the Cardinal understands the English mind. Nor is there any living Englishman who, on the subject of education, or on that of the rights of the working-classes and of the poor, has shown a greater mastery of facts or principles, or has written so convincingly about both. "A man of his time," a wide-hearted originator, a severe worker for the temporal good of the greater number, his writings are all as practical as is his conduct, and both are those of a Catholic and a "true Liberal." Politics with Cardinal Manning are the natural science of active good. His Irish sympathies are not political, they are beneficent; his propagandism of total abstinence, like his diligent working for poor schools, has the stern practical motive of pure Liberalism. There would be no English Radicalism, in the modern sense of discontent, if all English gentlemen would act, speak and write with the pure Liberalism of the great Catholic ecclesiastic, whose lucid pamphlets have had much influence with English legislators as well as with the best writers on the press.

And such success may be called a development of Catholic literature in the right direction of a potent influence on legislation.

Another influence—and one that has worked on the national mind—is the disillusioning of the imagination in regard to the so-called Reformation—of the imagination, which had been bound to do the whole duty of the reason, because the reason knew not facts, knew not principles. That conspiracy against the truth called Protestant History has been unmasked by a score of modern Catholic historians. “Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries,” “The English Martyrs under Henry VIII.,” “The Life of the Blessed John Fisher,” Father Bridgett’s “Life and Writings of the Blessed Thomas More,” or Father Morris’s “St. Thomas Beckett,” and other Lives, like Mr. T. Orleban Payne’s “Old English Catholic Missions,” or Canon Estcourt’s and Mr. Payne’s “Records of the English Catholics of 1715,” with the various “Records” and “Registers” which have been recently published, have all been reviewed by the leading journalists of Great Britain, and, as a rule, with a generous admission of their truth.

The old idea, that the Reformation was primarily motivated by saintliness, by a passionate longing to purge the Church of its superstitions, and to get rid of lazy monks and the sale of indulgences, has given place to the recognition of the now-demonstrated fact that—as Cardinal Manning has expressed it—“the depravity of the marrying monarch, Henry VIII.,” was the real beginning, middle and end of all “Suppression;” and that by the penal laws of Queen Elizabeth, who could only reign by becoming apostate, Catholic England was forced to profess itself to be Protestant, while all the while loathing and ridiculing the imposture. We are mainly indebted for this “conversion” to literary development. When Mr. Lucas first started the *Tablet* as a Catholic newspaper, the English mind regarded the Reformers as heaven-sent. The English mind now apprehends the truism, that robbery, torture, confiscation, fines, imprisonments and outlawry were the sole apostles of the most wicked outrage known in history—that is, as committed by Christian princes. Catholic literature must have made real progress in the last half-century to have worked such a national “conversion” as this.

And so, too, just to allude to another groove, quite distinct yet naturally parallel with the historic: how real must have been the development of Catholic literary influence, when such writers as Mr. Luke Rivington and Mr. W. F. H. King—both converts of comparatively recent date—can force the admission from the majority of their old allies that they have lost nothing, and may have gained something, by their change. Fifty years ago they would have been regarded as under a delusion; thirty years ago they would have been called perverts, not converts; but the eccentricities of the new Ritualism have led most Englishmen to reflect

gravely that the real cannot be less worthy than the sham. And so it has come to pass that we find the books of convert-clergymen on the tables of a good many earnest Anglicans, who are not prepared, perhaps, to go quite so far as submission, but who rather envy the courage of those who can attain to it. As to doctrinal works, expository works by born Catholics, their success has been in some instances remarkable. Father MacLaughlin's little book, "Is One Religion as good as Another?" is continually getting out of print through the popular demand; and perhaps the secret of this success is the good taste, the refined sentiment, with which the author probes the fallacies of all indifferentism. "*Plura persuasione quam vi,*" is a good motto for every Christian controversialist.

To the religious orders in England, perhaps chiefly to the Jesuits, belongs the praise of having produced the best "spiritual" books, as well as the best doctrinal treatises. Yet the credit of having translated a large number of "foreign" works is due equally to laity and to clergy. And here it may be remarked that there is a great want of an English society for the diffusion of non-English literature; and there is also an equal want of a grand book-shop in a London thoroughfare, where all Catholic books could be cheaply purchased by the middle classes, and where public attention could be boldly called to their existence. It is not too much to say, that the "general public" have no knowledge of even the existence of the Catholic writings of their fellow-countrymen; while as to the splendid productions of French, Spanish, Italian and German Catholics, not even the titles of any such books reach the multitude, still less a synopsis of their contents. What a grand work it would be for a few Catholic capitalists to form a society for the reproduction of "foreign" works; to have branches for redistribution in all great towns; not caring to make profit out of the speculation, but only to sell the books at cost price to the multitude. The "Catholic Truth Society" and "St. Anselm's Society" have done a great work; but they have no command over the National Protestant press. Moreover, all Catholic societies in England have this chronic difficulty to contend with; a want of social union, of Catholic combination, of a free and generous spirit of brotherhood. In England the Nonconformist congregations have a sort of freemasonry of mutual aid; among Catholics the social barriers destroy harmony. The world gets in the way of Catholic fellowship. Mammon-worship has its votaries among good Catholics. It is as true of Catholics as of non-Catholics—to quote the words of Cardinal Gibbons—that "the rich are daily becoming richer, the poor poorer; luxury, high living, and the pride of life are on the increase. The thirst for wealth becomes more insatiable; the

cries of the distressed more sharp, and loud, and poignant." The rich Catholics in England go with the stream; they allow conventionalism to crush out their better natures; they will not coalesce in a Catholic spirit, in such way as to make Catholic interests their sole object. There is no such thing, for example, as an English Catholic quarterly review; and the reason is, that private, personal considerations outweigh the larger interests of Catholicity. Human nature keeps the field against progress. And though there is vast outlay, as has been said, in material structures, there is no generalship of the Catholic forces for national conquest, in initiatory, financial, social or literary sense.

This dark side does not lessen the meritoriousness of the individuals who have developed, if not created, Catholic literature. With the certainty of only a "small sale" for their productions—about one-third of what might be looked for in the United States—there is little encouragement to devote years to severe labor; indeed, few Catholics have either the time or the funds. Then, again, that preference for "general literature," which is manifested by the wealthier class of English Catholics, throws cold water on the energies of those Catholics who would be willing to work much if they were read much. An illustration of this Catholic preference for non-Catholic products is found in the fact that there is no Catholic daily newspaper; yet such an organ would be a great help to Catholic writers, because it would bring their products before the eyes of the whole world. Is it likely that the *Standard* or the *Daily Telegraph* is going to devote a couple of columns to a new book by a "Roman" Catholic for no better reason than that it is an exposition of Catholic truths, or a knock-down blow to old Protestant prejudices? If even an Encyclical by the Supreme Pontiff is only just so far alluded to as may serve the purpose of its being made to favor party interests, what hope is there for the Jesuit Father who demolishes some fond Protestant tradition, or for the Catholic layman who is disrespectful to Elizabethanism? The Catholic "weeklies" go only into Catholic grooves. Nay, it is true, also, that Irish newspapers, like Irish books, are but little read on the English side of St. George's channel. Numerous volumes of great merit by Irish Catholics have been published in the last quarter of a century. Ask for them at the English circulating libraries, and you are told that there is little demand for them. Yet it would be easy to name a score of modern Irish books, historical, political, polemical, which are not only worth reading by every Englishman, but which it is every Englishman's duty to read. Groove is the insular English failing; nor does the average Catholic indulge the habit of buying, or so much as reading, Irish works of even acknowledged literary

merit. The same is true in regard to Irish newspapers. It is the rarest thing in London to see a copy of an Irish Catholic newspaper on the library table of even a Liberal English Catholic; while as to the English Catholic anti-Home Rulers, they regard such journalism as poisonous, and would put the *Nation* or even the *Irish Catholic* into their stoves. Now it is obvious that, in these days, Catholic literature and Catholic journalism ought to be mutually auxiliary and sympathetic; journalism ought to assist literature as to publicity, just as literature enlarges the sphere of newspaper usefulness. English Catholics do not feel this, not as a community. They have no objection to subscribing to the *Tablet* or to the *Catholic Times*, but they will not help Ireland by helping its newspapers, nor help England by starting a first-class daily paper. Political bias is a fatal deterrent to Catholic energy. Perfectly united in religion, there is no community in England which is more divided by politics than are Catholics; while, socially, there is no community which is more divided and subdivided, more enslaved by the feeble canons of conventionalism. Literature necessarily suffers by such failings; for freedom is the very atmosphere of the literary spirit, which, like a bird's spirit, only takes securely to the ground, because it knows that its natural movement is on the wing. A few rival Catholic newspapers, however admirably conducted, cannot succeed in either uniting the Catholic community or in opposing a united front to the enemy. Rivalry is not wanted, but one action. Cliqueism is the national blot on a Catholicity whose worst foes are those of its own conventional household.

It has been calculated that only one-fifteenth part of the world's literature is Christian. Now, if we sub-divide that fifteenth part by sectarianism (in England there are said to be 242 sects, and in the United States 144), what a very small proportion of Christian literature can be motived by the prime idea of Catholic union! All the more reason why, among Catholics, there should be one heart and one mind, not only on points of faith (that is a matter of course) but on the ways and means of advancing Catholic literature, with a sole view to the conversion of the whole world. Private enterprise will not do this. Private book-shops will not do this. A warm if amiable rivalry of Catholic newspapers will not compact the literary hosts for literary combat. Individualism must be utterly sunk in Catholicity. Sectarianism in belief is the Goliath of Gath; David's stone will be no use without the sling, and the sling must be directed by one will.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

Religion und Mythologie der Alten Ägypter, nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet, von Heinrich Brugsch. Leipzig. J. C. Hinrich. Erste Hälfte, 1885. Zweite Hälfte, 1888.

Ägypten einst und jetzt, von Dr. Friederich Kayser. 2te Auflage. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herder., 1889. (Popular.)

History of Herodotus. By George Rawlinson, M.A. Appleton's. New York. 1889. Vol. ii.

OF late years much has been written about Egypt. The happy finding of the key to its stone archives by François Champollion in the beginning of the present century, has opened up to the world a vast storehouse of information. For more than one thousand years the Egyptian hieroglyphics had been a sealed book even to the Egyptians themselves. Now, that learned men are busy reading the thousand monuments still extant, busy delving among the ruins of ancient cities and temples, to discover new monuments and new inscriptions, Egypt's ancient history is becoming better known to-day than it was, even in the days of the Ptolemies,—better known to the present age than the history of either ancient Greece or Rome, whose antiquity is modern compared to that of Egypt. The Egyptians were the oldest of all civilized nations. It is somewhat remarkable, and certainly a noteworthy fact that the *earliest* manifestations we have of Egyptian culture are all in connection with religion. Almost every one of the Egyptian monuments was erected in honor of the Divinity—temples, as places of worship and of sacrifice,—columns and statues, to commemorate some religious event,—pyramids and rock-hewn caverns, to preserve intact the mummified bodies for their future reunion with the soul. The large pyramids, where the mummies of the kings that built them rested, were nothing more than huge tombs; these, with the massive Sphinx guarding the sun Osiris's approach from the nether world—are the oldest Egyptian monuments. It was said that the Egyptian cared little for his earthly habitation, which he called a mere "*dwelling-place*," but he spared neither expense nor labor to make the "*home*" which his body was to inhabit after death strong and durable. Excepting the temples and tombs, there are no other monuments worthy of mention—in fact, none other to mention, for these were the only permanent structures, the only ones that could withstand the gnawing tooth of time, the ravages of fully four thousand years. The great ruins of the once mighty *Thebes*,

with its one hundred gates, are all temples or burying-places; and *Memphis*, the more ancient capital of Lower Egypt, has left us nothing but a few fragmentary pillars and statues which formerly graced the entrance to the temple of Amon-Ra. Not a trace of palace or residence! The pride of the Egyptian centred in his house of worship and magnificent tombs. No wonder, then, that *Herodotus*, after years of residence among them, should arrive at the conclusion that "the Egyptians are more religious than any other race of men." To the pleasure-loving Greek, they were religious *to excess*.¹

By reason, then, of the multitude of monuments, and their countless inscriptions, all bearing on the subject of divine cult, we are enabled to-day to gather sufficient data for a tolerably accurate account of the religious beliefs and practices of the first of civilized nations. Before the hieroglyphics were deciphered, the only knowledge had of the Egyptian religion was that handed down to us by Greek and Christian writers; but a judgment founded on this testimony alone would do the Egyptians injustice, because these writers flourished only in the last dynasties, when the Egyptian religion, together with all Egyptian culture, was in its decline. The religion of the Ptolemies differed materially from that of the ancient Pharaohs, just as did their temples and monuments. The nature of the ancient worship can be learned only from the fountain-source—from the records of the old Egyptians themselves. Reading these records, students of Egyptian history have differed widely in their interpretation of the primitive form of the Egyptian worship. The later German Egyptologists, among whom is *Brugsch*, incline to the view that the religion of the Egyptians was *pantheistic* in its origin. They affect to believe that it differed in nothing from the primitive nature-worship of the Hindoos and Chinese. *Nun* or *Nunet*, or as sometimes written, *Nutr*, *Nutar*, *Nu*, *Nu-t*, the primordial ocean, containing in germ all the forces of nature, was the first and highest divinity of the Egyptians. This they compare with *Tian* of the Chinese. But they seem to overlook the fact that *Nun* of the Egyptians was a personal god, as the inscriptions discovered plainly indicate. *Nutr*, the active principle of the primary creation, now still creating all things anew—creating the light each morning, and vegetation in each recurring spring, restoring within stated periods youth and strength to decaying nature, begot all things out of himself. He is the generator, and at the same time the substance out of which all things are generated; father, mother, and child, all in one. This *Nutr*, who is one with *Nu* or *Nun*, is addressed as a spirit, as the

¹ *Herodotus*, p. 52.

one living God. The very earliest references acknowledge him a *Supreme* and *Personal Being*, the *One* and *Only God*. *Maspero* found such mention as early as the *fifth*, and even the *second* dynasty.

Other Egyptologists maintain the *polytheistic* character of the primitive Egyptian religion. Such is, for example, *Maspero*, who at first defended the monotheistic view, but later found reason to change his belief. Such are, also, *Wiedemann*, *Pietschmann*, *Edw. Mayer*, *Ermann*, *Strauss*, *Perrot*, and *Chipiez*. According to these, the Egyptians ascended from polytheism to the belief in one, supreme God by dint of wise speculation. *Le Page Renouf* holds that both polytheism and monotheism existed side by side from the very beginning. *Rawlinson*, with *Lenormant* the noted orientalist, believe in an esoteric monotheism and exoteric polytheism. Other savants again, equally versed in Egyptian lore, strenuously contend for a primitive monotheism, among whom may be noted *Pierret*, *de Rouge*, *Wilkinson*, *Kayser*, and I am happy to state *Dr. Henry Hyvernal*, of the Catholic University, the best authority in America on the religion of the Egyptians. The latter bring to their support a number of solid arguments. As already said, the earliest manifestations we have of Egyptian belief show faith in a Supreme, Personal Being. On the oldest monuments we perceive references to God couched in what might properly be styled Christian language. He is designated as the "One, Personal, Uncreated God," the "Creator of heaven and earth," "Who is the Past, the Present, and the Future," the "great God Eternal, existing before the heavens and earth and water were," "the Conservator of all created things," "Who hears the prayers of men," "Who grants to man his daily bread," "Rewards the obedient and punishes the disobedient," "Who defends the weak against the strong," "Who exists by Himself;" etc.¹ These appellations and references are such as any Christian might make use of. They are identical in fact with some of the petitions of our ordinary prayers.

Their ideas of God's attributes were likewise sublime and exalted. We read, for instance, that "God is a *Spirit*," "a hidden Spirit," "the Spirit of Spirits," "the great Spirit of Egypt," "the divine Spirit"; "God is from the *beginning*, He existed from all time"; "He is the first beginning, and existed before anything else was, and He created what now is after He himself was;" "He is the Father of all beginnings." Again, "God is *eternal* and without end;" "ever present, and ever existing;" "He has existed from eternity and will exist for all future ages." "God is *invisible*

¹ Kayser, p. 27.

and no one has yet known His appearance ; " " No one has discovered His likeness ; " " He is hidden from gods and men alike ; " " He is a mystery to his creatures ; " " no man knows what appellation to give Him ; " " His name remains a secret , " " a secret to his children . " Behold here a striking resemblance between Egyptian and Jewish customs. Neither did the Jews dare to designate God by His true name, and in consequence the name itself has become lost. Our *Jehovah* may or may not be the proper characterization of the vowelless יהוה.¹

Perhaps in no other appellation have the Egyptians shown a loftier conception of the divine excellence than when they designate God as *Truth* : " who lives in and nourishes Himself by truth " ; " who is the king of truth and looseth the tongue of all truth " ; " who is founded on truth and the creator of truth . " All truth in the world is from God. A lofty conception indeed for a people untaught by divine revelation. Again, it is said, " God is *life*, and we live only through Him " ; " God is being " ; " the *constancy* of all [mutable] things " ; " the constant One who multiplies Himself without losing His identity " ; " the *One* who multiplies Himself a millionfold . " " That which His heart desires is instantly encompassed ; and when He has spoken, His words are accomplished, and will endure for all eternity . " This reminds us of the story of creation as told in the inspired pages of the Jewish law-giver : " God said, ' Let there be light, ' and there was light . " The omnipotence of the Egyptian God is hardly less sublime than that of the God of Israel. Divine mercy and justice were also duly acknowledged and honored by the ancient Egyptians. " God is merciful , " it is said, " towards those that reverence Him . " " He hears those that cry to Him " ; " defends the weak against the strong " ; " hears the prayers of those that are cast into bonds " ; " He is merciful towards those that call upon Him " ; " defends the fearful against the arrogant, and judges between the mighty and the poor . " " God recognizes them that profess Him, rewards those that serve Him, and defends them that follow Him " ² What definition can

¹ The ancient Hebrews employed only consonants in their writing, the reader supplying the vowels himself. Later, when Hebrew ceased to be a living language, learned Jewish scholars—from the sixth to the ninth century after Christ—styled *Masorites*, from their great work, *Masora* (meaning tradition), affixed vowel points above and below the consonants in order to insure a correct reading. Such, however, was the reverence paid to the divine name, that though always written it was never pronounced. Under the consonants of this word—the word given in modern Bibles as *Jehovah*—the *Masorites* placed the vowels of the word " *Adonai*," meaning Lord, which was always read in place of the proper name of God. So, by disuse, the former word became lost, and in spite of their investigations for the last fifteen hundred years, Hebrew scholars have not yet been able to determine its true punctuation or vocalization.

² Brugsch, part i., p. 96, ff.

express God's infinity better than that attributed to *Thoth*, the Hermes of the Egyptians: "God is a circle, whose centre is everywhere and its circumference nowhere."

These selections, which are but few of the many found in the inscriptions of the monuments and in the papyrus rolls of the tombs, show beyond doubt that the Egyptians had a knowledge of the One Supreme God,—a knowledge, in fact, scarcely inferior to that of the Jews, if we could rest our judgment solely on the testimony quoted above. Unfortunately, however, the very pages on which these have been written make allusion to other gods, showing that though the Egyptians professed belief in a Supreme Being, they nevertheless worshiped also a plurality of gods. Such contradictions are of common occurrence, and what is stranger still, the Egyptians did not appear to consider them contradictions,—a fact very significant, and not a little mysterious. After all, there may be an explanation to this; they may, in reality, not be contradictions at all. Egyptologists have not yet been able to solve this difficulty. Some have asserted that the inferior gods were but representations of the divine attributes, but other names for God's various perfections. Though this may have been the earlier practice, it is plain that before long their vicarious character was lost sight of, and they were adored as independent gods. True, the knowledge of the unity of God was preserved in priestly circles throughout all time; it was fostered by them in secret, but the bulk of the people, who were purposely kept in ignorance, drifted away farther and farther from their first ideal, until they hesitated not to pay divine homage even to the lowest of brute animals. Why was the knowledge of God's unity confined to the priestly caste alone? Why did priests refuse to impart their own higher knowledge, their own exalted belief, to the populace? Why did they rather countenance, aye, and openly encourage, the grossest form of animal worship? These are questions that have not yet found a satisfactory answer. Perhaps the priests thought to mystify an untutored laity by a show of mysterious secrecy in order to dominate over them with greater security.

Animal worship was not the primitive form of the Egyptian cult,—so much is certain. Its introduction dates from historic times; according to *Manetho*, the learned Egyptian historian, from the second dynasty. In this early stage animals were looked upon as mere representations of the various powers of the divinity. This also goes to prove that the first form of Egyptian worship was a pure monotheism. It is not conceivable that religion should have been at its lowest when civilization was at its highest; and it is in the old kingdom—from the first to the fifth dynasty—that

the Egyptians found their golden age. From this time on everything began to decline, and with art and civilization also religion. If we call in the book of Genesis to witness, the theory of primitive monotheism becomes still more probable; for according to that account the Egyptians were descendants of Noah, if *Mizraim* (the Hebrew name of Egypt), the son of Cham, Noah's third son, be considered the father of the Egyptians, as is commonly held. It is admitted by all that the early Egyptians, who were kin to the Canaanites and Arcadians, migrated from Asia, coming through the territory now crossed by the Suez Canal, and that they settled on the fruitful shores of the Nile. The oldest cities lie to the north, where *On* or *Memphis*, the first capital, is situated, not far distant from the present capital, Cairo. From the north emigration drifted *southward*, not, as was formerly believed, from the south *northward*. They were not, as might perhaps be supposed, of negro extraction. They were Caucasians, as we are, though considerably darker. In their general appearance they differed perhaps little from their present descendants, the *Copts* and *Fellahs*, who have preserved their individuality and racial distinction under many centuries of Arab rule and Arab oppression. If this view of the descent of the Egyptians be true, we have good reason to believe that their primitive religion was monotheistic in character; for Noah possessed a knowledge of the true God, and it is but natural to suppose that this knowledge was handed down to his posterity, among whom, of course, the primitive revelation must have become obscured in the lapse of time, and mixed with much that would necessarily detract from its original purity.

Viewing the religion of the Egyptians as presented on their monuments and transmitted to us in their own writings, let us see if we can construct from it a system of theology as we have it in the Jewish and Christian religions. Some sort of system may be evolved, but it remains at best a very imperfect one, and future discoveries may force us to change even this. Even partial studies, however, warrant the belief that the more we learn of the Egyptian religion the more we will find to admire, the more perfect, pure, and exalted it will become. The difficulty of throwing this theology into some sort of form arises partly from the contradictions that we constantly meet with in their belief and practice; the belief of the priests and the belief of the people; partly from the inextricable confusion among the gods themselves. Only few of the deities were worshiped throughout the length and breadth of the land. Each district and city had its particular God, to whom was accorded a special worship. Such were, for instance, *Amon-Ra* at Thebes, *Phtha* at Heliopolis, the *Crocodile* at the Fayum, the *Bull* at Memphis, and *cats* and the goddess *Bast* at

Bubastis. Most gods and goddesses were worshiped under various names and under various representations in the different nomes or districts, which adds still further to the confusion.

The chief god of the Egyptians, as already indicated, was *Nu* or *Nutr*, meaning *might* or *power*, or, according to Brugsch, "*the active force of nature*," thus fitting in with his pantheistic theory. God revealed Himself to the Hebrews under a similar name, that of אֱלֹהִים, God Almighty: "And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying: I am the Lord that appeared to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob by the name of God Almighty, and my name, Adonai (put for the proper name), I did not show them."¹ This god was self-created. The "Book of Funerals," their greatest religious work, calls him the great Primordial Ocean, in which floated confusedly all the germs of life. From eternity God begot Himself in the bosom of these shapeless waters. The references quoted above on the unity and perfections of God were addressed to this deity. We have some very beautiful hymns relating to the same. Here is a specimen, the original of which is preserved in the museum of Bulacq, Cairo: "Lord of wisdom, whose precepts are wise. . . . Lord of mercy, whose love is without limit. . . . Lord of life, of health and of strength. . . . Thou the One, the Only [God], who givest food to the birds that fly in the air. . . . Who preservest all things. Hail Thee because of all these benefits. . . . Who alone wakest when man sleepeth, in order to seek out the good of thy creatures. . . . Adoration to Thee, who hast created us! Greetings to Thee from every clime. Creator of all things we adore Thy spirit. . . . Thou the sole one incomparable, sovereign King!"² This idea of the Godhead was too abstruse, too far removed from the conception of the multitude; it would do for the educated class,—the priestly caste,—but the uneducated, who constituted the bulk of the nation, must have something that will appeal directly to their senses, they must have a *visible* representation of the deity. So it came that the *sun* was worshiped, not at first as a deity itself, but as a representation of the deity. In time, however, it lost its representative character, and people came to pay it honor in its own right, worshiping it under the name of *Ra*. Almost every pagan nation has had a special veneration for the bright orb of day, which indeed is not to be wondered at when we consider the mighty influence it exerts upon our terrestrial well-being. A writer of note, Max Mueller, has declared that no form of nature worship can be so readily excused as the worship of the sun. That the sun was held originally as distinct from God by the Egyptians, is proven from one of their

¹ Ex., 6, 2 and 3.

² Kayser, p. 28.

hymns, which gives a naïve and extremely beautiful description of its creation. "In the beginning God bade the sun come to Him. The sun came, and as soon as it entered into His presence *began to shine*." When *Ra* later threw off his allegiance to old God *Nu*, and set up his own throne in the bright blue ether, he succeeded in bringing under his gentle sway all the humbler classes of Egyptian worshipers.

Ra, the sun-god, and the first of the solar cycle of gods, was pictured in Egyptian writings as a bark riding on the celestial waters, not as a golden chariot drawn by fiery horses, as ancient Greeks and Romans imagined. The moon and stars and planets were looked upon as assistant gods, each adding his quota to the manning and safe guidance of the boat. This God is addressed in one of the hymns thus: "O thou Lord of gods! Chnum-Ra, thou king of the North and of the South, ruler of provinces; Shining Splendor that floodeth the earth with light; whose right eye is the disk of the sun, and his left eye the moon, whose spirit is the ray of light, and from whose nostrils proceedeth the north-wind."¹ Ra rises in the east, and with his two mighty weapons, *light* and *heat*, drives darkness and cold before him, to the great delight of his faithful worshipers. When he has arrived at the west, where the waters of the firmament rush down to the infernal worlds through the crevice of the mountains near Abydos, the bark disappears from view, and the people piously believe that he has gone to the lower regions to comfort the souls of the just whom death has gathered into the realms of Osiris. These different phases of the sun have each received special honors, and in time people came to look upon the rising, midday and setting sun as so many deities. The disk of the sun—also called God's eye—was honored as the god *Aten*. The sun as a vivifier was called *Khopra*. *Amon*, the chief god of Thebes, and *Phtha*, of Memphis, were also solar gods. The three principal solar goddesses were *Sekhmet*, *Bast*, with the face of a cat, and *Mout*. Connected with these were *Aah*, the moon, with his companions, *Khonsu* and *Thoth*, the latter corresponding to the Greek Hermes, the messenger and secretary of the gods. *Isis* was identified with the fixed star Sirius.

The second class or group of gods were those identified with the creation of the world. The Egyptians believed in the eternity of matter; that the world was co-existent with God Himself; but that in the beginning it existed as chaos, a confused mass. Out of this, the so-called "Primordial Ocean," God evolved the present orderly universe. He separated the waters of the firmament; the clouds from the waters of the earth, which He confined within its

¹ Brugsch, pt. i., p. 195.

banks, and supported the sky on an immense arched vault. There was a higher and lower atmosphere, all of which, together with the river Nile, were worshipped under various names, and each as a distinct god. There is a striking resemblance between their idea of creation and that as given by Moses. There is a still further resemblance in this that the Egyptians imagined God as the creator of *all* men,—the only nation, with the exception of the Jewish (whose knowledge was derived from direct revelation), that acknowledged that others besides themselves, their enemies not excluded, were created by the same God. Brugsch sums up the teachings of the Egyptians on the cosmogony in these words: "In the beginning there was neither heaven nor earth; surrounded by impenetrable darkness, the *All* pervaded the limitless, primordial waters, which concealed in their bosom the male and female germs, or the beginning of the future world. The divine Spirit of Spirits, inseparable from the primitive waters, felt a longing for creative action, and by his word the world was awakened to life,—that world whose form and variegated beauty were pictured before in his eyes. After their existence the physical outlines and colors answered the truth, that is, the primitive concepts of the Divine Spirit's future work. The first creative act began with the formation of an egg out of the primordial waters, from which evolved the light of day (Ra), the immediate cause of life in the world. In the rising sun has become embodied, in its most luminous form, the omnipotence of the Divine Spirit."¹

Because the same general idea of a creation or evolution out of primitive waters or out of a chaotic morass prevails among all nations, Brugsch concludes that the human mind, when left to its own resources, will naturally figure to itself a creation similar to the one described; but the believing Christian will detect in this universal tradition, obscured though it be, the deposit of faith handed down to his posterity by the father of all men; he will accept this as additional evidence of the common descent of the entire human family. There was a tradition among the Egyptians concerning the disobedience of our first parents, and, what is still more striking, the serpent was looked upon as the incarnation of god Ra's worst enemy, the demon of darkness. Plutarch says that the serpent Apopis was brother to the Sun-god, and was hurled from his high place because he wanted to make himself like unto him; in which we may detect a possible reference to the fall of Lucifer. Curious to say, all memory of the deluge was blotted from the minds of the Egyptians, though it has lived in the tales of almost every other nation, being found even among the abo-

¹ Pt. i., p. 101.

iginal inhabitants of Mexico. Yet, after all, this circumstance admits of an explanation. The only flood the Egyptians had actual experience of was that of the Nile, which yearly overflows its banks; but with this they could associate nothing of evil, for the overflow of the Nile was the cause of the extraordinary fruitfulness of its valley,—that which made Egypt, under an enlightened government, the granary of the world. So the idea of a destructive flood must soon have passed from their minds.¹ At Edfu, on one of the walls of the famous temple of the sun, the following poetical description of the creation is found. A beautiful child, with the sun's disk resting upon his head, is represented sitting on the open petals of a lotos flower, which swims on the surface of the water, and underneath are inscribed these words: "*He opens his eyes and the world becomes light, and night is parted from day.* The gods issue forth from his mouth, and man from his eyes, and all things are made through him. When he arises luminous out of the bud of the lotus, all beings exist in their entirety."²

A third set of gods were those that presided over the destinies of the future world. The Egyptians believed in the immortality of the soul; their psychology, however, is very complex and somewhat contradictory. The body they called *Khat*, and to the intelligence, which is a spirit, they gave the name of *Khu*, meaning luminous. This spirit is independent of the body, and can move whither it wills; but since it is igneous and would destroy the body, *Khu* is enclosed in an envelope, also of a divine nature, but less subtile than the *Khu*, and is called the *Ba*. The *Ba* closely resembles our soul, but does not permeate or inform the whole body; it is confined to one particular part of the body, though which part we are unable to learn, and from here it animates every organ of the body by means of the *Nifu* or "breaths." Now, the *Nifu* also has its envelope, called the *Ka*, which is an exact duplicate of the body. Animals differ from man in not enjoying the *Khu*. The *Khu* is a spark of the divinity and essentially good, which nothing can defile. The *Khat*, on the other hand, is necessarily bad. The soul, *Ba*, however, is possessed of free will, and may elect fellowship with the *Khu* or with the *Khat*, and its future life will be accordingly either happy or unhappy.³ After death, or rather after the funeral, the soul appears at *Amenti*, the place of trial, accompanied by *Anubis*, son of the goddess *Nephtys*. The judge is *Osiris*, the most popular of Egyptian gods, who is in reality none other than *Ra* in his character of King of Hades, some-

¹ Kayser, p. 40, 41.

² Brugsch, pt. i., p. 104.

³ Dr. Hyvernât, *Lectures on Egypt*.

times also called *Osiris-Ra* or *Soul of the Sun*. His sister and wife, *Isis*, equally as famous as her brother-husband, is associated with him in the dread court, as is also *Nephthys*, her sister, and her son *Horus*. Anubis takes the heart of his deceased companion and places it in the scales of justice. Thoth, the recording angel, if I may so call him, keeps account of the process, with a dog-faced ape at his side. *Mat*, goddess of justice, holds the scales; her eyes are bandaged as a mark of impartiality. Forty-two other deities stand guard, all intent that strict justice shall be meted out. The dead is asked to give account of his terrestrial stewardship, which he does somewhat after this fashion: "I have never told a lie; have never been cruel to man or beast; never blasphemed God," etc., answering to forty-two different questions, all of the virtues being of a negative character. If the virtuous outweigh the sinful acts, the heart is found of sufficient weight, and, in consequence, the soul is adjudged good. It now enters upon a series of long and hazardous peregrinations in the lower world, made in company with the god *Horus*, until it finally reaches the bark of *Ra*, there to find, in *Aahlu*, supreme and never-ending happiness. If the heart were found too light, it is thrust out and forced to enter the body of some unclean or wild animal, and at the second death, when it again presents itself in the lower world, it will be devoured by the hideous, crocodile-headed monster, *Harpechrot*, and become totally annihilated. We see from this that they believed in the transmigration of souls, a doctrine adopted from them by Pythagoras and the Greeks. The souls of the just became united again with their original bodies before they entered into the realms of everlasting bliss. For those that had been guilty of lesser sins there was a place of purification,—a purgatorial fire,—where they were cleansed prior to their admission into Elysium; but they knew no hell of infinite duration, "whose fires are unquenchable, and where the worm of conscience never dieth." The wicked were punished for a time, and then totally annihilated.

Something more now about *Osiris* and *Isis*, the favorite deities of both the classes and the masses. They were worshiped throughout the kingdom, from the beautiful Island of *Philæ* in the south to the seven mouths of the Nile in the north. *Osiris* was, to the Egyptians, something akin to what Christ is to the Christians. According to an ancient tale, he descended from heaven to teach men truth and make them happy. He became as one of their own, living among them as their king and instructor. Under him, Egypt became Eden. But the serpent of jealousy, *Set*, brought in evil; and the garden of pleasure, like the story of their creation, lives now only in the tales of their stone tablets. *Set*, who secretly coveted the power and influence of his distinguished

brother, resolved to make way with him, and after his assassination assume himself the reins of government. To this end he prepared a banquet for the king, and in the midst of the festivities slew him. The corpse was cut into fourteen pieces, placed in a chest and floated down the Nile. It happened that the chest was washed ashore within the confines of Phœnicia, and strange to relate, a huge tree grew up at the spot and completely enveloped the chest within its ample trunk; and, strangest of all, grew up to adult size in the course of a single night. The king of Phœnicia, surprised at such miraculous growth, and charmed with the massive size of the tree, had it cut down and framed into a column for the hall of his palace. Disconsolate Isis, who had been wearily seeking the lost body, received secret information that her husband was shut up within the famous Phœnician column. She immediately presented herself at the royal court, and succeeded in having herself appointed nurse to the king's young son. At night, when all was quiet, the story goes on to say, Isis would change herself into a bird and flutter around the enchanted column and warble her sweetest songs to her imprisoned lord. When the time came for her to quit the service of the king, she would accept of no compensation but the magic column, which the king kindly granted her. Isis immediately liberated the entombed fourteen pieces of body, sorted them out in the form of a man, and cared for them so tenderly and lovingly that Osiris was forced to return to life. Their son, *Horus*, later, avenged the father by putting Set to the sword, after which he installed Osiris in his quondam sovereignty.

This curious fable antedates Grecian influences by at least two thousand years, according to *Le Page Renouf*. It is not a mere fable, but an allegorical tale, representing the conflict between day and night—day is vanquished in the death of Osiris, but triumphs again in his resurrection. The religion of the Egyptians, different from that of the Greeks and Romans, is not founded on fable or purely mythical history.¹ Osiris is further represented as one of a trinity, or rather of a *triad*: Isis, his wife-sister, who is one with himself; and Horus, their son, who is one with both father and mother, are the other members. There are three persons, though all three form but one nature. Almost every one of the gods is a member of such a triad; the triad being again, in some cases, the third member of an *enneade*, or trinity of triads. The principal cities had their special triads, as Phtha, Sekhet, and Ra, at Memphis; Amon, Mout, and Khonsu, at Thebes, etc. Of the later great triad, Amon was the husband of his mother; Mout, his wife,

¹ *The Ancient Egyptians*. J. G. Wilkinson. Ed. 1883. Vol. ii., p. 500.

was the mother of her father, and the daughter of her son ; while Khonsu, the son of Amon, was the father of his father. Understand this who can. To determine their exact degree of kin might be somewhat difficult. The Egyptians escaped the difficulty by saying the *three* were *one*. Some of the Egyptian triads were without the female element, corresponding in this respect to the great trinity of the Hindoos, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Vishnu, the saviour, bears a striking resemblance to Osiris, the god-man of the Egyptians. These triads, of course, bear but a very remote resemblance to the Blessed Trinity ; the points of agreement being only apparent.

In later years, one of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty, *Amenhotep IV.*, or *Chuenaten*, introduced a new divinity into the Egyptian pantheon—the god *Aten*. He tried to make the worship of this deity universal, and so bring about a uniformity in religious offices, and bring Egypt back to its primitive monotheism. In this he was unsuccessful. *Aten*, some think, was none other than the Adonai or Lord of the Jews. The Phrygian *Attin* offers us a more probable derivation, but then *Attin* and *Adonis* of the Syrians, as Wilkinson remarks, was the Adonai of the Bible. *Amenhotep's* mother was from Asia Minor, probably a Syrian ; from her he likely learned of the new god.¹ At *Tel el Amarna*, he had the following beautiful prayer cut into the rock : “ Mortals honor Him who has created them, and pray to Him who formed them. Thou, O God ! who art, in truth, the Living One, Thou art He who builds what ne’er was before, and formest all that is. We were also called into existence by the word of Thy mouth . . . There is no God but Thee. Vouchsafe to Thy son, who loves Thee, life in truth, that he may be united with Thee for all eternity.”²

As to the worship of animals, we may again say that animals were at first meant only to represent God and His divine attributes ; gradually, however, *many* of them began to assume the character of real gods in the Egyptian ceremonial. The Egyptians were loth to invest statues of wood or stone with divine honors ; they thought inanimate objects unworthy to serve as a dwelling-place of the divinity. That accounts for the absence of idols. The Jews were less particular ; when they could not find a calf in the desert to adore, in imitation of an Egyptian custom—the worship of Hathor—they made themselves a calf of their gold ornaments. The most popular of the sacred animals of Egypt was the bull Hapi or Apis, of Memphis, supposed to be the second life of Phtha. Herodotus says he was known by certain marks ; his hair was black ; on his forehead was a white triangular spot ; on his

¹ Renouf, in Kayser, p. 36.

² Wilkinson, vol. iii., page 352, note.

back an eagle; a beetle under his tongue; and the hair of his tail was double.¹ Some of these marks were visible only to the priests, which accounts for the fact that the temple of Memphis was never without an occupant, for, if some of the marks failed, as they certainly always did, the priests could fraudulently assert that they were visible to themselves. Pilgrimages were made from all parts of Egypt to pay honor to this strange deity. Hapi was kept in a magnificent palace; he rested upon a couch of down at night, and in his waking hours stretched his portly body on beautifully woven oriental rugs. He was fed with the daintiest food, and waited upon by an army of obsequious priests. However, Hapi was not allowed to live this way forever; his term of life, unfortunately, was fixed by law; he was not permitted to survive twenty-five years. At the expiration of the allotted time he was conducted in solemn procession to a sacred pond near the temple, and with all the solemnity due such an important ceremony he was given his final, fatal bath. When life was extinct, his body was drawn out, embalmed with costly spices, and what was mortal of Hapi was buried with all the processional grandeur that his exalted dignity called for, amidst the profound lamentations of his grieved devotees. The body was entombed in a magnificent sarcophagus, placed in a spacious underground temple—the *Serapis*—and the soul of Apis went to the happy hunting-grounds of Osiris-Ra.

Another animal held in high esteem through the whole of Egypt was the insignificant beetle, the scarab. It was not a representation of Phtha, a deity itself, as was Hapi, but merely a sacred animal, the *symbol* of Phtha. It is found engraven on signet-rings and on every species of ornament. Miss A. Edwards, an Egyptian scholar (who gave a series of interesting lectures in this country last year), in a recent work thus enthusiastically dilates on this little emblem of divinity: "Whilst watching the movements of this creature, its untiring energy, its extraordinary muscular strength, its business-like devotion to the matter in hand, one sees how subtle a lesson the old Egyptian moralists had presented to them for contemplation, and with how fine a combination of wisdom and poetry they regarded this little black scarab as an emblem of the creative and preserving power, perhaps even of the immortality of the soul. As a type, no insect has ever had so much greatness thrust upon it. . . . Its image was multiplied a million-fold, sculptured over the portals of temples, fitted to the shoulders of a god, engrav'd on gems, moulded in pottery, painted on sarcophagi and the walls of tombs, worn by the living and buried with the dead."²

¹ Herodotus, p. 353.

² *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, p. 96.

Other sacred animals were the jackal, asp, cow, hawk, ibis, goose, etc. Thousands of mummified cats have lately been taken from the ruins of Bubastis, where to kill a cat formerly meant certain death to the offender. In the Fayum, which, in ancient times, was the entrance to the great reservoir of Moeris, the titular god was the *Crocodile*. Strabo, a writer of antiquity, acquaints us with a curious custom practiced at the Fayum whenever a pilgrim came to pay his respects to one of these amphibian gods. It was prescribed that each visitor make an offering of cakes, fried fish, and a beverage prepared with honey. When the customary gifts were presented, three priests at once proceeded to offer, or rather administer, them to the sleepy god, who usually lay stretched out on the shores of a small lake, lazily sunning his iron-clad back, and perhaps resting one of his jewelled ears on arms encased in finely-wrought bracelets of gold. The crocodile evidently knew not how to appreciate the frequent offerings, for two priests had to pry open his jaws while the other thrust down the cakes and fish and gave him his drink of honey. After such an operation the god would invariably take to the water and make for the opposite shore. If, in the meantime, another visitor chanced to present his offerings, the priests would walk around to the god's new resting-place and make the unhappy deity submit to a new gorging on cake and fish, and so *ad indefinitum*.

This, then, represents the dogmatic teachings of Egyptian theology. If its tenets are somewhat confused, that arises from the contradictory statements of the documents themselves, for these have been gathered from many sections of country differing from each other in their different beliefs, and represent a development—not always uniform—of thousands of years. There is less confusion regarding their *moral* precepts; all are agreed that these are of an exceptionally high order. As already said, they believed in the immortality of the soul and in future reward and punishment. This was not without its influence upon their practical life. All laid great store also by the public funeral they were to receive after death, but these funeral rites were denied those that had not led an exemplary life, and there are several instances on record of religious sepulture having been denied even to kings. This fear of the people's judgment after death was a potent factor in making princes and others mindful of the rights of their subordinates.

Obedience was the fundamental virtue of Egyptian morality; obedience towards God, towards parents, and towards the king was constantly inculcated. Thus we read: "To obey is to love God; to disobey is to hate Him." "The son will become happy through obedience; in this wise he will win divine favor." "The obedience of a son to his father is a cause of joy. He is loved by

his father, and his praise is in the mouth of the living who walk on the earth." "Give not thy mother cause to complain of thee, lest perchance she lift up her hand to the divinity and He give ear to her wail." And to the parent it is said: "Bring up thy son so that he will love God." Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians paid great deference to their parents and to elderly people in general. It was considered a breach of etiquette to remain sitting when an older person entered the room. On the streets the younger always made way for them.¹ Patience, meekness, purity, temperance and charity were also strongly inculcated. It was said, for example: "Piety to the gods is the highest virtue." "Beware of injuring thy neighbor by thy words." "Do not gossip, for gossip will make its round." Even the ancient Egyptians had experienced this. Still more practical was the advice: "Do not reveal thy thoughts to him who has an evil tongue." Again it is said: "Be not given to many words; observe silence, that will prove to your benefit. Let not thy voice be heard in the temple of God, for He abominates this." "Love truth" was another maxim of theirs, and "Isis will bless all the gifts that God has given thee."

The Egyptians believed in early marriage; therefore the anxious parent counselled his son to marry early. "Marry a *young* woman, thy son will do the same after thy example." Unlike the other nations of the East, they allowed their wives great freedom, and were exceptionally kind to them. "Be not rude with thy wife at home when thou knowest that all is right with her. Do not say, 'where is this?' 'bring me that!' for she has put it in its proper place." Again: "If you are a wise man fix your house pleasantly; love your wife; do not quarrel with her; give her food and jewels because these make her comely; give her perfumes and pleasures during your life; she is a treasure, which must be worthy of its owner."² This was, perhaps, some sage priest's advice to a young and inexperienced bridegroom. Diodorus tells us that they went still further in their deference to the fair sex,—for *fair* it must have been when even as early as that ladies used dyes and cosmetics. "Wives," he says, "ruled their husbands, and in the marriage contracts husbands had to promise due obedience to their spouses." This, of course, was carrying things a little too far.

Some of the above are taken from the maxims of *Pthahhotep*, son of one of the early Egyptian Pharaohs; his papyrus, in fact, is the earliest extant. His conception of moral law was far superior to that of any Greek or Roman philosopher. *Humility* was a virtue unknown to the classic nations; nay, there was not even a

¹ Herodotus, p. 113.

² Hyvernat, *Lectures on Egypt*, p. 107.

word in their languages to express it. Yet the ancient Egyptian threatens the proud man when he says: "Let not any one proudly exalt himself; for God, who has given him strength, will humble him." Again he says: "When you have become great after being lowly, and when you have gathered riches after being in want, and when you have become the first of the town . . . do not grow elated over the wealth that you have accumulated, because the author of your bounty is God. Do not place others beneath you, because what you have become may likewise be in store for them."¹ The Egyptians were an industrious people, and hated idleness above all things. Vagrancy was severely punished. Herodotus says there was a law compelling every Egyptian to appear before a court of justice once a year and give an account of how he employed his time. If it was found that he was not making an honest living, he was, without further ceremony, condemned to death.² This was before the age of tramps and Italian troubadours. The moral teachings of the Egyptians were pure and noble, and more exalted than those of any other nation of antiquity with the exception of God's chosen people, the Jews. Brugsch says they were not inferior even to Christian teachings; but this certainly is not true; no religion, no system of doctrines, either of the past or present, can be compared to the moral code of Christianity. If the Egyptians were taught to love their fellow-men, Christians are commanded to love and do good even to their *enemies*. Christianity forbids even the bare thought or desire of evil; her motives are not earthly advancement, earthly happiness; they transcend nature, they are spiritual, supernatural. There is an infinite distance between even the highest of pagan religions and the religion of Christ.

The *ceremonial* of the Egyptians was in keeping with the grandeur of their temples, and these were the finest and most numerous of all antiquity. *Karnak*,³ in Thebes, is the ruin of the greatest temple ever built by man, just as the pyramid of *Chufu*⁴ is the largest tomb. There was a large body of priests connected with

¹ P. 227.

² Draco inserted this law into his Athenian code.

³ The temple of Karnak was 1200 feet long and 340 feet wide, covering an area of 396,000 square feet, which is more than half again as much as St. Peter's, Rome, covers. Ferguson calls this "the noblest of architectural magnificence ever produced by the hand of man." Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, vol. i., pp. 230, 237 ff.

⁴ The largest pyramid of the Gizeh field, Chufu or Keops, contains 89,000,000 square feet of solid masonry, weighing 6,848,000 tons. Some of its basement stones are 30 feet long and 5 feet high, and all the stone was quarried at Syene, 500 miles distant. Though mortar was not used, the stones fit together so closely that not even a needle can be wedged in between them. No settlement in any part of the huge pyramids can be detected. It is the greatest triumph of mechanical architecture. Cf. Rawlinson, vol. i., pp. 204, 205.

the temples, and the priesthood constituted the highest class in the state. To them was intrusted the education of the royal princes, and the direction even of the kings themselves. They anointed the latter, and placed the sceptre in their hands, just as Christian bishops did to the emperors and kings of Europe in the Middle Ages. As already said, they were well educated, while all the other classes were literally steeped in ignorance. Wise men from all countries wended their way to Egypt to receive instruction from her sages. Egyptian priests were the teachers of Solon, Pythagoras, Herodotus, Democritus, Plato, and many other eminent Greeks. They employed all their ingenuity to devise means for making the religious ceremonies impressive. Every month of the year and every day of the month were devoted to some particular god or goddess, just as our days and months are devoted each to a special saint or mystery. Rawlinson says religious or semi-religious ceremonies seemed to know no end, and to occupy almost incessantly the main attention of the people.¹ Their whole life, customs, and manners were permeated with religion. The month of May was devoted to Isis. Her statues were decked with flowers, and processions were formed in her honor. Processions were a common feature of their ceremonial; sometimes even statues covered with baldachins were carried with pompous display from one shrine to another; tapers were burned, litanies recited, banners were carried, and the processions were accompanied by clean-shaven priests vested in fine linen albs and beautiful copes of leopard skins. There were festivals without number, for the greater of which priests prepared by long and rigorous fasts. Sacrifices were offered of animals, but, as far as is known, never of human beings, be this said to their honor. Pilgrimages to some favorite shrine were also of frequent occurrence.

On one of the outer doors of the temple of Edfu may be read the following exhortation addressed to the clergy entering the edifice: "Let any one that enters through this portal beware that he enter it not in uncleanness, because God loves purity more than the millions of the rich, and more than hundred thousands of gold pieces. He finds his contentment in truth; through her He is comforted; and he finds His great joy in perfect purity." Symbolical of the purity that should be his distinguishing mark, the priests, as Herodotus tells us, were required to bathe four times a day, and to shave themselves—the entire head and body—every second day. The faithful and the priests were circumcised, and that long before the time of Abraham; though it remains uncertain whether circumcision was, with them, a religious rite.² Cir-

¹ Vol. i., p. 322.² Brugsch, pt. i., p. 92.³ Herodotus, p. 53.

cumcision obtained in Egypt as early as twenty-four hundred years before Christ; however, it was not confined to the Egyptians alone, being practised among many nations of antiquity, as it is still practised among some barbarian tribes at the present time. It was the practice of the ancient Ethiopians, of the Toltecs of Central America, and is still a custom among the natives of Australia, and other Oceanic islands; the custom, as well, of all orthodox Mussulmen, and even of the Christians of Abyssinia, with which country Egypt has ever stood in close relation.¹

The *funeral* ceremonies of the Egyptians are highly interesting. At the death of a member, the whole family fell into deepest mourning. The men allowed their beards and the hair of their heads to grow, and both men and women vested themselves in long white shrouds, sprinkled their heads with dust, and besmeared face and robe with mud. They went about the streets uttering their lamentations, and were soon joined by a throng of wailing relatives. Women were specially hired to pray and lament for the dead; and this was kept up for many weeks. The corpse was embalmed or mummified in the Egyptians' peculiar way,² which process lasted some seventy days, after which the body lay in state for another week or two, when the solemn interment usually took place. The procession to the tomb was a most imposing affair. The coffin was carried on a chariot, or on a sort of sleigh, resembling a bark, in imitation of the one on which Ra was supposed to make his daily trip around the world. Arrived at the tomb—which was usually a very beautiful building, for the tombs of the Egyptians were among the finest structures of the country, rivaling in magnificence even the great temples themselves—the coffin was placed upright, and offerings were made by each member of the procession, consisting of cakes, fruits, etc., while a priest muttered prayers into the ear of the mummy, and cautioned him against the dangers that he might encounter in his travels through the nether world. Then the coffin was placed in a sarcophagus, together with a copy of the famous "Book of the Dead," a pair of shoes, a staff, jewels, small statues of gods and men who were supposed to be of some assistance to the dead in his future wanderings; an emblem of the deceased's profession, as a pair of scissors for a tailor, etc. Into the sarcophagi of children they placed a few toys—to amuse them in the life beyond. The sarcophagus was then sealed and lowered into a secret crypt, which was then filled up with rocks and carefully walled over, so that the exact spot might remain a secret. They were very careful to pre-

¹ Cf. Geikie, *Hours with the Bible*, vol. i., ch. xx., p. 265. (Alden, 1886.)

² For full description of process, see Herodotus, pp. 118, ff.

serve the body intact, because they thought their future happiness depended upon a second union of body and soul. This will also explain the mummifying process—a process intended to protect the body against decay. In the mortuary chamber, above the grave, bed, and furniture, and food were stored for use of the dead; and, at frequent intervals, friends and relatives met in this chamber to offer prayers for the deceased. The large pyramids were built to serve as tombs by some of the more powerful kings. The great pyramid of Chufu, the highest and most massive structure in the world, contained room for only one, or, at the highest, two sarcophagi. The entrance to this central room was so skillfully hidden that during thousands of years men searched for it in vain. At Thebes, kings and nobles hollowed out their palatial tombs in the native rock of adjacent mountains. The entrance to one of these is graced with four statues, each sixty feet high. The interior is finely sculptured, and the walls still tell their hieroglyphic tales.

One of the curious customs of the Egyptians was the peculiar honor they paid to those domestic pets, cats and dogs. When a cat died, all the members of the household fell into mourning, and as a sign of their grief shaved off their eyebrows; when a dog died, the whole head, as Herodotus tells us, was shaven clean.¹ This was done because they were inclined to look upon them as more than ordinary beings. Aside from a few such silly customs, we must say that the religious rites of the Egyptians were such as to give them a high place in the scale of civilization. These religious rites were not without their influence on the Egyptian people. They were, in general, moral, and calculated to influence for good.² They made the Egyptians what they were—the most devout people on earth. Only two or three festivals were attended with excesses, chiefly those of Memphis and Sais, where immorality and drunkenness, for the time being, ran riot. The Egyptians were, in general, a moral race, though Herodotus complains that the women were immodest in dress. Excepting this, there was little to find fault with. They did not practise polygamy, and in this they differed from almost every other nation of antiquity, not excepting even the Jews. Women held about the same position in Egyptian society as they do in our own. They were not shut up in seraglios. The Egyptian women often came together for gossip, and to drink tea, though it sometimes happened, as the visiting

¹ P. 97.

² Thus illustrating the remark of Max Mueller: "Whether we descend to the lowest roots of our intellectual growth, or ascend to the loftiest heights of modern speculation, everywhere we find religion as a power that conquers, and conquers even those who think that they have conquered it."—*Origin of Religion* (Ed. 1882), p. 5.

Greeks ungallantly disclosed to the outside world, that they took something stronger, and had to be helped home by their slaves;¹ As a people, the Egyptians were grave, yet withal contented and happy; they were provident and industrious; hospitable and kind; loyal to their rulers; mindful of their departed friends in prayers and sacrifices; and what constitutes the crown of their glory, *zealous for the interests of their imperishable souls, and profoundly magnanimous in their service to the Highest.* Such was the first and grandest nation of all antiquity.

THE TWO SICILIES AND THE CAMORRA.

THOUGH Northern and Southern Italy, by force of arms and by political methods eminently Macchiavellian, have been unified for thirty years, there are Northern Italians who do not esteem, as brethren should, their Neapolitan or Sicilian countrymen. And facts have proven and do prove, that even with such masterly politicians as Crispi and Rudini at the helm, there are Neapolitans and Sicilians who would, willingly, be no more Italian than their fathers. Why the northerner should deem himself more worthy than the southern man of bearing a proud title, is not easy to understand. Neither intellectually, nor morally, nor physically is the southron inferior to the northerner. Before Lombard or Tuscan had a tongue, the Sicilian gave a spoken language to Italy, and the vernacular was known, not as Italian, but as Sicilian. From the list of Italy's great and good men, blot out the names of Neapolitan and Sicilian, and how blurred and dull the once bright page will be. Had there been no St. Thomas there never could have been a Dante. Perhaps the southron's blood is of a less pure strain. Let the northerner separate and count the mixtures blended in his veins. In love of virtue, law, or liberty, the southron holds no second place. The history of Naples, as of Sicily, is a record of glory and of trial, splendid and terrible by turns. The North has its tale of wickedness, of shame. The good men of the South have been silent. Well might they complain. If they are silent, it is only because they value patient effort rather than vain recrimination. Time works wonders.

¹ Wilkinson, vol. iii., pp. 392, 393, with some curious illustrations.

The attempt to belittle the Sicilian and the Neapolitan may be traced back, for a quarter of a century at least, to the interested supporters of the Piedmontese government. The southerner has been painted as an exceptionally uncivilized Italian; and native as well as barbarian writers have presented the Maffia and the Camorra as types of two peoples who, though by courtesy received into the Kingdom of Italy, are really peoples apart, characterized by manners and morals foreign to the altogether lovely nature of the truly Italian Piedmontese, Lombard, Tuscan, Venetian, and Romagnese. One of the missions committed to Piedmont was, evidently, that of lifting the populations of Naples and of Sicily up to the high plane of exemplary, sweet morality, of which North Italy, in this century, as in the sixteenth and in the twelfth, has been a model, shining though not unique. If we are to trust official reports of recent date, neither Sicilian nor Neapolitan have been notably influenced by the unselfish efforts of the Northern political missionaries, and Maffia and Camorra, despising unappreciative writers of newspapers and of books, are still respected institutions in the South. Nor has the whole power of the government, now seated in Rome, been strong enough to compel all Sicilians and Neapolitans to submit to the King's law, based on noble principles looking only to the common weal, and to shake off the rule of criminal societies, whose principles are no worse than those of the successful Italian politicians of the last fifty years. A sketch of the history of the Two Sicilies, and of the Camorra, may aid those in search of the truth about the unification of Italy, and those who take interest in the development of civilization within our nineteenth century.

The meaning of the word Maffia, Sicilians can no more exactly define than the Neapolitans can define "Camorra." To Sicily the Maffia is confined; but the Camorra flourishes not alone in the city of Naples, as many imagine. Over the Abruzzi, the Terra di Lavoro, Puglia, the Basilicata and Calabria, its baneful power extends. In many of the islands along the coast, and in Sicily, the Camorra is active; and though the name may not have been adopted in the Romagna, organizations having like ends and using similar methods existed there not many years back, and also in Venice and in other parts of North Italy.

Associations of criminals are not unknown in the United States. Every large city has its "gangs." These, however, are vulgar associations, which no political party, no senator or cabinet officer would, even secretly, negotiate with and much less protect. Following the example of their unconvicted fellow-countrymen, who, secretly combined, so often abetted, in the convenient guise of politicians, the most frightful crimes, French criminals have long had

an organization. But among the Italians, if we may trust the testimony of Italians, the secret society has been more scientifically adapted to ends openly criminal than among other European peoples. And the Camorra, according to Italian authorities, easily holds first place in the annals of Italian associations especially devoted to the encouragement of crime and to the protection of criminals.

How or when the Camorra was first organized, no one can tell. Italian writers would be pleased if they could trace its roots in the East. There the uses of the secret society in attaining bad ends have been appreciated from time immemorial. The Thug is not yet extinct, and telegrams from China prove that the Highbinder is full of virulent vitality. If it could be established that the Arabs or the Spaniards brought the Camorra with them from their barbarous lands, the Italian inquirer would be satisfied. He has found an Arabic word, *Gamara*, which means a gambling-house, and another word, *Kumar*, the name of a gambler's game. Then the Spaniards have a word, *Gamurra*, to signify the dress affected by common bullies. Chroniclers speak of a robber band called *Gamurra*, famed in the thirteenth century; and the Spaniards relate that, in 1417, a certain company, intitled *Garduna*, acted just as the Camorra has acted in our times. The great Cervantes is appealed to. In one of his novels he describes the confraternity of *Monopodio*, which robbed and extorted, far and wide, on the plea of devotion to a shrine. Many of the customs of this confraternity have, it is said, been kept alive by the Camorra. In search of tutors in organized robbery, we must wonder at an Italian's going abroad. Certainly Italian annalists, chroniclers, historians have preserved facts enough to make it evident that before the thirteenth century, as well as since, the generous soil has never failed in producing a plethoric crop of criminals. The free companion was a Camorrist. And what were Gasparone, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour or *Il Galantuomo*? The Camorra is not an association of low-bred thieves. Intelligently, its leaders accommodated themselves to the progressive, "liberal" spirit of the nineteenth century.

Official documents relating to the Spanish rule at Naples during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries frequently refer to criminal organizations that controlled the jails. The *padrone* was a power in the jail then, as now he is a power out of jail. He compelled the prisoners to give him their money, even their clothes, or else to be beaten, poisoned, or stabbed.¹ The Camorra was first discovered in the present century, about the year 1820. Then it was at work in the jails, and the system did not differ from that which

¹ Alongi Giuseppe, *La Camorra*, Torino, 1890, pp. 23-24.

troubled the government during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are inquirers who incline to the belief that the Camorra was organized as early as 1790, but the evidence is not substantial. From 1820 until 1859, the society exercised its appointed functions with an art and a force truly surprising. As a political factor, it was not counted upon, however, until the year 1859. Then patriotic and liberal-minded statesmen calculated the possible force of the Camorra as an engine in the secret workshop of revolution and of unifying chicanery. The resolution of the problem was eminently satisfactory for a time. The Camorra grew in numbers rapidly. The rich, the ambitious, the unprincipled of all conditions were enrolled in its ranks. The Piedmontese government played a sharp game; but the Camorra were trained gamblers, and in all games there are at least two hands. In 1862, the winners of 1860 were compelled to try force against the Camorra; and since 1862 there have been many judicial inquiries, many prosecutions, many wholesale convictions. The Camorra is, nevertheless, still playing a strong hand.

"Do not ask for grace; conquer it,"¹ said Mazzini to a young woman who we sincerely hope has not wholly followed his diabolical advice. The motto of Mazzini, we may be certain, was not always followed even by a hardened Camorrist, though born criminals as many of them were, and carefully educated as were all of them, we need expect to hear of none but graceless deeds done in their name. Recently the telegrams from Italy told us of a trial, at Bari, of nigh two hundred men who were professedly members of a "Mala Vita" society. To hear of two hundred men who are so lost to all sense of shame that they deliberately combine in the pursuit of a "wicked life," and who are proud of being called wicked, shocks law-abiding Americans, but equally law-abiding Italians are not so easily shocked. They have had an experience which, it is to be hoped, we shall never pass through. The name "Mala Vita" is new to us, but it is not new in Italy. Every Camorrist takes his degrees; and the first degree he receives—when he has earned it—is that of the "Mala Vita." He has proved himself worthy of being called a man of "wicked life." The number of Mala Vita societies just now, and the thriving state of the membership lists, testify to the fact that the Camorra is struggling for existence amid conditions not wholly unfavorable. Like their Bourbon predecessors, the Piedmontese kings could and would and did banish the religious orders with that expeditiousness which immoral governments, like immoral men, always display when pursuing religion and virtue. But the men profession-

¹ Personal Recollections of Mazzini. *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1891, p. 710.

ally wicked, why should they fear their secret allies? None better than criminals know that the persecutors of good men are the most arrant, the most compulsory cowards. Conquer grace, and you destroy manhood and womanhood.

Should some student of Neapolitan history find the Camorra fully organized as early as 1790, no one who has followed the course of events in the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily would be surprised. A learned English historian, Mr. Freeman, has promised us a history of Sicily from the beginning. As a record of wars, of royal ambitions quenched in blood, of the endless suffering of generation after generation of God's creatures, the poor and the simple, no sadder one can be conceived. No Englishman, however painstaking, will ever write the true history of either Sicily or Naples; and least of all the history of the last hundred years. When the French Revolution fired all the enemies of faith and of grace, who, the world over, had been logically educated in the revolutionary doctrines, for which, according to Mazzini, the Reformation had prepared the way, Naples and Sicily were quick to act. In Naples alone there were seventy thousand men affiliated with secret political societies. The English were prepared to see the government victorious, or expelled. All they wished was to control a rich country and positions valuable for attack or defence. And the French? They were bearing Liberty southward on a hospital litter. From '89 to '98, if the Sicilians and the Neapolitans were a happy people, it was only because they had learned to take the world easily. To support large armies that peace might be assured at home and the country protected against the foreigner, every class was taxed, and taxed again beyond bearing. However, Ferdinand's task was most trying, and wiser men might have done less well than he did. Against Napoleon he made a bold stand. Out of Rome he drove the French, and had Piedmont shown as much patriotism then as it has practiced trickery since, the whole of Italy might have been freed from the grasp of the invader. As it was, Championnet occupied Naples, after a short campaign, and solemnly declared Saint Januarius a citizen of the Parthenopean Republic!

Before the French came, the jails were filled with conspirators and assassins. Now they were emptied, only to be filled again with "patriots"; for the mass of the people rose up madly against the invaders. In their madness they slaughtered not only the enemy, but also the noble and the learned among their fellow-citizens. To be suspected of a leaning to the foreigner was to be condemned to the dagger. Novelists in search of a thrilling subject might well turn to Naples in 1799. Within a month the unfortunate people suffered greater ills than had been their lot in the

previous twenty-five years. To-day they are fleeing from a country where they are esteemed only as taxable machines and as soldier pawns. Then they could not escape the liberating Frenchmen who robbed them of the very trinkets they delighted in. The churches, convents, monasteries, were rifled, by law, and the money that more than all is the money of the people, consecrated to their uses, was carried into France to sharpen the ploughshares with which the genius, Napoleon, was to cut the throats of so many unfortunate members of the brotherhood of man.

The French had friends in Naples. The men of the secret societies were all ready to take the offices, and to instruct their countrymen how a Republic ought to be governed. Speeches rather than victuals were plentiful. The "democratizator" came in with the French Constitution.¹ He planted trees of Liberty and levied contributions on the people.² Of the fruit of the tree of Liberty, it is the "contribution" that is generally reserved for the dear people. Against kings, against the Pope, the "democratizator" was furious; and yet neither king nor Pope were friendless. The king's friends were not idle, and they were numerous. How could it be otherwise? In a day the institutions of the country had been overturned. The nobility, the officials, the army of the kingdom had been cast out, and new men were busy securing themselves in power by every persecuting means. The discharged soldiery became thieves, brigands, assassins. The old nobility, landholders, officials, directed and supported the patriot guerillas. Then the whole of the Neapolitan territory was turned into a nursery of brigands. As yet Fra Diavolo had not appeared on the operatic stage. He was doing the devil's work, was this Michael Pezza, in the Terra di Lavoro. Of many brutes, he was only one. They made a business of assassination. A meal of human flesh they enjoyed. One of them, Mammone, a miller by calling, was proud because he had cut four hundred throats with his own right hand. His table was dressed with the fresh-cut heads, and he preferred human blood to common wine.³ To such a pass was the kingdom of Naples brought by the French sons of Liberty. Hating them the people treated them as they dealt with the people, who finally drove them out savagely. In Sicily the king waited. Nelson lent a willing hand. He was soft-hearted only with an adulterous mistress. The Sicilians furnished their quota of soldiers against the common enemy. Terrible was the

¹ Without any particular office or stipend, these democratizators were charged to persuade or compel cities and towns to adopt republican forms. They were provided with letters-patent from the government. See Colletta, *History of Naples*, vol. i., p. 304. Edinburgh, 1858.

² Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 123.

³ Cantu, *loc. cit.*

slaughter. Brother stabbed brother, as if there were no God, no commandment. How Mazzini would have rejoiced could he have generalised such a body of slaughterers—with headquarters in London!

At length the king returned to Naples. Picture the following five years of the country which had passed through this horrible schooling; a disunited people, a land of hates, enmities, disorders, revenges; a land of punishments for disloyalty, of exile, and always of brigandage and assassination. Calculate the losses of men and of property; calculate the misery; you will not calculate the debts and the new taxes. Ferdinand did all that a king could who was so overwhelmed with misfortunes. He had hopes even when the victorious Napoleon threatened him. But after Austerlitz he saw himself forsaken by the English and the Russians. A decree of the victorious emperor, and an army of 50,000 men, sufficed to put king and queen to flight; and the French entered Naples without a battle. Joseph Bonaparte, by the grace of his brother, was king of the two Sicilies. The prisons were again filled. Colonel Fra Diavolo, moved by patriotism still, with Sydney Smith's letters in his pocket, robbed and warred after the guerilla fashion that young Italy revived thirty years later.¹

Between French ideas of liberty and the gibbet there has been an intimate connection. The gibbet was set up in Naples. Had it not been for the gibbet, the jails would have been inhumanly overcrowded. Of course there was room in the jails and on the scaffold for a bishop, for priests, monks and nuns. Could there be a nobler sacrifice offered up on the altar of liberty—French or Italian—than a religious woman? You can see what a loving attachment the "people" must have formed for the new government, and how hard they cursed the Bourbons! How could any one resist the winning, just, magnanimous Bonapartist régime?

Of course the Neapolitans were promptly submitted to the Napoleonic code. To be well governed it was a maxim in France that the world should be governed after the last French fashion. To-day, perhaps, this maxim is not generally received even in France; though there are Frenchmen who still believe it as firmly as many Frenchmen did in 1806. Joseph Bonaparte had received a larger share of grace than his brother, the emperor, or else he had responded more freely to such grace as was granted him. He wished to deal with his people as though they were something more than slaves; but of any like policy the emperor would have none. The kingdom he would have robbed of money and of men, taxing it to the last penny and depriving it of the last able man.

¹ Colletta, *History of Naples*, vol. ii., p. 47.

Soldiers he wanted and means wherewith to pay them. When in 1808, Joseph was deported to Spain, the Neapolitans shed no tears. Murat, who succeeded him, forced a tear and a groan from many a strong heart.

This innkeeper's son carried things with a high hand during the seven years he lorded it over the Neapolitans. Joseph had generously accorded them a Constitution, after his brother had sent him to Spain. Murat abolished this Constitution. He gave the public property as well as the offices to foreigners. The conscription provided him with a large army; none too large however. In Sicily, the Bourbons ruled, and the English could afford to furnish them money and arms. They paid themselves well. After 1811 they were practically the rulers of Sicily. "Military occupation" was the term used to cover a usurpation. English diplomacy has seldom failed for want of convenient terms.

Meantime, Murat wore no crown of roses. In an attempt to occupy Sicily he was worsted. The English harassed his coast line, and, by their secret relations with the Neapolitan brigands, whom they encouraged with money and with Sicilian reinforcements, made his tenure most insecure. The brigands in Puglia, in the Basilicata, in Calabria, were numbered by thousands.¹ Remorselessly they fought in the name of the Bourbons and of the people. Remorsely they were pursued and punished. The secret societies were active. They were less warlike but more dangerous than the brigands. Murat had helped the Carbonari. In Naples as in Sicily the order was a power. Bentinck threw them a sop with the promise of a Constitution if they declared in favor of the Bourbons. When Napoleon was discrowned, Murat caught at a straw. He had turned against the Carbonari; now he made friends of them. Why should not he be king of Italy? He negotiated with the allies, and then played them false when Napoleon returned from exile. Defeated, Murat preferred a Constitution to the people who were no longer his subjects (May, 1815). The Austrians and the English had taken possession of Naples and Ferdinand I., late Ferdinand IV., was once more nominal ruler of the two kingdoms.

After a quarter of a century of wars, revolutions, foreign occupation, and of contesting kings and influences, we can realize the actual condition of Naples and of Sicily. Once more the "ins" were turned out. Old hates and rivalries were living; to these, new hates, new oppositions were added. English ideas, Napo-

¹ When Joseph Bonaparte assumed the crown, the brigands were so numerous in the kingdom that he saw no other way of dealing with them than to offer a pardon to all malefactors who laid down their arms and swore fealty to the government. — *Colletta, loc. cit.*, pp. 47 and 117, vol. ii.

leonic ideas, Austrian ideas, Muratist ideas, Neapolitan Bourbon ideas, Carbonaro democratic-revolutionary ideas, the passions, the ambitions of all the parties and cliques, were acting, counteracting. What sort of an army must that have been in which the men on whom the crown depended were divided by local jealousies and political hates so recent and so bitter? The brigands took new courage. To the conscription the Neapolitans were not favorable. They preferred to take to the mountains and to rob picturesquely. Conspiracy was in fashion. The Carbonari, by 1819, numbered 600,000. A year later their number was estimated at 800,000. Theoretically king of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand was in fact only king of the Carbonari. They had him at their mercy. He tried to stamp them out. Into the jails they were flung. They turned the jails into lodges; 1820, by the way, is the very year in which the Camorra shows itself. In the jails we see it fully organized. Later on we shall be better prepared to say whether this was merely a curious coincidence.

A Constitution the Carbonari had determined to have. Sicily had received a Constitution from the English. The king repudiated it; but in part he was compelled to accept it. Thinking men said: Why not have one Constitution for the two kingdoms; but the Carbonari said no. Only the Spanish Constitution would satisfy them. They gathered an army, appointed Pepe as general, took possession of Naples, and proclaimed the Spanish Constitution (July, 1820). There was not a copy of it in the city; but everybody cheered. The king swore to this Constitution. In a kingdom of which the idiots have control, a king may be pardoned for playing the fool occasionally.

Between Naples and Sicily no love has been lost. The Sicilian despised everything Neapolitan. He wished a new Constitution, a Sicilian article. The Sicilian Carbonari were, however, bound to do as their cousins did and demanded the Neapolitan-Spanish Constitution. Civil war ensued, and "the whole island was inundated with blood." A Neapolitan army was proud of the patriotic fury it displayed in subduing the Sicilians.

The story of Ferdinand's experience in the two kingdoms and of the Neapolitan experience of Joseph Bonaparte and of Murat, shows that about this time and in those parts, kings were not mighty potentates. Besides the brigands, the Carbonari, the bureaucracy, and the people, there was at least one other factor with which a Bourbon had to count. The allied powers formed a court by which kings were supremely judged. Ferdinand's Constitution they condemned as inconsistent with absolute kingly rule.

¹ Cantu., *loc. cit.*, vol. xi., p. 308.

The Carbonari kept a close watch on the king. They threatened him and were placated only when he swore a second time to the Constitution. But the powers insisted, and Ferdinand placed himself in their hands. Within less than two months after his second oath, an allied army was in Naples. The Carbonari had taken the field, and had been easily routed. Once more the jails were filled; once more the gibbet was set at work; once more the dagger was freely plied. The old army was discharged, the officers were imprisoned and hired Switzers kept order. To pacify the politicians, separate laws and separate administrations were granted to each of the two countries. No true Sicilian would consent to be governed like a Neapolitan; and the Neapolitan scorned laws and officials good enough for Sicily. If politics were mathematics, how easily great problems in government would be solved!

When Ferdinand died, in January, 1825, he did not, we presume, deeply regret his eternal separation from the Carbonari and the brigands of Naples and Sicily. Thrice within the sixty-five years of his reign he had been dethroned, and thrice he had regained the throne. As kings go, he was a good king. He had to contend with enormous difficulties. Had his title been "President," he could have made more mistakes within four years than he did in sixty-five. No man can fall into mistakes unless opportunity favor him. Between 1821 and 1825 the king had gradually enlarged the liberties of the people, giving them the best government in Italy. The conditions under which he governed may be judged from the statement that in the single year, 1822, eight hundred of his subjects died either by the assassin's or the hangman's hand.¹ Ferdinand's son, Francis, reigned an uneventful reign of five years and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand II., upon whom the Carbonari of all countries and the designing politicians of England as well as of Piedmont put a mark, by popularizing the name "Bomba." He deserves a better name than Cavour, or Victor Emmanuel, or Louis Philippe, or Louis Napoleon, or than Palmerston—not to mention some other English leaders, now quite popular, who in their day were not too choice about the use of repressive means of government in countries neither Sicilian nor Italian. Under Ferdinand II., the two Sicilies progressed rapidly in all directions, materially, intellectually and even morally. The revolution was at work. Mazzini's emissaries in the cause of Young Italy were in search of brigands, smugglers, the riff-raff of Italy, of men with "muscular arms and hard hearts." There was a breed of such men in the Neapolitan kingdom—bul-

¹ Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 84.

² Cantu, *loc. cit.*, vol. xii., p. 111.

locks—and they were readily driven into the herd that the Genoese outcast tempted with the smell of human blood dripping from a shining dagger. From 1828 onward, these thieves and assassins, proudly posing as “political offenders,” carried on a guerilla warfare when and where they might. Nor was Sicily free from similar bands of criminals, who honored themselves with the name of conspirators. As soon as they went beyond limited assassination or robbery, these rascals were pursued with armed force. Too few of them were hung or imprisoned. During the cholera year, 1837, the Sicilians revolted. In Naples, the people believed that the Sicilians had with malice prepense, spread the cholera on the mainland. The Sicilians were certain that the Bourbons had sent into the island professional poisoners who had secretly choleraized the atmosphere. They maltreated and burned more than two hundred men and women suspected of being Bourbon cholera-poisoners. Of these senseless, inhuman crimes, the instigators were men of education. At Catania, there was a revolution. No cholera-poisoners’ Constitution should sully the bright page of Sicilian history. The old English Constitution of 1812 could alone satisfy the mob. Indeed, a considerable clique in Sicily—a clique of professors and of literary men—favored England and kept alive a spirit of hatred of all things Neapolitan. It was not the Bourbon they wished to be rid of. From Naples they would, if possible, be wholly separated. A nation by themselves the Sicilians ought to be, said these suspiciously patriotic writers and orators.

Young Italy gathered in the jail-birds and the uncondemned Carbonari secretly. With the aid of the brigands, in 1847 and again in 1848, an unsuccessful and a successful uprising were organized. The king offered concessions looking to an administration and laws more purely Sicilian. The leaders refused to lay down their arms unless they were granted a parliament which should make a constitution wholly agreeable to them. The king sent a fleet of nine vessels to Palermo, and on the refusal of the leaders to accept any compromise, the fleet bombarded the city. Hence the “Bomba.” Immediately the Neapolitans demanded “reforms.” The Bourbons had always kept the bishops and priests well in hand. Like the common run of kings, the Bourbons were bound to have something under their thumb, and the Church is the one persistent thing. Considering the circumstances, no one will reproach the Neapolitans because they demanded that Ferdinand should change his confessor. If a king may be a Pope, why may not the mob put on a tiara? Among the governments of Italy—to go no further—Ferdinand’s was the most liberal. He did not wish to see bloodshed, were the shedding avoidable. Besides other reforms, asked and unasked, he granted a new con-

stitution. With that profound wisdom that marked all their political action, the Carbonari—Young Italy, if you please—chose a French constitution for the Neapolitans. An intelligent citizen of Naples or of Sicily, whether in 1848 or 1798, must have been kept busy, between reflecting, mourning and laughing. When the French constitution was conceded, the Carbonari filled Italy with cries, not of "Bomba," but of "Long Live Ferdinand!" After Pius IX., he was the "idol" of all the villains who were secretly working, with the most devilish energy, to undo him and the Pope. Of course the timid men, the smart, and the fools, were beating their hands red and sore, applauding. They were so delighted.

Had it been spontaneous, the affection of some Sicilians for the English constitution would have been more than remarkable. The sentiment was manufactured. Palmerston and his agent, Lord Minto, were playing the revolution against the king and the king against the revolution. In Sicily as in Naples, a mob practically controlled the government. The Sicilian mob was confident. Ferdinand's authority it declared at an end, and forthwith a new king was sought for. A friend of true religion and of the people was at hand, Louis Napoleon. Unfortunately for the world he missed the crown of Sicily. At Naples a "liberal" parliament sat, undoing to-day what yesterday it had done. In the streets the slaughter of contending factions was horrible, even in Naples. The king spent his days and nights in granting concessions. To put down the Sicilian insurrection, men and money had to be lavished. The Sicilians fought desperately; and the Neapolitans had no mercy. In Sicily the jails were thrown open, and to the bloody horrors of soldiery and brigands were added the audacious thefts, the heartless assassinations of experienced criminals. Encouraging the king, the English were meantime supplying the Sicilians with arms. After months of murderous fighting the revolution was quelled (May, 1849). Then followed imprisonments, executions and necessary emigrations.

The idol was now made a target of. Calumnies were poured out on him. Notwithstanding wars, insurrections, and all the obstacles placed in his way by wicked or by foolish men, his government deserved praise. Under his careful management the finances had been wonderfully improved, and he had done much to develop the resources of the two restless and jealous nationalities.¹ But he was doomed, and the plotters had agreed on their conscienceless scheme. Abuse cost nothing to the lying crowd of Mazzinians. Falsehood and murder were their trade. Palmerston was the real villain of the play. Ceaseless in the campaign of lying,

¹ See details, Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. ii., pp. 359-360.

he used his powerful influence and the varied means at his disposal to make Ferdinand's name a by-word. At the Congress of Paris, where, in company with Napoleon III., he schemed deeply to assure the destruction of the temporal power of the Pope—a scheme since partly realized—he vomited a portion of his bile on the king that had been marked for the sacrifice. Piedmont was at his side. Cavour proved a good second to the English hypocrite and agitator, and adroitly broached his “patriotic” views about the “recasting” of Italy. That blusterer and tool, Mazzini, gave the pass-word: Not books but cartridges! The Australian ballot is our fashionable cry. Should a considerable number of Americans ever reject “the idea of any intermediate source of truth, other than genius united with virtue,” we also shall have leaders in the path of progress, whose motto will be, Not ballots but cartridges—and the dagger. It is neither the soil nor the temperature that breed savagery. Out of the Godless, graceless soul does it spring spontaneously.

Cavour, La Marmora, Piedmont and the revolutionaries lost no time. Naples was almost as important as Rome. When Murat aspired to be king of Italy, he had reason on his side. The population of the Neapolitan kingdom alone represented more than a fourth of all the peoples called Italian. Naples and Sicily together counted more than one-third of Italy. And Piedmont that was conspiring, by all manner of means, to “absorb” the rest of Italy, how great a kingdom might it be? All told, its subjects numbered not more than four million four hundred thousand on the mainland and in Sardinia—not one-half the population of the Two Sicilies. The Neapolitan territory was just twice as large as Piedmont. The two islands were about equal in size, but while in Sicily there were ninety inhabitants to the kilometer, Sardinia could boast of only twenty-four.¹ With these figures before us, we shall the better understand the anxiety of Piedmont to carry sweet liberty into Naples and Sicily, and we shall not misunderstand the abuse voided on the Neapolitan kings and on the southern “people.” The “popular” cry for freedom and unity we can unfailingly trace to its true source, and the instigators of revolution we cannot mistake.

During 1856 and 1857 the Two Sicilies were a prey to the Piedmontese conspirators. Men and vessels were sent to excite insurrection. Palmerston and Louis Napoleon abetted Cavour's criminal policy, and diplomatically sought to make Ferdinand's government impossible. This trio has never been completely judged here below. Some day a man of cool judgment, with human feelings, will brand

¹ See table of Census of 1848-54, and of estimates of 1857, in Cantu, *loc. cit.*, vol. xii., p. 366.

each one of them on the forehead and over the heart. It was not their brain alone that was filled with guile. They corrupted a good part of the world by their bold and far-reaching immorality. Ferdinand II. escaped the weapon of the assassin, but he did not live to see the royal-imperial revolution complete its designs against Southern Italy.

Thirteen days after Ferdinand's young son, Francis II., had ascended the throne, Garibaldi, with "the Thousand," sailed from Genoa, openly, under the protection of Cavour. Six days later (May 11, 1859), the hero of the red shirt landed at Marsala, convoyed by the Piedmontese and the English fleets; and then began the famous march of the Thousand. Writing of the inroads of the barbarians, of the wars of the Turks, of Europe in the tenth century, one need be neither a Michelet nor a Carlyle and yet make us shudder at every line. The march of the Thousand is not less full of horrors. A Mazzinian since 1833, a traitor who had dishonored his uniform and his oath, a fugitive condemned to death, a corsair, a wandering insane freebooter, this enemy of civilization, Garibaldi, was indeed a fitting representative of England, of Napoleon, and of Victor Emmanuel in the campaign for Liberty and Unity.¹ Not an Englishman would have trusted a wife's or a daughter's honor in his hands,—unless the women carried daggers,—and yet no country more than England struggled to make his name popular. In a great American city some intemperate admirers set up a monument of this son of Cain,—a monument whose ugliness is typical of his soul,—and a mayor, pretentiously pedagogical, honored the unveiling with his presence and his praises. Why? Perhaps the mayor had studied logic in the same school with a noted American educator, who, not many years ago, deliberately penned the following words: "It was a large defect in Garibaldi that he was an atheist, and seldom attacked the Pope without attacking religion. His atheism unbalanced his judgment and impaired his good qualities. Happily, his antagonism to religion did not assume its irreconcilable character and prominence until he had done what he could under the skilful direction of Cavour."² The famous Mr. Dogberry insisted that somebody else should "write him down" with an unpretending title. A doctor of divinity may, therefore, indirectly appeal to the world to permit him to write himself down as humbly as pleaseth him. Still, history,

¹ In the *Memoires de Garibaldi*, Paris, 1860, Alexandre Dumas gives a sympathetic sketch of the life of the pride of Nice. Probably no living man is better fitted to appreciate Garibaldi's character and career than that master and mouth-piece of the disgusting, M. Dumas.

² "Modern Italy." President D. H. Wheeler, D.D., L.L.D., in the *Chautauquan*, November, 1885, p. 70.

unless it be wholly humorous, is not helped by such covert sarcasms as we have just quoted. Few readers will, without a note of warning, ever think of looking for a sharp-pointed hook deep down beneath the doctor's serene float.

There was an Anglo-Sicilian legion among the Thousand, and besides there were Hungarians, Poles, Frenchmen, and Greeks,—quite a spontaneous exhibition of the unified demands of the Neapolitans and Sicilians for Piedmontese rule. With Fra Pantaleo, "their Ugo Bassi," at the head of the column, the Thousand adventurers robbed and slaughtered from one end of the island to the other. The friar, marching first, bore aloft a Cross six feet high. If there were one emblem that Garibaldi and his crowd hated more than another, it was the Cross of Christ; but he, like Mazzini and all the other contemptible unbelieving Italian revolutionists, used the Cross and indeed the most solemn offices, and the very sacraments of the Church, hypocritically, sacrilegiously, in order to mislead the peasants, and simple folk generally. At Alcamo, where the Thousand slaughtered awfully, and where they threw the bodies of the dead to the dogs¹ and to beasts of prey, the revolutionary movement really took form. And there at Alcamo, amid the howling dogs satiating themselves with "Italian" flesh and crunching "Italian" bones, Fra Pantaleo, beneath the Cross, hailed "the new Constantine who by this sign has won and ever will win," and the lecherous blasphemer of God and of Christ entered the Church while the Benediction was ostentatiously celebrated.²

Fame first spread her wings over the recent Italian Bismarck, Signor Francesco Crispi, when the Thousand reached Marsala. Garibaldi was only occasionally a good judge of men; but in the case of Crispi he showed—or was it intuition? Secretary of State forthwith was Crispi; and within three weeks he had been promoted to the Ministry of the Interior as well as of the Finances. Of late years he was criticized for monopolizing the Ministerial Portfolios of the Piedmontese government, but only by those who did not know what a wide experience he had thirty years back. When Palermo was captured, the off-scouring of many lands crowded into the ranks of the Thousand. The brigands were there already. Prison-birds were set free. The doors of the foundling asylum were thrown open, and many of the foundlings were enlisted in the ranks of the Thousand.³ Robbing; maiming; assassinating men, women, and children; confiscating the property of religious orders; driving out religious men and women; overturn-

¹ *Quatre Mois de l'Expédition de Garibaldi en Sicile et en Italie*, de H. Durand-Brager, Paris, 1861, p. 21.

² *La Spedizione dei Mille*, per Rigoni Luigi, p. 32 et seq.

³ *Quatre Mois de l'Expédition de Garibaldi*, H. Durand-Brager, p. 69.

ing municipality after municipality; and submitting peaceful citizens, unprotected by soldiery or police, to the lawless rule of the rabble Thousand, Garibaldi finally dictated to Sicily. The King at Naples was insulted and tricked by Cavour, and shamelessly cheated by Louis Napoleon. No sooner had Francis II. granted a general amnesty to all political offenders, than from every side the most dangerous revolutionaries flocked into the country. Piedmont, Napoleon, were amusing themselves at the King's expense. The whole power of the government had been secretly undermined. Landing in Sicily, Garibaldi opened a heavy purse. Thirty ducats he paid to every deserter from the royal army; forty if the coward stole a gun.¹ In Naples the Piedmontese government had not waited until the *condottiere* moved. The army, the navy had been purchased, as well as the police and the magistracy,—not to mention royal ministers. Trusted men had been bribed to render useless the machinery and the steering-gear of the fleet.² Aided by the French and English men-of-war, Garibaldi entered the Neapolitan territory, and the King withdrew to Gaeta. Then Piedmont threw off the shreds of the mask it had shamelessly worn. Victor Emmanuel took the field, while his navy *bombarded* Italians. "Not my crown, but the independence of our common country do I defend," said the King at Gaeta. Beaten he went into exile, and in Naples, standing shoulder to shoulder with Garibaldi,—*arcades ambo*,—Victor Emmanuel announced to the wondering inhabitants of the Two Sicilies that he, there and then, "closed the era of the Revolution, and that, by his system of politics, he was about to reconcile the progress of the people with the stability of the monarchy." Oh! the terrible, terrible comedy!

Unadorned, a picture of the Camorra might send a shudder through a moderately delicate nervous organization, but framed within the white and gold of a half-century of Italian politics, we may take a cautious glance at it without fear of inordinate physical pain. From 1820 to 1860 the Camorra spread its roots wide and fixed them deep in the Neapolitan Kingdom. Blossoming, blooming year after year, scattering fruitful seed and lavishing an aromatic breath, it had enticed beneath the agreeable shade of its interlacing branches a brotherly band of choice spirits. To write of Naples without mentioning the Lazzaroni, would be to write more dully than a maker of books of travel. Some ingenious magazine philosophers have tried to evolute the Camorra out of the *lazzaroni*. Lazzaroni is a name given generally to the poor of the city of Naples for a long time back. Officially the *lazzaroni* were, in

¹ *Les Trente Dernières Années* (1848-1878), Cesare Cantu, Paris, 1880, p. 35.

² *Les Trente Dernières Années* (1848-1878), Cesare Cantu, Paris, 1880, p. 35.

the early part of the last century, acknowledged as "the people." Yearly they elected a chief and certain orators, who were recognized by the authorities. Their complaints and demands were submitted through these chosen representatives, and the Viceroy conferred with the chief of the lazzaroni concerning their interests.¹ The lazzaroni were not hard workers, very probably, and there were many unruly and bad characters among them. Still, there are countries, far away from Naples, that have only recently begun to think themselves very democratic because some classes of workmen have been permitted to choose a representative who can, of right, submit to the government their complaints and demands. The worse you make the lazzaroni, the more democratic the Neapolitan Kings become. It is not the form of government that makes a democracy. The democracy lies in the administration of the government, whatever its form.

The lazzaroni, then, were an open and legal body. The Camorra was and is a secret society, whose members were not, nor are they, workmen in the honest sense of the word. To be admissible to the order, the first requirement is that the aspirant be a man of wicked life. (*Mala Vita*.) His word will not suffice to establish his bad character. Either he can give proofs,—he has been in jail, or he is known to have a criminal record,—or else he can satisfy the society's agent that he is bad enough to deserve the title of an "honored youth,"—a title synonymous with that of *Mala Vita*.² An "honored youth" who has passed the scrutiny of the Camorra's agent is accepted as a novice. The immediate advantage of this degree is not considerable. Under a severe master, the novice is trained in all manner of villany. All his family ties must be severed. The Camorra will henceforth be his family. Of the rulers of the order, of its workings or membership, he knows nothing. The commands given him he must blindly obey. Himself he must support at the expense of others, and, at the same time, whatever money he gathers by the appointment of his superior must be turned into the chief's hand. In the use of the dagger he is trained scientifically, just as the Carbonari were. He receives a course of anatomy, and knows how to kill, or disable, or disfigure a victim with a single blow. Secrecy and brute courage he must give proof of. To cheat and deceive he must be able. A Camorrist is not a mere bully; he is also a skilled confidence-man. In all gambling games he is knowing. Of three or four trades he has some knowledge, and thus can ply his prime vocation under varying conditions. A word of complaint against a superior counts

¹ Colletta, *History of Naples*, vol. i., translated by S. Homer, Edinburgh, 1858, p. 200.

² *La Camorra*, Giuseppe Alongi, Torino, 1890, p. 39.

against a novice. An odd copper, a drink, an occasional dinner, make up his wages. The Camorra has many irons in the fire, and the novice must watch them, day or night, as the master commands.¹

Should the "honored youth" win the chief's good will by obedient and smart service, he will in time be advanced a step higher. An especially daring fellow, who gets himself into jail by some audacious crime, or who, committing a lawless act, manages to escape imprisonment, is marked for speedy promotion. There are forms to be followed, and no one attains the second degree except at a solemn meeting of the lodge. In presence of his seniors the applicant bares his head. The chief is easily recognized; all the brethren deposit their arms at his feet. Then his recent master gives the novice a character. He has served the society in many ways; he has stabbed so and so, beaten so and so. He is worthy of being a *picciotto*. The lodge votes. If all agree, the candidate is permitted to kiss the members, beginning with the ancient. Formerly the Camorra, like the Carbonari, were sworn upon a dagger. Now the kiss is their oath. The kiss means brotherhood and secrecy.²

The *picciotto* is supreme over the honored youth. He is given a closer view of the methods of the society. To a small share of the gains he is admitted. Should he be arrested or convicted the whole power of the Camorra is placed at his service. The *picciotto* is a hard-worked apprentice. High above him is the Camorra. Two years, and perhaps ten, will pass before he is admitted to its ranks. As before, he has a master, whose commands he receives daily. His responsibilities are greater than ever. The watch upon him is close. If he is to reach the coveted Camorra quickly, it will be by surpassing his fellow *picciotti* in servility and in audacity. At a moment's notice he will be required to poignard a brother-*picciotto* who has betrayed them, an enemy of the society, a policeman. He asks no questions. If his instructions be limited to maiming or slashing, he will be careful and sure. By the time he is deemed worthy of the Camorra degree, he will have been convicted at least ten times in the courts, and will thus have a valuable experience in the jails and penitentiaries.

Let us suppose that a certain *picciotto* has, by a prudent recklessness in crime, made a name for himself. Either his superiors will, of their own motion, call him to the higher degree, or, if they are lukewarm, he will press his claims upon their attention. He

¹ For details see Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 39-40, and also the *Confession of a Camorrist*, pp. 194-200.

² Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 200-204.

is notified that upon a day named the Camorra will consider his case. At a meeting of the *picciotti* he returns the kiss they gave him years ago, and is ready for his tryst with the Camorra. First of all, he passes an examination in the code of the society. Then he is left to himself for a time. When recalled, the chief impresses upon him the solemnity of the obligation he is about undertaking, and the seriousness of the risks he will have to run. Murdered he may be, or hung; and imprisonment is almost a certainty. Obedient he must be unto death. Were his own father to strike a brother-Camorrist, it is the latter that he must defend. His own life he must sacrifice at the Camorra's behest. Will he withdraw? There is yet time. He is ready for anything. Here and now "he will put one foot in the galleys and another in the grave."

Not infrequently the candidate's fitness and loyalty are tested by a refusal of the degree. When finally accepted he is ordered to meet the brethren. All weapons are laid at the chief's feet. The candidate receives and gives a kiss, and thus swears fidelity to the Camorra. Then the chief, taking a dagger, draws from himself blood, which the candidate drinks. Each Camorrist follows the example of the chief, and in turn the neophyte sucks each wound. Thus he and they become one in blood. As yet the ceremony of the degree is not complete. The neophyte is dismissed, and the chief's will is again brought before a meeting of the lodge. The chief holds in his hand three daggers. He names a member, who advances. With this man have you any enmity? the neophyte is asked. None; very well, you shall fight him, forthwith. Choose your weapons! See that you do not wound one another in the trunk! The combatants select a dagger each. Beside each man a second stands, dagger in hand. Should a foul blow be struck, the seconds will promptly punish the offender. Stabbing as best they can, the combatants fight on until the chief interferes. If the neophyte does not gain the battle, he is suspended. But he is granted a second and a third trial. Winning one of these he is sure of an election. Failing, he can have no immediate hope of advancement. In these duels, as they wound one another, they suck one another's wounds. The Camorrists are skilful surgeons and quickly heal the deep cuts inflicted in the struggle.¹

Having, like a man, stabbed his blood-brother properly, our *picciotto* is baptized—they have the word—a Camorrist. The names of the chief and of the officers are confided to him. In any jail let him state these, with the date of his reception, and the name of the brother whom he beat down with his dagger, and our Camorrist need give himself no further trouble. The jail is the Camorrist's

¹ Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 63-68, and 204-212.

palace. There he has lorded it since 1820. The *picciotto* knew this; he knew also that once a Camorrist his chances of imprisonment were much less than before. However, he learns much that is new. The order has a head and a chief council. He is informed who they are. Appointed to work within geographical limits that are closely fixed, he is made acquainted with the local officials. Each section has a head or president, with a double vote at the meetings, a treasurer, an ancient and a secretary. A majority rules, and the ancient speaks and votes first. The arrest of an official, or of all the officials, will not interrupt the working of a section. By the unwritten constitution these vacancies are provided for. To crush the Camorra is not an easy task. The newly elected member is no longer dependent on the charity of his superiors; he is a partner in the ill-gotten gains of the order. Every week or fortnight returns are made to the chief, who hands over the cash to the treasurer. A share is put aside for the police; another is reserved for the members in jail; a third goes to the aged, a fourth to the widows and orphans of those who have dropped on the gallows; next come the officials, who do not treat themselves ill. The remainder is divided equally between the Camorrists, who are happily called the "proprietors." Suspected or suspended members are deprived of their share.

Becoming a proprietor, the Camorrist assumes new and heavy responsibilities. Should he be suspected of double dealing or treachery, a brother's dagger will pierce his heart. Cowardice in carrying out the orders of his superiors, theft, or indeed crime of any sort, committed for his own special advantage, rebellion against his chief—the dagger is the penalty. Rarely are these sentences executed outside of the lodge meeting. The trial is short and the penalty immediate. No one man can claim the honor of the assassination. Lesser offenses are visited with punishments more moderate—kissing of the hands or feet of one or more of the members of the lodge, the patient acceptance of brother's spittle in the face—or of substances deemed less clean. Between these punishments and that of assassination, there is one whose barbarity is almost incredible, even when we think of it in connection with the Camorra. *Lo sfregio*, they call it. A member is appointed to disfigure the offender for life. With a dagger the minister of justice slits the victim's face from the line of the eye down to the chin, and from ear to ear. Purposely the edge of the dagger is hacked; and, by practice, some of these slashers can cut a cross into a man's face in an instant, selecting the very lines that assure muscular contraction and an indelible, horrible life-mark.¹

¹ For details, and there are others even more disgusting, see Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38-47.

The Camorrist can always depend on his dagger. He manufactures knives according to his fancy or needs. With pieces of glass he makes an ingenious article. Let there be a quarrel, the knives suddenly glint in the air as though the sky were darting daggers.¹

With new responsibilities, the Camorrist acquires valued privileges. The "honored youth" and the *picciotti* are his humble servants. He dresses well, lives well, is admired by many and feared by many more. In trouble he has an army of staunch friends. His risk of the jail is less than before. The crimes that fall to his lot are not as weighty as those with which the *picciotto* is commonly charged. In jail, strange to say, a percentage of Camorrists prefer to be. Since 1820 the order has ruled the prisons. In them, as in the penitentiaries, and in each division of prison and of penitentiary, the Camorra is organized. The chief, the treasurer, the secretary and the ancient are functioning as freely as if they were at large. The convicts who are not members of the order pay the Camorrist piper. On all games of chance played in the jail, a tax must be paid to the chief of the Camorra. Without his purchased consent the convict can neither eat, drink nor smoke. Of any moneys he receives, ten per cent. goes to the Camorra. Should he buy or sell anything, the Camorra makes the price, and pays itself a commission. His daggers they confiscate. The clothes given to the convict twice a year, the Camorra will purchase cheaply and re-sell them to the prison officials. Half the convict's victuals the Camorra appropriates. Taking possession of the rations, it distributes them as it pleases. A respectable authority states that convicts who were starved by these savages have been glad to eat straw and bits of rags. For its own profit the Camorra encourages gambling and all other sorts of dissipation among the prisoners. The correspondence of the jail must pass through the Camorra's hands. Convicts are compelled to beg money from relatives, no matter how poor, in order that the Camorra may steal it. In saying that they will take the shirt off the convict's back, there is no exaggeration. Why do the convicts submit? They have a choice—submission, or else a beating or the dagger. The Camorra, we repeat, is completely organized in the prisons. Without telegraphic instruments, there is telegraphic communication between the various parts of the jail. By means of manual signs, by tappings on the walls, messages are transmitted rapidly and precisely. Letters are exchanged without de-

¹ A writer in the *Sun* of June 28, 1891, p. 27, describing "Weapons Italians carry," gives much interesting information concerning the body-arsenals recently imported into the United States. The illustrations accompanying the *Sun* article will serve all readers of the history of Italy in the 19th century.

tection ; if discovered they betray no secret, written as they are with invisible ink and in cipher.¹

With the outside world, the Camorra of the prisons is closely and powerfully connected. The society has accommodated itself to all classes of people, the highest as well as the lowest. There is a "kid-glove" Camorra. Before examining this division of the order, let us follow the convict Camorrist who has been discharged from jail. Having paid his compliments to the local president, he is assigned to work ; and this work consists largely in blackmail—a blackmail that is patiently borne in every Neapolitan community. Daily from all games of chance, public or private, the Camorra collects a fixed tax. The cabman, the boatman, the professional beggar, the prostitute, the unaffiliated thief, the marketmen, fruit sellers, porters, waiters in hotels and in restaurants, the small tradesmen, the winners in the lottery—all were subject to the Camorrists' constant supervision. The business of smuggling by land or sea, they controlled. They were coiners of false money. The pawn-broker was not free from their extortion ; nor did they spare the clergy, nor the members of pious associations. To refuse their demands insured persistent persecution, false or true charges in the courts, robbery, a beating or stabbing, perhaps murder. Few had the courage to oppose the Camorra ; indeed, opposition was useless. The far-reaching influence of the society was apparent ; and therefore many paid willingly in order to enjoy the protection which it extended to friends and supporters.²

Such is the account given by Italians of the Camorra from 1820 to 1859. How did it manage to control the prisons ? Remembering the history of the country during the century we cannot doubt of the demoralization of the very class of men that served as keepers in the jails. If many of them were Camorrists, it would not be surprising. Assuredly many belonged to the Carbonaria. Can any one tell why a Carbonaro should not have respected and protected a Camorrist ? Reasons can be stated why the members of the two societies should have been friendly. Mazzini's religion was that of the Italian revolutionaries, and Liberty, he defined as "the right of every man to exercise his faculties without impediment or restraint in the accomplishment of his special mission, and in the choice of the means most conducive to its accomplishment." According to this authoritative definition, the Camorrist was the most legitimate of all the sons of Italian Liberty. Making a study of the society independent of other existing Italian societies, Giuseppe Alongi, whom we have frequently quoted, has been

¹ For the confirmation of these facts, by various observers, see Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 70-94.

² Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 95-113.

unfair to the Camorra as many other Italian writers have been. As far back as 1819, "every criminal enrolled himself a member of the Carbonari, as well as all who were meditating fresh crimes," writes Colletta, and "the prisons were thus converted into *Vendite*."¹ Here we have testimony that the Carbonari controlled the jails before the organization of the Camorra. Mazzini's "Young Italy," as we have seen, was largely recruited from the criminal classes. Throughout Italy the professional thieves and assassins gladly sought membership in associations that covered them with the touching name of "political victims." Even under the Bourbons we can, therefore, understand why the Camorra of the jails was not suppressed. Outside of social relations, there were other reasons why the Camorra enjoyed such extraordinary liberties in the prisons. They divided their gains with the keepers, and, besides, they relieved these keepers of much trouble. In return for the favors granted them, the Camorra saw that order was maintained in the prisons—an order, however disorderly, that permitted the officials to enjoy a leisurely life. Under the Bourbons, the government did not have any political relations with the Camorra. It would be surprising, however, if the police did not use members of the order, and were not in turn used by them. On criminals not affiliated with it, the Camorra was always ready to peach. Everywhere the detectives count on the criminal to aid in tracking the criminal. It was reserved for the "liberals," who were doing the unclean work of Victor Emmanuel, Napoleon, Garibaldi and Palmerston, in their scheme to gain possession of Naples, and thus the more easily to put an end to the temporal power of the Popes—it was reserved for these liberals to invite the Camorra to political fellowship, and to give this terrible society of criminals a political power that, after thirty years, is still vigorous.

The conspiracy of the "liberals" with the Camorra is a matter of history, a fact not to be gainsaid. Poerio's and Spaventa's names are not unknown. They were the go-betweens on behalf of the "liberals." Certain patriots, writes Giuseppe Alongi, seeing that from the people there was no likelihood of initiative aid being contributed to the cause of the people—*either* because they had been made spiritless by the government and by the clergy, *or* because they were enervated by means of feasts and shows—conceived the idea of an alliance with the Camorra, "the only force living and organized within the general marasmus of the masses." This is a hard saying, out of the mouth of an Italian who dates his preface from that same Alcamo where the dogs had their day.

¹ *History of Naples*, vol. ii. p., 318.

The Camorra was true to its word, and when Garibaldi entered Naples they supplied the "initiative aid" which "the patriots" expected from "the people." What bargain was made with the Camorra? Hardly had the king got out of Naples, on his way to the army at Gaeta, when a Minister, Don Liborio Romano, wrote to Garibaldi, addressing him as "the wholly invincible general and Dictator of the Two Sicilies."¹ It was the same Liborio Romano that welcomed the Camorra as auxiliaries in the "cause of order and law." This meant that "the patriots" would keep their side of the bargain. "Needing a regular police," says Alongi, "and not able otherwise to control the Camorra, reinforced as it had been by all the criminals freed from the prisons, the liberals committed to the Camorra the maintenance of order." God help the people! you exclaim. "The idea was a happy one," writes Signor Alongi, "notwithstanding the sad consequences that later resulted from it."² Signor Alongi professes to be a scientist, but he has evidently mistaken his trade. From this one sentence any one will recognize that he was cut out for a philosopher—liberal of course. Something more than the maintenance of order the liberals committed to the Camorra's charge. The collection of the port dues and of the duties payable at the city gates was placed in their orderly, cleanly hands. Happy were the consequences resulting from this change. The receipts of the port were speedily decreased by one Salvatore Crescenza, who managed them, from 40,000 ducats a day to less than 1000. And Pasquale Menotte, who supervised the gates, allowed four whole cents to be turned in as the revenue of a single day.³

The political union of the liberals with the Camorra reinforced the society's ranks not only with all the criminals freed from the jails, but with a new element of strength—a considerable representation from the comfortable middle class, from the professions, and from the higher ranks of society. And the reformed Camorra, made up from all these classes, resisting the "persecuting" efforts of the "liberals" to destroy it, still lives and moves in South Italy. The "kid-glove" Camorra, having special sections and special officers, exactly like the Camorra *bassa*, supplies valuable information to the thieves who do the hard work. Plans of houses, notes concerning the habits of the occupants, details about the location of treasure, the Camorra *elegante* provides. The names of many of the "kid-gloves" have been publicly mentioned. The magistracy, *on dit*, has not been free from affiliations with the society. In the

¹ Cantu, *Les Trentes Dernières Années*, p. 86.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 35.

³ See an article in the *Saturday Review* for 1884, p. 96; one of several articles on the subject that appeared there in 1884-1885. See also Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 106-108.

Provincial Council, and even in the Cabinet, Neapolitan authorities insist that the Camorra has its representatives. Among the school-teachers the Camorra can point to influential friends; and there are lawyers in its service. What is worth knowing, politically, the Camorra knows first of all. In the courts, so plentiful are its witnesses, and so many are the respectable persons ready to give the criminals a good character, that conviction is almost impossible. Corrupt liberal politicians, in their efforts to gain or hold power and to acquire wealth, have extended the influence of this shameful society.¹ In the jails the Camorra still rules despotically, with a system hardly less ferocious, but no less thorough than that we have described. The prisoners are still taxed and defrauded after the old fashion. The Camorra's code of justice is still applied.²

Learned historians, like the very reverend American educator we have quoted, invariably seek to prejudice a reader against the people of the Two Sicilies by charging them with exceptional ignorance. The percentage of those who could not read or write, in 1861, for instance, is adduced as an argument—to what end?³ We have ill-digested figures stating the increase in the number of readers and writers within twenty years. What is the purpose of these figures? To convey the idea that instruction in reading and writing has *educated* the people into virtue? Signor Alongi, who, with a queer jumble of “psycho-pathology,” “auto-geneticism,” “philo-geneticism,” “anthropologico-psychiatrism” and “Darwinianism,” explains the growth of the Camorra to his own satisfaction, but who rather weakens the consistency of the pastry by mixing in too much essence of Bourbon and clerical baking-powder—Signor Alongi cannot be humbugged on the school question. “Open a school and close a prison;” thus many have been crying out, claiming that with the spelling-book we should inaugurate the reign of peace and fraternity. The sweet illusion! The Camorra is no longer made up of a crowd of ferocious “analphabetists.” In the schools, and by the aid of the prison libraries, many of them have completed their instruction. And these are the men who make the order most dangerous and invincible. They have mastered the code, and know the rules of civil procedure better than an experienced magistrate. They can lie skilfully. They will even charge the innocent with being accomplices. They are quick in providing *alibi* witnesses; and the more instructed “kid-gloves” are at their beck.⁴ English writers have always delighted in painting the

¹ See testimony from various sources, given by Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31–34.

² See details, Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 76–94.

³ The reader is referred to a profound article on “Modern Italy,” in the “*Chautauquan*,” Feb. 1886, p. 262, by President D. H. Wheeler, D.D., LL.D.

⁴ Alongi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 80–81.

Italian brigands with medals around their necks and rosaries in their hands, and Signor Alongi is not the only Italian who pictures the Camorrist as a superstitious believer in the immortality of the soul and in the existence of a God. In one way or another these facts are supposed to militate against the Catholic Church. Now, Ausonio Franchi, in his day a Mazzinian, and at one time Master of a lodge, states plainly that the reformed Italian Carbonari, to-day, worship the devil in their lodges. If it were a choice between a "superstitious" Camorra and a devil-worshipping Camorra, which should you prefer to see in this country, non-Catholic friend? What sort they have in Italy, Signor Alongi will tell us. "The Camorrist of to-day is tintured with modern skepticism, professes to be *un esprit fort*, though the remnants of the old superstition appear as soon as there is question of spirits, or of the evil eye." Arguing from these facts, we beg to suggest a new aphorism: Open a non-religious school and close a church!

With the terrible experience the Two Sicilies have undergone during the past hundred years, and with all they have suffered from usurpers, brigands, and unsuperstitious revolutionaries, the "people" are not to be confounded either with the brigands, the Carbonari, or the Camorrist, kid-gloved or horny-handed. Notwithstanding the persecution of the Napoleons, Mazzinians, Garibaldians and Piedmontese; notwithstanding the studied attempts made to corrupt, to demoralize them wholly—attempts inspired and supported by detestable kings and ministries; notwithstanding the persistent efforts of leaders of thought, of premiers, senates and assemblies to educate or to force them into irreligion—the "people" of both countries are an amiable, generous, industrious and Christian people. A most intelligent, talented people they are, and even to-day, a religious people, thanks to the Roman Catholic Church, which, oppressed under Bourbon and Bonapartist, under Garibaldian and Sardinian, has, in Naples and in Sicily, as elsewhere throughout the world, watered, nourished the seed of Faith—seed from which alone the blossom and fruit of morality and of civilization may perennially, beauteously spring.

¹ Alongi, *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

THE word *catacomb* is not of Christian origin, and all derivations of its meaning are conjectural and uncertain. Subterranean Christian cemeteries, similar in general design to the Roman ones, and which it is agreed by archæologists to designate by the generic name of catacombs, existed all over the Roman empire. They have been discovered, explored and described in the east at Antioch, Alexandria, the island of Cyprus; in Africa, in the cities along the Mediterranean coast; in the west, at Naples; at Messina, Syracuse and other towns of Sicily; in Tuscany, particularly at Chiesi; in the island of Malta, in Spain, as at Elvira, Saragossa, Seville; among the Gauls, as at Agannum (now *Saint-Maurice*), at Cologne, at Treves. The name of catacomb was originally applied only to the cemetery of Saint Sebastian on the Appian way, outside of Rome; and because this one was the only subterranean Christian cemetery which was never entirely closed, blocked up and lost, but was visited by pilgrims all through the Middle Ages, as other cemeteries were rediscovered, they were all called catacombs.

The earliest of these cemeteries were small and were private property, existing under the surface of some *area* or overground tomb. In the beginning and, in general, with rare exceptions all along, nothing could be more secure for the Christians than the catacombs, because Roman law was distinguished for its protection of every kind of real property—property in or on the soil, and more particularly still, for its severity in defending the inviolability of tombs and burial-places, which was a part of their natural religion. At the beginning of the third century, most of the catacombs became semi-public; that is, were held not merely under the general law of the Church received by all the faithful, but while the *dominium* still continued to be vested in some particular individual, they were possessed by the Church called officially *Ecclesia Fratrum*, as a recognized corporation for burial purposes; although the Church was at no time during the ages of persecution a legalized institution of the empire as other religious denominations were. This state of affairs was an attempt to reach some *modus vivendi* between Church and State. The representative or recognized head of these burial corporations in every diocese, was the bishop; consequently in Rome, it was the Pope. We therefore come to the strange but well-proven fact that at Rome, along with the official lists of the prefects of the city and of other state officers,

along with the official membership of the legalized colleges of priests with the Pontifex Maximus at their head, there was kept an official series, in the public archives, of the bishops of Rome who were there inscribed as *Antistites Ecclesiæ Fratrum*. Incredible as it seems—but “truth is stranger than fiction”—these official lists and other matter connected with the early Papacy, preserved in the departments of pagan Rome, were at times consulted by the Apostolic prothonotaries, in writing or correcting the “Acts of Martyrs” and other documents of interest to the Church, and were freely used by the very ancient but now unknown author upon whose collection Anastasius the librarian composed, in the 9th century, his invaluable “*Liber Pontificalis*”; or *Lives of the Popes*. The first general edict against these Christian cemeteries was published by the Emperor Valerian in the year 257; but even this was directed rather against their use as places of secret assembly or of congregating for worship, than as burial places. In the year 260, Gallienus revoked the edict of his predecessor and ordered by an imperial rescript that throughout the empire the *loca religiosa* (“religious places”) in their widest sense, which had been confiscated of all the Christians, should be restored to the bishop of each church. Also when Maxentius put a stop for a time to the persecution in the year 306, the property of the Church in Rome was given back to the then reigning Pope, Melchiades, who, we may here remark, was the last Pope interred in the catacombs. From the pontificate of Saint Fabian, in 236, each one of the twenty-five titles or parishes of Rome had its own cemetery or catacomb outside of the city precincts. The most famous of all the Roman catacombs—and sixty have already been discovered—was that of Saint Callixtus, because it contained the papal crypt or official tomb of the Popes from Zephyrinus, in 220, to Melchiades, in 314. The special titles or names of the catacombs were derived chiefly from one or other of three sources: the name of the original proprietor of the soil, as the cemetery of Priscilla; the name of the most celebrated martyr interred there, as the cemetery of Prætextatus; the name of the Pope who made, enlarged, renewed or decorated it, as the cemetery of Callixtus. The catacombs were the ordinary burial places of the early Christians, but not their usual and habitual places of divine worship. They were used for purposes of religious congregation and of concealment only at times of active persecution or for other urgent reasons. Thus Popes Pontian, Antherus, Fabian and Cornelius, taking refuge in these underground hiding-places, remained concealed there; and despite the impious edict of the Emperor Valerian, of which we have spoken, Popes Stephen I. and Sixtus II. lived some time in the catacombs, and being discovered were both

put to death there, while in the act of officiating in the presence of a number of the faithful. With Pope Sixtus II. four deacons suffered martyrdom. Saint Gregory of Tours tells us in his treatise on the "Story of the Martyrs," that in the year 284 a multitude of the faithful also had been seen entering the crypt on the Via Salaria to venerate the tombs of Saints Chrysanthus and Daria, recently put to death; the entrance was quickly closed up by order of the Emperor Numerianus; and when, after the lapse of years, the catacomb was reopened, there were found not only the skeletons of men, women and children lying around, but also the silver cruets which these worshippers had taken down with them for the celebration of the holy mysteries. When peace was given to the Church by the famous Edict of Toleration issued by the Emperor Constantine, at Milan, in the year 313, the catacombs still continued for some years to be used by the Christians as their burial places. Later on, this was done only exceptionally in order to rest after death near the venerated remains of some martyr. This legitimate regrettable devotion has sometimes occasioned, to the inexpressible distress of antiquarians, the cutting into and the partial destruction of ancient mural paintings. After the capture of Rome by Alaric the Goth, in the year 410, burial in the catacombs almost entirely ceased; yet they were frequented as places of pious resort, especially on the anniversaries—*Natalitia*—of martyrs for some centuries still. Saint Jerome, in prose, and Prudentius, in verse—authors of the 5th century—have left us their vivid impressions and some descriptions of these holy places.

From the fifth to the eighth century, the catacombs were searched, rifled, despoiled, broken up and ruined by the barbarians—Goths, Vandals, Huns, and Lombards—in quest of buried treasure. The love of lucre, however, was not always the motive which moved these, in some cases, heathens, in others, Arian heretics, to their work of destruction; it was often hatred of the Catholic Church. The Goths, particularly, under king Vitiges, in 537, destroyed all the churches and oratories built over the more celebrated tombs of martyrs, and violated the underlying bones of the saints. This is so true, that it was for this reason, rather than for the burning of the palaces, porticoes, and other monuments of the imperial city, that the term *Gothic* came to signify whatever was supremely rude and barbarous; for, among all people, the desecration of sacred edifices and the disturbance of the dead, have been accounted the climax of impiety. It was now that the touching, and, even in point of mechanical execution, really elegant metrical inscriptions, composed and set up by Pope Damasus in the fourth century, were broken to pieces, and would have altogether perished but for the care of one of his successors, Vigilius,

to gather the fragments, and when nothing sufficient was found, to set up copies in the place of the originals after the devastating hordes had retired. One of these Damatine inscriptions on marble was recently discovered, broken into one hundred and twenty-six pieces, which have been skilfully put together, and the whole set up again *in situ*. Under Pope John III., in 568, other restorations in the catacombs were undertaken, and every Sunday the Holy Sacrifice was offered in each one of them, with sacred vessels, vestments, and liturgical books, sent expressly from the pontifical palace of the Lateran. But to restore the catacombs was useless; and after the deplorable devastations of the Lombards, under king Astulphus, Pope Paul I., in 757, reluctantly determined to remove from their original resting places, and out of the reach of harm, some of the most illustrious and more easily accessible bodies of martyrs, and distribute their relics among the churches of Rome. We learn from an ancient inscription, put up in Saint Praxedes, that on July 20, 817, Pope Pascal I. removed two thousand three hundred bodies from the catacombs. A little later, under Pope Boniface IV., the Pantheon, a deserted heathen temple, which had remained up to this time uninjured, was consecrated as a Christian church, and having received within its ample space a great number of sacred remains borne from the catacombs with religious pomp, and a long procession of triumphal cars that had been heirlooms in senatorial and patrician families, acquired its modern name of *Saint Mary and the Martyrs*, *Sancta Maria ad Martyres*. From this period until the sixteenth century, the very existence of the catacombs, always excepting that of St. Sebastian, was unknown save by vague tradition. This one, or more properly a small portion of this one, continued open and accessible all through the Middle Ages, and witnessed the prayers of Saints Bridget of Sweden, Catharine of Sienna, Philip Neri, and Charles Borromeo. On the 31st of May, 1578, a casual breaking in of part of the catacombs of Priscilla, on the Via Salaria, about two miles outside of Rome, revealed to the astonished view of thousands who flocked to the spot, paintings, inscriptions, sculptured stone coffins, and lengthy galleries, of which even the learned—and these were few—had only indistinct ideas, gathered from old Itineraries, Martyrologies, and Missals in which the *Stations* were marked on certain festivals. Let us here quote what we wrote a quarter of a century ago, on the very spot, and on the very anniversary day of such a discovery, in which a new Rome and a new world were revealed to archæology: "Just at that time, when the Protestant movement was completely in the ascendant throughout the north of Europe, and the bloodstained sword which had wounded our Holy Mother was victoriously sheathed, and the pen was taken

up to excuse the revolt, just then, when the spirit of argument was most rife, and the successors of the Reformers, half-ashamed of their violence, were loudest in their appeal to antiquity, invoking on their side the Primitive Church, the earth opened, and the depths gave up their dead and buried treasures of painting, sculpture, inscription, phials of martyrs' blood, instruments of martyrs' torture, monuments of every kind; each, in succession, of the sixty catacombs around the Eternal City protesting, through the silence and oblivion of eight hundred years, against those who falsely accused Rome of change, and of corruption in doctrine and in practice. To the indictment of Rome's enemies, these subterranean and apostolic witnesses gave a prompt, unanimous, and peremptory denial." This was the beginning of ardent studies in these venerable cemeteries. A Maltese layman, named Bosio, who was then residing in Rome as Procurator of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, made many explorations among them, and worked with so much success that he has been called the Columbus of the Catacombs. Among the successors of this great man, the study of Christian antiquities was, in most cases, made less upon actual and personal investigation of monuments than on the text of ancient documents, now being brought daily to light in ransacking monasteries, chapter-houses, and the archives of private families. A new and happier, because more practical, direction was given to the study of the catacombs about fifty years ago, by a learned Jesuit, Father Marchi, whom we had the honor of knowing when, in his later years, he was Curator of the famous Kircherian Museum in the Gregorian University, commonly called the Roman College. His most illustrious and successful pupil was the gentle layman, Commendatore John Baptist de Rossi, who, besides his monumental works on the Roman catacombs, on the Roman mosaics, on the Christian inscriptions anterior to the seventh century, still continues to edit the "*Bulletin of Christian Archæology*," which has appeared regularly since the year 1863. From Italy, the study of the catacombs spread to France, England, Belgium, Germany, and even to Russia, in all which countries professional works on the subject have been published. In this connection we should not omit to mention that the success of de Rossi, and of his disciples, in this department of learning, for over twenty-five years, was due in great part, to the zeal, the encouragement and the munificence of the late Pope Pius IX., who established a Commission of Sacred Archæology, and founded the rich and rare museum in the Lateran palace for the preservation, display and study of all newly-discovered remains, inscriptions, and monuments of Christian Rome.

The Roman catacombs merit our attention, because we find in

them the earliest examples of Christian art ; architecture, painting, sculpture, gilded glass ; the earliest figured scenes and persons of the sacred Scriptures ; Moses striking the rock, Jonah thrown up by the whale, Job, Isaiah, the sacrifice of Isaac, the adoration of Christ, the worship of the Mother of Jesus, veneration of relics, invocation of saints, middle state or purgatory, resurrection of the body, souls in bliss immediately after death, esteem of virginity, and holy widowhood, etc., etc.

The soil in the immediate vicinity of Rome is formed of materials which are of igneous or volcanite origin. There are three distinct kinds of formation, each of which varies in surface, depth and position relative to upland and lowland, vicinity to water and other conditions. These are, first, the *Tufa litoide* of geologists, which is very hard and admirably suited for building purposes ; second, the *Pozzolana*, which is much less compact than the tufa, and is very friable and sandlike. It is used to make the famous Roman cement. The pozzolana was always carefully avoided by the Christians in digging the catacombs, because on account of its tendency to crumble and fall in, neither galleries, chambers or graves could be cut out of it. When they struck a stratum of it, this point was instantly receded from, or if it were necessary or very convenient to go through it, the sides and top of the gallery or tunnel were supported by brick masonry. The catacombs, let it be said, once for all, were not abandoned sand-pits, much less burial places used promiscuously by poor Christians and pagans. Our good friend, Michele de Rossi, only less well known to the learned than his brother, the Commendatore, being an expert geologist and topographer, has particularly devoted himself to this aspect of the Roman catacombs and has shown the differences that have always existed between these places of Christian burial and the *arenarie* or sand-pits of the heathens. The next kind of soil met with in the Roman Campagna is the *Tufa granulare*, which combines adhesion of particles and facility of working. It is in this sort of very hard earth and semi-rock that the Christian subterranean cemeteries called catacombs were hollowed out. It is too soft for building purposes, and not fine enough for cement ; but it possesses just enough consistency to admit of being cut without caving in, and is of such a porous nature that any water quickly drains off, leaving the galleries dry, warm and healthy. It was, therefore, admirably adapted for the reception of the dead and for the purposes of reunion, for which it was used after being excavated with much labor and ingenuity, into the proper forms. We believe that it was a special Providence which put ready to the hands of the persecuted Christians such a material, for whereas all the works, paintings, inscriptions, sculptures of the early Christians

above ground—and there must have been many such if only in the inviolable mansions of the great patrician convert families—have perished without leaving a trace behind them, this buried mine of archæological treasure, by its very obscurity and difficulty of access and facility of being lost or forgotten, has been preserved to all future generations. In the form or internal arrangements of the catacombs, we distinguish galleries, graves, crypts, shafts for admitting light and air, stairs and chambers. The average height of the galleries is about eight feet; but it is sometimes from twelve to fifteen. Their width is usually no more than three feet, so that two persons approaching from opposite directions could hardly pass one another except by backing up to the approaches of the oratories and other places of assembling, which were very numerous. There are several, sometimes as many as five galleries running one above the other, and connected by steps cut into the tufa; light and ventilation being ingeniously provided by funnel-shaped apertures running up and opening into the Campagna above. Artificial light, by lamps and tapers, was, however, always required to dispel the gloom in which only the general outlines and direction of things could be otherwise distinguished. Father Marchi, whose special study was the catacomb of Saint Agnes, calculated that if all its galleries were put together, they would measure a length of sixteen miles; and Michael de Rossi gives it as his opinion (which is that of an expert and the first authority in the world on the subject), that if all the galleries of all the catacombs around Rome were protracted on one line, they would extend to five hundred and eighty-seven miles, or in other words would stretch from one end of Italy to the other. Father Marchi has also calculated that the catacombs contain seven million graves. But many new discoveries have been made since his time, and his figures are probably much below the mark. It was only in times of persecution and on unusual occasions, that the offices of religion were performed in the catacombs. Ordinarily the Sacrifice was offered in some vast hall in a noble's house. After the conversion of Constantine, oratories and churches were erected near the entrance to the principal catacombs; thus was raised Saint Peter's over the cemetery on the Vatican hill, Saint Paul's over that of Lucina on the Ostian way; thus rose the basilicas of Saints Lawrence, Sebastian, Agnes and other athletes of the Faith and other virgins. In laying the broad and deep foundations of these edifices, many graves and many mural paintings had, unfortunately, to be sacrificed, because the workmen had to cut down from an upper to a lower level until the actual tomb of the martyr was reached; and if this tomb had been constructed during one of the later persecutions it would be in one of the lower galleries. For, in exca-

vating a catacomb originally, the work was always commenced with the uppermost gallery ; then the next lower, and so in the same order till the lowermost gallery was completed. Should the tomb, therefore, which was to become the nucleus of a subsequent basilica, by being made its confession or crypt, have been in a lower gallery, it is plain that the graves in the galleries above had to be sacrificed in order to bring the tomb referred to prominently into view in the new church. This tomb was often far from the entrance, as visitors to Saint Agnes and to Saint Lawrence have observed. Pope Saint Damasus who governed the Church from 366 to 384, was the great explorer, embellisher and lover of the catacombs. Himself a poet, he composed many beautiful metrical inscriptions which he set up over or near the bodies of the saints whom he commemorated in his verse. He was fortunate in having the services of an intelligent, artistic and faithful subject named Furius Dionysius Filocalus, by whom these Damasine inscriptions were executed with a mechanical faultlessness and an elegance of lettering which proves him to have been a man of excellent taste. Nothing like their style has ever been found in any other Christian inscriptions, and they can be recognized at a glance as all coming from the same skilful hand. Pope Damasus built many tombs over the remains of martyrs, repaired many galleries, and caused many paintings and decorations to be executed in the catacombs. Pius IX., of happy memory, nobly imitated him ; and in the history of subterranean Rome his name will be conspicuous above all other names, alongside of that of his illustrious predecessors ; and as Damasus had his faithful Filocalus to second his learning and his zeal, Pius had his de Rossi to bear the same relations to himself.

The galleries and chambers of these wonderful subterranean cemeteries received their light either from the open air above through shafts called *luminaria*, or from earthen-ware and sometimes bronze lamps which were either suspended by chainlets from the ceilings or vaulted roof, or were set in little niches cut for this purpose into the walls. These terra-cotta lamps (few were of any other material), consumed olive oil in which a twisted wick was immersed. A great many such lamps have been discovered, and they are very curious either for the words and figures stamped upon them or for the figures into which they are moulded as a whole. The lamps used in the catacombs are all of Christian origin and made for this purpose. A ship—symbol of the Church—is often represented on the face or flat upper part of such lamps, and sometimes the lamp itself has the form of a vessel. The heads of the apostles Peter and Paul—face to face generally—are very common subjects. Other subjects are purely symbolical, as the palm, the

dove, the anchor. The monogram of Christ, under one or other of its varied forms is frequently stamped on these lamps. Some of the square-shaped apertures for light, which beginning at the surface were cut down through the several stories of the catacombs especially at the intersection of galleries, were made at a much later period than the catacombs themselves; but the greater number were cœval with them. We read in the *Acts* of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, of a certain Candida who was thrown headlong down one of these shafts and then crushed with stones. The graves in the catacombs were cut horizontally into the sides of the galleries and chambers in rows or tiers like berths in a passenger ship. These graves thus super-posed are sometimes as many as fifteen. As each grave was occupied, it was closed either with a marble slab or with some flat tiles or bricks, and carefully fastened at the edges with cement. The name of the deceased was either cut on the marble or hastily scratched on one of the bricks at the moment of closing the tomb. Sometimes also a symbol, as a heart, an egg, a fish, an anchor, a dove, a palm tree was more or less rudely cut or scratched there. The graves were called *loculi*. Some are small, evidently for children, while others are long enough for adults. Some are of sufficient depth to hold two, three or even four bodies laid beside one another. The little chambers cut out of the tufa in the catacombs were of various forms: circular, semi-circular, square and even triangular. They were very numerous. Father Marchi penetrated into as many as sixty, in exploring only about one-eighth of the catacombs of Saint Agnes. Very often these chambers were like modern family vaults, used for the burial of some particular group of persons. At one end of every chamber there was the principal tomb called from its arch shape an *Arcosolium*. Beneath it generally reposed a martyr; and it was the desire of those at whose expense the chamber was opened, enlarged or decorated, to be laid to rest beside these sacred remains. When the chamber had no more space left in the sides, the graves of those having the privilege of the family or the association which owned it, were opened in the nearest untouched galleries, care being taken to record by an inscription that although separated from the main body, they belonged to that group of persons buried there. At other times, sad to say, the wall or side of the chamber above and around the martyr's tomb which was generally covered with paintings and inscriptions, was cut into for graves and irreparably damaged through an unreasonable devotion to repose in holy company. Each one of these chambers could contain on an average, seventy graves and one hundred bodies of old and young. The arcaded tombs of the more illustrious martyrs were generally opened at the expense of the Church, at one side of a chamber of

larger size which served for the reunion of the faithful. The Holy Sacrifice was offered—especially and always on the anniversary—on the marble slab or table covering the tomb. Thus the arcosolium was a fixed altar. In order that as many as possible should assist at the celebration of the holy mysteries on the anniversary of the martyrs, two, three, or often four of these chambers were made close together, or opening into one another like a suite of apartments, and receiving light and air from a common shaft leading down into the principal room or into the intersecting gallery that separated it from the next one. “In this way as many as a hundred persons might be collected in some parts of the catacombs to assist at the same act of public worship; whilst a still larger number might have been dispersed in the neighboring chambers and galleries and there received the Bread of Life, brought to them by the assistant priests and deacons.” (Northcote and Brownlow). Painting rather than sculpture was followed among the liberal arts by the early Christians; not so much, perhaps, because the latter tended more to sensual forms in representing the human body, as on account of the greater difficulty of working in stone without being detected by the heathens. Images of the Blessed Virgin are not uncommon in the Roman catacombs. De Rossi has published a special work on this group or school of paintings. They are particularly found in the catacomb of Saint Priscilla. This is one of the most ancient of all the catacombs; in fact it is of apostolic origin and intimately connected with Saint Peter. The style of these fresco paintings is equal to the best found in the Baths of Titus (which were studied fifteen hundred years afterwards by Raphael), and in the ruins of Pompeii. Judged with impartial criticism, from the standpoint of art, they must date from the first century of our era. Looked at in their topographical position and archæological connection, they are as certainly found to be of apostolic date, and may have been executed under the supervision of the Apostle himself. Interesting paintings of the Blessed Virgin Mary represent her in the Roman catacombs at the Annunciation, with the prophet Isaiah pointing to a star above her head; at the adoration of the magi; standing with outstretched arms—as an *Orante*—in the attitude of prayer interceding for us, her children. How art, painting and sculpture, although working at such disadvantage in the catacombs, was used by the Church and made her handmaid in teaching the faithful through their senses, is nowhere, perhaps, so clearly perceived, as in the variations of the type of our Lord represented in the character of the Good Shepherd. For instance, after the second century, precisely the one in which certain heretics denied the power of the Church to absolve from certain crimes, the Good Shepherd is shown in the

act of carrying, not a lamb upon his shoulders, but a *goat*: type of the gross sinner. In other representations we see the Good Shepherd between a sheep and a goat, the latter animal occupying the place of honor, on his *right*, as if to recall to the minds of the faithful the general doctrine—then attacked by the Montanists—that there was no sinner but could, if repentant, obtain forgiveness; and also to allude specifically to this text of Saint Luke, "There shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance, more than upon ninety-nine just, who need not penance. (xv., 7). The time and the occasion of such a painting and the extreme care with which these Christian artists worked under hieratic directions, precludes the possibility of a mistake here and an intention to represent the Judgment, when, as our Lord says, the sheep shall be on his right and the goats on his left (Matthew xxv., 33). Let us in conclusion recall, in connection with the catacombs, the humanizing influence of the Catholic Church. The servile or freedman's condition of the dead was always jealously noted by the pagans; but only six out of eleven thousand Christian sepulchral inscriptions mention the deceased as having been a slave. Again, whereas the pagans with proud exclusiveness rejected the servile or the enfranchised from contact with the free-born even in death, the Christians buried all in the same place and in the same company. A few years ago there was discovered among the plainest and poorest graves—*loculos*—that of the wife of a Roman senator.

RELIGION IN EDUCATION.

I.

CHURCH schools exist because sincere members of every Christian denomination hold religion to be an essential element of education. These Christian members are convinced that they would be guilty of a gross breach of duty were they to neglect this important element in the training of their children. And they are right. Any system of education from which religious training is eliminated were inadequate and incomplete and therefore an injustice to the child receiving it. Education should develop the whole man. Intellect and heart, body and soul, should all be cultivated and fitted to act, each in its own sphere, with most efficiency. And so, the inculcation of piety, reverence and religious doctrine is of more importance than training in athletic sports or mathematical studies. Moreover, other things being equal, that is the best education which gives man, so to speak, the best orientation: which most clearly defines his relations with society and with his Creator; which imparts the all-important truths concerning his origin and his destiny, and points out the way by which he may best attain the end for which he was created.

Now it is only religious teaching that can furnish man with this information, and it is only in religious observances that man can best attain the aim and purpose of all life and promote the interests of society. Neither ancient nor modern philosopher has found a better solution for the enigma of life than is to be found in religion. Plato could never imagine such a monstrous state of affairs as education without religion. "All citizens," says this philosopher, "must be profoundly convinced that the gods are lords and rulers of all that exists, that all events depend upon their word and will, and that mankind is largely indebted to them."¹ We Christians are no less convinced that religion is as essential to men to-day as it was in the days of Plato. Nations cannot live without its vitalizing energy. It is the conservative element of states, of literature and of civilization. Indeed, we may affirm without fear of being gainsaid, that all civilization is rooted in religious worship, has grown out of the practices of religious worship, and has ever been fostered by religious worship. Does not the same word—*cultus*—apply to both? Prayer, which is a primary element of all worship, accompanied every important act undertaken by the pagans

¹ De Legg., iv., p. 288, cf. *De Repub.*, iv., p. 716.

of old. "The Greeks," we are told, "opened all public assemblies, campaigns, combats and public games, even the theatre, with prayer."¹

Christianity has in many respects changed man's point of view. The pagans made trees and flowers the habitations of gods and goddesses and earth-born spirits. Their conception of nature was pantheistic. Christianity threw a halo of tenderness and poesy of another kind, over the animal and vegetable kingdoms of nature. Its Divine Founder wove the lilies of the field and the vines on the hill-side into his discourses. Christian monks made smiling gardens and flourishing cities out of dense forests and barren deserts. Christian meekness taught men to look upon every creature of God as good. A St. Anthony tames the wild beasts of the desert; a Francis of Assisi sings a hymn to his brother the Sun, and exhorts all Nature animate and inanimate to love and give thanks to God; a Francis de Sales makes homilies upon the habit of bird and beast and insect; a Wordsworth recognizes this material universe as a symbol of the higher spiritual world.

The Christian aspect of the individual is no less distinct from the pagan aspect. In the ancient civilizations the individual was absorbed in the State. The State was the Supreme tribunal that decided all doubts and regulated conscience and conduct. Christianity reversed all this. It flashed the white light of revealed truth upon man's nature, lighting up its intricacies, and giving deeper insight into the secret chambers of the human heart; it taught man his personal dignity and his sense of responsibility; it showed him the temporal and the eternal in their proper relations; it brought home to him the infinite price of his soul, and thus led him up to a recognition of individual rights and liberties that were unknown in ancient Greece and Rome.

We may trace many of our laws and customs to pagan days, but in all that is good in our thinking, in our literature, in our whole education, there is a spirit that was not in the thought, the literature and the education of pagan people. We cannot rid ourselves of it. We cannot ignore it if we would. The enemies of Christianity in attempting to lay down lines of conduct and establish motives and principles of action to supersede the teachings of the Gospel and the practices of the Church, are forced to assume the very principles they would supersede. The Christian spirit has so entered into the acts and feelings and opinions of life that it is impossible to separate it from the purely natural. Christian sentiment, Christian modes of living, Christian opinion may not always be followed, but they are invariably the ultimate criterion—

¹ Hettinger, *Natural Religion*, p. 262.

the final tribunal before which action and expression are tried and judged. Speaking of this Christian influence Mr. Mallock says: "Its actual dogmas may be readily put away from us; not so the effect which these dogmas have worked during the course of centuries. In disguised forms they are around us everywhere; they confront us in every human interest, in every human pleasure. They have beaten themselves into life; they have eaten their way into it. Like a secret sap, they have flavored every fruit in the garden. They are like a powerful drug, a stimulant that has been injected into our whole system."¹ Here, let it be remarked, lurks the fallacy of those who would regulate conduct without religion. Their ideal of life is still the Christian ideal without the Christian soul—the vital principle—that made that ideal an actuality. In thought and in external conduct they cannot rid themselves of that ideal. It is bred in the bone; it is part of themselves.

II.

And so, our modern civilization, look at it how we will, is Christian in its nature and in its essence. It is based upon Christian laws and Christian practices. It is permeated by a Christian spirit. Christian sentiment has moulded public opinion and created the public conscience. In the Christian code of ethics do the sanctity of marriage and the rights of property find their firmest support. Even where this Christian spirit is least apparent it is still active. John Stuart Mill attempted to minimize the nature and extent of this influence. He considered himself outside its pale, but he could not help recognizing its power in those to whom it was a living presence, while contrasting its possible efficacy with what he considers its present lack of efficacy. "To what an extent," he says, "doctrines intrinsically fitted to make the deepest impression upon the mind, may remain in it as dead beliefs, without being ever realized in the imagination, the feelings, the understanding, is exemplified by the manner in which the majority of believers hold the doctrines of Christianity."² Mill is here ignoring the purely natural element that enters into human actions. It has not occurred to him that men may apparently lead ordinary lives and yet the Christian spirit may be operating in them most heroically. He takes no cognizance of the supernatural life, which is with rare exceptions beyond human ken. John Stuart Mill was himself carefully guarded against religious faith of any kind. Read his "Autobiography," and tell me if you know a sadder book in the whole range of letters. Note the gloom that overshadows every page. See how a naturally rich and fertile nature was

¹ *Is Life Worth Living*, p. 97.

² *On Liberty*, p. 79.

cramped and crushed into a groove in which half its energies were paralyzed. There hover throughout the book darkness and confusion concerning right and wrong and moral responsibility that are appalling. Even Mill, in the very deference he paid to public opinion in his conduct, was unconsciously doing homage to the Christian faith that moulded that opinion in England.

Men may now speculate as to what the actual state of the world would be had Christianity not entered as a disturbing element deflecting human progress from its former course. Such speculations are safe. The work is done. The barbarian who despised Roman civilization and sought its destruction has been Christianized; his fierce nature has been curbed and tamed; he has been raised up into a plane of culture and refinement, and imbued with an ideal of life that no formative influence outside of Christianity could have given him. If there still crops out traces of our heredity from the barbarian, and crime is rampant, this is no part of Christianity. It is rather in spite of Christian influence. Were men to live up to the perfection of the Sermon on the Mount, were they to seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice, they would still be possessors of all that is good in our modern civilization without the misery and crime that now fester at its door. Grace does not destroy nature. Human nature at all times and under all circumstances remains prone to evil. Civilization, considered in itself, only places more effective weapons in the hands of the criminal. It is a natural good, and as such is subject to the accidents of every natural good; therefore to evil; therefore to abuse; therefore to crime. Far from being an antidote to vice and crime, it may promote the one and the other, and civilization not unfrequently does so in creating new and expensive wants, increasing man's capacity for enjoyment, and so feeding selfishness as to render concupiscence all the more intense for being the more refined. Here lies the fallacy of unscrupulous and hard-headed Bernard Mandeville in his "Fable of the Bees." What is of accident he mistook for the essence of civilization.¹

Civilization, then, possesses in itself certain elements of disintegration. But in Christianity there is a conservative force that resists all decay. Christian thought, Christian dogma, and Christian morals never grow old, never lose their efficiency with the advance of any community in civilized life. John Stuart Mill is not of our opinion. To his mind the world would have got on all the better were there no Christian religion. He has to revert to the Korân to find civic virtue inculcated. He considers the character of Christian morality to be negative rather than positive. It

¹ Berkeley refutes several of Mandeville's fallacies in his *Alciphron*.

set up, according to him, "a standard of ethics, in which the only worth, professedly recognized, is that of obedience." In this patronizing fashion does he summarize his judgment; "That mankind owes a great debt to this morality and its early teachers, I should be the last person to deny; but I do not scruple to say of it, that it is in many important points incomplete and one-sided, and that unless ideas and feelings not sanctioned by it had contributed to the formation of European life and character, human affairs would have been in a worse condition than they now are."¹ Evidently John Stuart Mill never grasped the sublime scope and meaning of the Christian religion. Has he never learned that that religion is not concerned with the material side of our civilization? Its mission is chiefly to the spiritual side of man. Its aim is to establish the Kingdom of God in the human soul. It does not attempt to destroy man's natural talents and capacities; it takes these things for granted and seeks to control their use only through his conscience.

By the side of Mill's inadequate estimate of Christianity, let us place another from one who has cast from him the last shred of religious dogmas. Mr. Lecky in a more enlightened spirit bears witness to the perennial character of Christianity as a conservative force. "There is," he says, "but one example of a religion which is not naturally weakened by civilization, and that example is Christianity. . . . But the great characteristic of Christianity, and the great moral proof of its divinity, is that it has been the main source of the moral development of Europe, and that it has discharged this office, not so much by the inculcation of a system of ethics, however pure, as by the assimilating and attractive influence of a perfect ideal. The moral progress of mankind can never cease to be distinctively and intensely Christian, as long as it consists of a gradual approximation to the character of the Christian Founder. There is indeed nothing more wonderful in the history of the human race than the way in which that ideal has traversed the lapse of ages, acquiring a new strength and beauty with each advance of civilization, and infusing its beneficent influence into every sphere of thought and action."² This is unstinted praise; here is at least one chapter of the world's history that Mr. Lecky has not misread.

Thus is it that even according to the testimony of those who are not of us, our modern civilization has in it a unique element, divine and imperishable in its nature, growing out of its contact with the Christ. That characterizing element is Christianity. Individuals may repudiate it, but as a people we are still proud to

¹ *Essay on Liberty*, p. 94.

² *Rationalism in Europe*, i., pp. 311, 312.

call ourselves Christians. We have not come to that pass at which we are ashamed of the cross in which St. Paul gloried. The teachings and practices of Christianity form an essential part of our education. They are intimately blended with our whole personal life. Christian influences must needs preside over every important act from the cradle to the grave. So the Church thinks, and she acts accordingly. The new-born infant is consecrated with prayer and ceremonial to a Christian line of conduct when the saving waters of baptism are poured upon its head; the remains of the Christian are laid in the grave with other prayer and ceremonial. At no time in the life of man does the Church relax in her care of him. Least of all is she disposed to leave him to himself at that period when he is most amenable to impression and when she can best lay hold upon his whole nature and mould it in the ideal that is solely hers. Therefore is the Church ever jealous of any attempt on the part of secularism to stand between her and the child she has marked for her own with the sign of salvation through baptismal rites. She knows no compromise; she can entertain no compromise; she has no room for compromise, for she has never had a moment's indecision on the matter of education.

III.

Secularism in education has assumed many phases. We shall dwell upon a few of the theories proposed to supersede religious training in the schools. M. Ernest Renan has aired his views upon education. It goes without saying that M. Renan excludes what he calls theology as an educational factor. He will have none of it. He asks us to witness the ages that were under the sway of churchmen and theologians, and note the little progress they made in science, forgetting the barbarous character of his ancestors when they first came under Christian influences, forgetting also the slow process by which a people is reformed, refined, civilized. He would ignore the fact that these ages are an intermediate link between barbarism and our present enlightenment. Were it not for those theological times which M. Renan now looks down upon, even he would to-day be utterly incapable of making his fine phrases. Now, M. Renan divides all educational responsibility between the family and the State. He considers the professor competent to instruct in secular knowledge only. The family he regards as the true educator. He asks: "This purity and delicacy of conscience, the basis of all morality, this flower of sentiment which will one day be the charm of man, this intellectual refinement sensitive to the most delicate shades of meaning—where may the child and the youth learn these things? Is it in lectures attentively listened to, or in books learned by heart? Not at all, gentlemen; these things

are learned in the atmosphere in which one lives, in the social environment in which one is placed; they are learned through family life, not otherwise. Instruction is given in class, at the lyceum, in the school; education is imparted in the home; the masters here are the mothers, the sisters."¹ True it is that the State is not competent to form conscience; no less true is it that the family is the great moulder of character. The sanctuary of a good home is a child's safest refuge. There he is wrapped in the panoply of a mother's love and a mother's care. This love and this care are the sunshine in which his moral nature grows and blossoms into goodness. The child, the youth blessed with a Christian home in which he sees naught but good example and hears naught but edifying words, has indeed much to be thankful for; it is a boon which the longest life of gratitude can but ill-requite. But M. Renan wants neither home nor child, Christian. He would establish a religion of beauty, of culture, indeed of anything and everything that is not religion. The refining and educating influence he means is the "eternally-womanly"—*das Ewige-Weibliche*—of Goethe. It is a sexual influence. It is a continuous appeal to the gallantry and chivalry of the boy-nature. This and nothing more. Is it sufficient as an educational influence? Without other safeguard the boy soon outgrows the deference and respect and awe that woman naturally inspires. That is indeed a superficial knowledge of human nature which would reduce the chief factor of a child's education to womanly influence unconsecrated by religion, unrestrained by the sterner authority of the father, the law, the social custom.

The child of a Christian home, where some member of the family is competent and willing to give him religious instruction regularly and with method, might attend a purely secular school without losing the Christian spirit. But these conditions obtain only in exceptional cases. What has M. Renan to say to the home in which the father is absorbed in making money and the mother is equally absorbed in spending that money in worldly and frivolous amusements, and the children are abandoned to the care of servants? And what has he to say of the home without the mother? And the home in which example and precept are deleterious to the growth of manly character? And then consider the sunless homes of the poor and the indigent, where the struggle for life is raging with all intensity; consider the home of the workingman, where the father is out from early morning to late at night, and the mother is weighed down with the cares and anxieties of a large family and drudging away all day long at

¹ *La Reforme: La Part de la Famille et de l'Etat dans l'Education*, p. 316.

household duties never done; to speak of home education and delicacy of conscience and growth of character among such families and under such conditions were a mockery. But M. Renan has as happy a facility in ignoring facts as in brushing away whole epochs of history.

There are others—Christian gentlemen at that—who would keep religion out of the school while relegating it to the family and the Church. The late revered Howard Crosby, in his last published utterance, says: "Religion is too sacred a thing to be committed for its teaching to the public official. It belongs to the fireside and the Church."¹ But why should the public official have any voice regarding the teaching of religion? Why should the State dictate what shall or shall not be taught? Even M. Renan hesitated to give the State any say in the matter of controlling education. However, since the State controls the disbursement of the people's money, collected solely for the purpose of carrying on good government, by all means let the State see to it that those who are paid out of the people's money to teach the people's children, be competent to perform their duties and that the subject-matter taught be such as shall not prevent the child from becoming a good and useful citizen. But let us never lose sight of the fact that the people do not belong to the State, and that the machinery we call the State is the servant of the people, organized to do the will of the people. Were we to witness a paid official of the State strutting about during his brief hour of authority, giving out his opinions as the law of the State, identifying the State with himself, we would smile in pity at the spectacle; but were we to witness the pronouncements of this poor egotist accepted seriously by any body of men as bearing the weight and authority of the State, because, forsooth, the man so speaking happens for the moment to be stamped with the official seal of the State, then indeed were there a sight at which angels might with reason weep. Then might we tremble lest the spirit that gave life and being to our republic were fast receding from the body politic. A great monarch might say without injury to his dignity, "I am the State;" but it is blasphemy and political heresy, rank and odious in the nostrils of any intelligent citizen, to hear any fellow-citizen of a free State give his personal opinions all the weight and force that attach to the laws of the State.²

And here, while defending the State against any usurpation of its power, let us also assert the right of the parent. The parent has no intention of abdicating his right to educate the child. The

¹ *Educational Review*, May, 1891, p. 445.

² A careful reading of the Educational Report of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for 1890, will make evident the meaning of these remarks.

right is his; he means to hold it. If he educates his child himself, all well and good. School laws are not made for the parent who educates his own child. If he does not himself educate the child, it is for him to say who shall replace him in this important function. In making this decision, the Christian parent is generally guided by the Church. The Church is pre-eminently a teaching power—that teaching-power extending chiefly to the formation of character and the development of the supernatural man. Her Divine Founder said: "All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth; going, therefore, teach all nations." The Church holds that of all periods in the life of man, the period of childhood and youth, when the heart is plastic and character is shaping, and formative influences leave an indelible impress, is the one in which religion can best mould conduct and best give color to thought; and therefore the Church exhorts and encourages the Christian parent to make many and great sacrifices in order to procure a Christian education for his children. It is the natural right of every Christian child to receive this education. It is the natural right and bounden duty of the parent by the two-fold obligation of the natural law and the divine law, to provide his child with this education. And the right being natural it is inalienable; being inalienable, it is contrary to the fundamental principles of justice to attempt to force upon the child any other form of education, or to hinder the child in the pursuit of this education, or to impose upon the child a system of education that would in the least tend to withdraw him from the light and sweetness of the faith that is his inheritance. "Compulsory education," says the eminent and fair-minded churchman, Cardinal Manning, "without free choice in matters of religion and conscience is, and ever must be, unjust and destructive of the moral life of a people."¹ It is a breach of the social pact that underlies all State authority. That pact calls for the protection of rights, not for their violation or usurpation. And so, if the Christian parent would give his child a Christian education, there is no power on earth entitled or privileged to stand between him and the fulfilment of his wish.

But we are told that the child may learn the truths of his religion in Sunday-school and that religion is too sacred a thing for the school-room. Can you imagine an hour or two a week devoted to the most sacred of subjects at all in keeping with the importance of that subject? Can you imagine a child able to realize the power, the beauty, the holiness of religion from the fact that he is required to give only an hour or two out of the whole seven times twenty-four hours of the week to learn its truths?

¹ *The Forum*, March, 1887, p. 66.

Again let us quote the same eminent authority whose words will bear more weight with them than any we could utter: "The heartless talk," says Cardinal Manning, "about teaching and training children in religion by their parents, and at home, and in the evening when parents are worn out by daily toil, or in one day in seven by Sunday-schools, deserves no serious reply. To sincere common sense it answers itself."¹ "Heartless talk . . . deserves no serious reply"—hard words these; but their fitness is all the more apparent the more we study the question.

The Church, who is, above all, the mother and protectress of the poor, sets her face against any such arrangement, and insists that wherever possible her children—especially her poor children—shall have a religious training. She makes it binding upon the consciences of Christian parents. They are not free as regards the character of the education they should provide for their children. Believing, as every Christian parent does, that man is created for a supernatural end, that that end can be attained in a Christian community only through a knowledge of Christian truths and the practice of Christian virtues, naught remains for him but to see to it that his child has the advantage of this Christian education, given by teachers who can inculcate these truths and instil the practice of these virtues. The Church alone is competent to pronounce upon the teachers and guarantee their accuracy in the matter of faith and morals. Here is how the Christian Church enters as an essential factor into Christian education.

Religion is sacred, and because it is so sacred a thing it should not be excluded from the school-room. It is not a garment to be donned or doffed at will. It is not something to be folded away carefully as being too precious for daily use. It is rather something to be so woven into the warp and woof of thought and conduct and character, into one's very life, that it becomes a second nature and the guiding principle of all one's actions. Can this be effected by banishing religion from the school-room? Make religion cease to be one with the child's thoughts and words and acts—one with his very nature—at a time when the child's inquisitiveness and intellectual activity are at their highest pitch; cause the child to dispense with all consciousness of the Divine Source of light and truth in his thinking; eliminate from your text-books in history, in literature, in philosophy, the conception of God's Providence, of His ways and workings, and you place the child on the way to forget, or ignore, or mayhap deny that there is such a Being as God and that His Providence is a reality. The child is frequently more logical than the man. If the thought

¹ National Education: *The School Rate*, p. 28.

of God, the sense of God's intimate presence everywhere, the holy name of Jesus, be eliminated from the child's consciousness and be forbidden his tongue to utter with reverence in prayer during school-hours, why may not these things be eliminated outside of school-hours? Why may they not be eliminated altogether? So may the child reason; so has the child reasoned; and therefore does the Church seek to impress upon it indelibly the sacred truths of religion in order that they may be to it an ever-present reality.

Not that religion can be imparted as a knowledge of history or grammar is taught. The repetition of the Catechism or the reading of the Gospel is not religion. Religion is something more subtle, more intimate, more all-pervading. It speaks to head and heart. It is an ever-living presence in the school-room. It is reflected from the pages of one's reading-books. It is nourished by the prayers with which one's daily exercises are opened and closed. It controls the affections; it keeps watch over the imagination; it permits to the mind only useful and holy and innocent thoughts; it enables the soul to resist temptation; it guides the conscience; it inspires a horror for sin and a love for virtue. The religion that could be cast off with times and seasons were no religion. True religion may be likened to the ethereal substance that occupies interstellar space. This substance permeates all bodies. There is no matter so compact that it does not enter, and between the atoms of which it does not circulate. Even so should it be with religion. It should form an essential portion of our life. It should be the very atmosphere of our breathing. It should be the soul of our every action. We should live under its influence, act out its precepts, think and speak according to its laws as unconsciously as we breathe. It should be so intimate a portion of ourselves that we could not, even if we would, ever get rid thereof. This is religion as the Church understands religion. Therefore does the Church foster the religious spirit in every soul confided to her, at all times, under all circumstances, without rest, without break, from the cradle to the grave. Place yourself, at this point of view, and say, if believing all this, child of yours should receive any other than a religious education.

We may have too little religion; we may be too sparing in giving to prayer and communion with God only a few hasty moments morning and evening; we may grudge Him an occasional reverential thought during our waking hours; we may ignore our dependence on Him; we may forget to thank Him for the natural blessings of life and health and the supernatural blessing of grace and redemption; but we never can become too deeply imbued with these and other sentiments that make up the religious spirit. That

were an inadequate and an unworthy conception of God that would represent Him as growing weary of our importunity in prayer and aspiration. There is much truth in the words of Ruskin: "We treat God with irreverence by banishing Him from our thoughts, not by referring to His will on slight occasions. His is not the finite authority or intelligence which cannot be troubled with small things. There is nothing so small but that we may honor God by asking His guidance of it, or insult Him by taking it into our own hands; and what is true of the Deity is equally true of His Revelation. We use it most reverently when most habitually; our insolence is in ever acting without reference to it; our true honoring of it is in its universal application."¹ The God of the Christian is an infinite, a personal, and a loving God. Surely no father among a Christian people, having at heart the welfare of son or daughter, would allow either to grow to the estate of manhood or womanhood without having ever bent the knee in prayer before that infinite, personal, and loving God, or without having learned and become imbued with any of the great fundamental truths of Christianity. Surely no man understanding human nature, and having at heart the good of society, would advocate that the rising generation should be brought up without any religious form of belief.

IV.

Even our secularists,—those of them the most radical,—while not believing in the intrinsic worth of religion or morality, would still uphold them both to a certain extent, not because they regard them as true, but because they consider them wholesome fictions for the people. Strauss, who had spent a long and laborious life in undermining the religion of Christ, while claiming for individuals the right to accept or reject all forms of belief, recognizes now, and far into the future, the necessity of a Church for the majority of mankind. "*We do not for a moment,*" he says, "*ignore the actual, and still for a long time the prospective, necessity of a Church for the majority of mankind; whether it will remain thus to the end of human affairs, we regard as an open question; but we regard as a prejudice the opinion which deems that every individual must belong to a church, and that he to whom the old no longer suffices must join a new one.*"² He who believed neither in a church nor in a God, who would dry up the sources of all consolation in this life, and shut out every glimpse of hope for the life to come, still considered what from his point of view was a myth and an illusion, a necessity for the well-being of society. And Renan has expressed a similar opinion in regard to morality. While denying its obli-

¹ *Selections*, p. 404.

² *The Old Faith and the New*, pp. 116, 117.

gations he acknowledges its necessity. "Nature," he says, "has need of the virtue of individuals, but this virtue is an absurdity in itself; men are duped into it for the preservation of the race."¹ This mode of reasoning will never do. If religion and morality are merely a delusion and a snare, then had they better not be. You cannot gather grapes from thorns. You cannot sow a lie and reap truth. Think of all that is meant by such statements as these. Can you imagine a Commonwealth erected upon falsehood, or deceit entering into the very fabric of the universe? It is all implied in the assumptions of Renan and Strauss. Teach a child that religion and morality are in themselves meaningless, though good enough for the preservation of society, and you sow in his heart the seeds of pessimism and self-destruction.

Then, there are those who, believing in religion and morality, still maintain, in all sincerity, that these things may be divorced in the school-room. Dr. Crosby, in the article already quoted, says: "While I thus oppose the teaching of religion in our public schools, I uphold the teaching of morality there. To say that religion and morality are one is an error. To say that religion is the only true basis of morality is true. But this does not prove that morality cannot be taught without teaching religion."² It proves nothing else. The distinction between religion and morality is fundamental. But, be it remembered, that we are now dealing with Christian children, having Christian fathers and mothers who are desirous of making those children thoroughly Christian. Now, you cannot mould a Christian soul upon a purely ethical training. In practice, you cannot separate religion from morality. A code of ethics will classify one's passions, one's vices, one's virtues, one's moral habits and tendencies, but it is quite unable to show how passion may be overcome or virtue acquired. It is only from the revelation of Christianity that we learn the cause of our innate proneness to evil; it is only in the saving truths of Christianity that we find the meaning and the motive of resisting that tendency. Let us not deceive ourselves; the morality that is taught apart from religious truth and a religious sanction is a delusion. "It will be difficult," says Professor John Bascom, with more reason than Dr. Howard Crosby, "it will be difficult, if not impossible, to separate vigorous moral influences from the spiritual inspiration with which they are associated in the community, and to employ them effectively in this mutilated form."³

This follows from man's very nature and constitution. Man is not a pure intelligence. He has feeling and impulse as well as reason, and not unfrequently is reason carried away by feeling and

¹ *Dialogues Philosophiques*, intro, xiv.-xvii.

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Forum*, March, 1891, p. 60.

impulse. Merely to know the right does not always lead to the doing of it. Action requires more powerful motives than those arising from knowledge; motives, the root of which lie far beyond the domain of reason. "We cannot doubt," says Lord Bacon, "that a large part of the moral law is too sublime to be attained by the light of nature; though it is still certain that men, even with the light and law of nature, have some notions of virtue, vice, justice, wrong, good and evil."¹

Even religion itself, when rationalized and reduced to a science, may cease to be vitalizing. The light and warmth have then passed out from it; its controlling influence upon the conscience has ceased; conduct, no longer guided by the still small voice of conscience, falls back upon reason, or prudence, or the instinct of self-preservation, or, mayhap, runs riot under the lash of passion and animal impulse. In the meantime, the individual may be making a thorough study of his religion. He may even have achieved a reputation as a theologian. The history of rationalism is strewn with wrecks of intellectual pride. These men illustrate the revolt of reason against religion. M. Ernest Renan is a case in point. A simple Catholic youth, holding as articles of faith all the truths taught by the Catholic Church, he enters upon a course of studies for the Catholic priesthood. He prays devoutly with his companions of the seminaries of Issy and St. Sulpice; he receives the sacraments with them; he follows all the spiritual exercises with them; and yet a day comes when he finds that he has lost the faith and is no longer a believer in revealed religion. Whence comes this to be so? The truths of religion are, many of them, distinct from natural truths; they are above natural truths, and yet they are based upon them. Faith supposes reason. Now, M. Renan has left us an amusing account of himself—M. Renan is amusing or nothing—and therein we learn that he began by sapping the natural foundations on which supernatural truth rests; he played fast and loose with philosophic truth, attempted to reconcile the most contradictory assumptions of Kant and Hegel and Schelling; he repudiated the primary principles of his reason, and so undermined its whole basis that it was no wonder to see the superstructure topple over. He, a boy of twenty, with very little strength of intellect, but with an overweening ambition that supplied all other deficiencies, sat in judgment upon all things in heaven and upon earth, especially upon the religion which he had professed and for the ministry in which he was preparing himself. From that moment, the Christian religion ceased to be for him an active principle. He no longer believed in the truths of Chris-

¹ *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, § 28.

tianity. While conforming to its external practices, the warmth and the life of it had vanished, and his active brain, having nothing else to feed upon, made of his religion a mere intellectual exercise, and finally, a marketable commodity, the means by which to create unto himself a name. He placed religious truth on the same footing with natural science, and tested both by the same methods. Naturally, truths that are deductive, based upon authority beyond the scope of reason, vanish into thin air when one attempts to analyze them as one would the ingredients of salt and water. They are effective only when received with reverence, submission, and implicit faith. In this manner did Renan's faith disappear before his intellectual pride. "In a scientific age," says Cardinal Newman, "there will naturally be a parade of what is called Natural Theology, a wide-spread profession of the Unitarian creed, an impatience of mystery, and a skepticism about miracles."¹

Now, if this intellectual temper is to be looked for under the most favorable auspices, what religious dearth may we not expect to find among young men out of whom all theological habits of thought have been starved, and in whom all spiritual life has become extinct? The school from which religious dogma and religious practices have been banished, is simply preparing a generation of atheists and agnostics. There is a large grain of truth in the remark of Renan, that, if humanity was intelligent and nothing else it would be atheistic. And yet, this man, whose views I find shadowy, shifting, panoramic, and unreal, this maker of clever phrases, would promote nothing but intellectual culture, soul-culture. "They are," he says, "not simple ornaments, they are things no less sacred than religion. . . . Intellectual culture is pre-eminently holy. . . . It is our religion."² Renan holds this culture sacred, because he hopes thereby to make men atheistic.

No; purely intellectual culture will not take the place of religion. Where men abandon themselves to the exclusive cultivation of the intellect; where they permit pursuits of any kind to monopolize their energies, to the neglect of the spiritual side of their natures, they are doing themselves an injustice. They are ignoring their supernatural destiny. They are making of themselves mere human machines for the performance of certain functions. They are missing the completeness of life for which they were created. Youth, trained on these lines, are putting themselves in a fair way to despise that which they have systematically neglected. Knowledge is, in itself, good; it is a great power; but

¹ *Idea of a University*, p. 226.

² *La Reforme*, pp. 309, 310.

knowledge is not all. With no less truth than aptness has the poet sung :

“ Make knowledge circle with the winds ;
But let her herald, Reverence, fly
Before her to whatever sky
Bears seed of men and growth of minds.”

But knowledge exclusively cultivated will lack this reverence. Knowledge is only too prone to puff up the unballasted mind. It supplies food for the intellect, gives it strength and development and aptitude upon definite lines. But the intellect works only according as the will directs. It is a pliant tool in the hands of the will. When the will is good, and operates towards right-doing, intellectual endowment is, indeed, a blessing ; when the will is depraved, a trained intellect becomes all the more mischievous. Reason enlightens the will and enables it to indicate motives ; but religion alone has the life-giving power that nerves and fires the whole life-energies of man for good. This has been the way of humanity in the past, and there is no reason why it should not be so in the future. Not, then, in intellectual culture may we find the proper substitute for religious training.

Nor yet in the culture of the æsthetic sense. Love of art in all its chief departments ; enthusiasm for music and poetry and the beautiful in life and conduct are one and all commendable. That the eye and the ear should be cultivated to their highest capacity, and that a sense of fitness and propriety should preside over all we do and all we say, are no less a gain. But that these things should be everything, that they should be the sole barriers erected against vice and crime, the sole motives of life, the sole criterion of conduct—is out of the question. Sense of beauty has never been able to stand between human selfishness and the gratification of any passion. When exclusively cultivated, its tendency is to render men and women rather effeminate and weak before temptation. In no country was art more thoroughly cultivated, or did art enter more intimately into all relations of life than it did in Greece ; but at no time in the history of Greece did men dream of substituting art-culture for religious prayer and ceremonial. Art is not an end. Every form of art is the expression of some idea ; every idea so expressed has grown out of a people's life. The meaning of all art worthy of the name consists in this, that it is the embodiment of the thought or motive that is calculated to elevate and ennoble one's conception of life, or action, or men, or things. Art is, then, a means making for a higher purpose. A good in its own way, when confined to its proper sphere, it is a source of enjoyment and one of the notes of civilization. But art in its highest form of expression has ever received its sublimest

inspirations from religion. The altar is the cradle at which music and dance, poetry and the drama, painting and sculpture and architecture have been nurtured and have grown in grace and beauty. With the decline of religious influence came the decline of each and all of these arts. Beauty cannot supplant virtue; it cannot stand on the same footing with virtue. Beauty is a natural gift pure and simple, whereas virtue is based upon man's free-will and grows out of man's relations with his Creator. Make the sense of beauty the ideal of life, and you may end in holding with Renan "that beauty is so superior, talent, genius, virtue itself, are naught in its presence"¹—a proposition bearing on the face of it its own refutation. Not in culture of the æsthetic sense is a substitute for religious training to be found.

Neither is the substitute to be found in that purely ethical culture which has in these days been made a religion. You cannot make such culture the basis of virtue. Is it virtue to recognize in a vague manner distinctions between right and wrong, or to know what is proper and graceful and becoming in conduct? By no means. As we have already seen, virtue is made of sterner stuff. The practice of virtue is based upon the dictates of conscience. Conscience has sanction in its recognition of the fact of a Law-giver to whom every rational being is responsible for his acts. What sanction has the moral sense as such? None beyond the constitution of our nature. We are told by the apostles of ethical culture that the supreme law of our being is to live out ourselves in the best and highest sense. But what is best and highest? If we consult only the tendencies of our poor, feeble, erring human nature, whither will they lead us? There are many things forbidden by the laws of Christian morality as injurious to the individual and destructive of society, that are looked upon as good by those who have drifted from the Christian faith. You may, under certain favorable circumstances, cultivate in the child a sense of self-respect that will preserve it from gross breaches of morality, but you are not thereby implanting virtue in its soul. Now the Christian parent, the Christian teacher, and the Christian clergyman, would see the soul of every child a blooming garden abounding in every Christian virtue. This is the source of all real social and personal progress.

There is no true moral improvement based upon purely ethical culture. Theory is not practice; knowing is not doing. The world was never renovated—the world would have never been renovated—by the ethical codes of Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus. The morality that enters into men's convictions, that becomes part of their very existence, that influences their lives and braces them

¹ *Souvenir d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, p. 115.

up to resist or forbear from wrong-doing under the most trying circumstances, has a higher source than the moral teaching that would make the beautiful in conduct the sole criterion of life. Ethical culture may veneer the surface, but it cannot penetrate to the depths of the human heart. It may point out the deformity of vice and the beauty of virtue; it may teach the proper and the becoming; it may create a sense of pride and honor that sustains the soul under certain forms of trial and temptation; under certain circumstances it may develop a certain manhood and womanhood of character; with a certain happy combination of traits in the natural disposition of the soul, it may lead to the practice of the natural virtues; but this is not the supernatural life of the Christian. This is not the ideal life laid down by St. Paul. The ideal of secularism considers only the pleasant and the agreeable; the fair and the proper are the secularists' chief objects of life. Virtue, from this point of view, is to be pursued as a matter of good taste, vice is to be avoided as something vulgar and ungentlemanlike. It is accompanied by a serene self-possession that aims to rise above blundering, a cold self-satisfaction that grows out of insensibility of conscience and a complete absence of the idea of sin. There are no probings of the heart; there are no self-accusings; there is no sense of sin; there is no humility; there is no spirit of faith, no solicitude for a future life. What has secularism in any of its phases to do with the saving of souls, or the fear of hell, or the doctrines of original sin, grace and redemption, or the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity, or with spiritual life, or the reign of the kingdom of God in human hearts? This is a world ignored or denied altogether by secularism. It has no place for the lesson that the cross comes before the crown, that men must sorrow before they can rejoice, that pain is frequently to be chosen before pleasure, that the flesh and the spirit are to be mortified, that passions are to be resisted and man must struggle against his inferior nature to the death. Now this doctrine is today as hard a doctrine as it was in the days of St. Paul, when men pronounced it a stumbling-block and foolishness. The Christian parent and the Christian Church are convinced that it is only by placing the Christian yoke upon the child in its tender years that the child will afterwards grow up to manhood or womanhood finding that yoke agreeable—for the Divine Founder of Christianity has assured us that His yoke is sweet and His burden light—and will afterwards persevere in holding all these spiritual truths and practices that make the Christian home and the Christian life a heaven upon earth. This is why Christian parents make so many sacrifices to secure their children a Christian education. This is why you find the world over, men and women—religious

teachers—immolating their lives, their comforts, their homes, their talents, their energies that they may cause Christian virtues to blossom in the hearts of the little ones confided to them. This is why, in the city of New York alone, we are witnesses, this very year, of not less than fifty-two thousand Catholic children, and in the whole State, not less than one hundred and forty thousand, attending our parish schools at great sacrifices for pastors and parents and teachers. The Church will always render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but she will continue to guard and protect and defend her own rights and prerogatives in the matter of education. She cannot for a single moment lose sight of the supernatural destiny of man and of her mission to guide him from the age of reason towards the attainment of that destiny.

We know not how forcibly we have presented the plea for Church schools; but we do know that we have sought to give not mere individual impressions, but the profound convictions with which Christian parents act when insisting upon giving their children a Christian education. Therefore, sincere Christians, whether Catholic, Lutheran, Baptist or Episcopalian, be they named what they may, can never bring themselves to look on with unconcern at any system of education that is calculated to rob their children of the priceless boon of their Christian inheritance. Prizing their souls more than their bodies, they would rather see them dead than that their souls should be pinched and starved for want of the life-giving food that comes of Christian revelation and a Christian Church. Therefore it is that they cannot for a moment tolerate their children in an atmosphere of secularism from which Christian prayer and Christian practices have been banished. Some friends and admirers of Heraclitus, coming to see him, found him in the kitchen warming himself at the fire. He bade them enter, "for," he added, "God is also present in this place." A noble thought, this of the pagan philosopher, that the presence of God dignifies the lowliest place. Even so thinks the Church. She holds that the presence of God, and the revelation of God, and devotion to God during school-hours, dignify and ennoble the studies and the very nature of the child. And every Christian parent is content to know that the school-room in which his child abides, is sanctified by the consciousness of our Saviour and Redeemer lighting up the knowledge that child is acquiring and nourishing his heart with beautiful Christian sentiments—the sense of God's presence within him and about him, and the voice of God speaking to his conscience, and thrilling his soul unto a music with which his whole life shall beat in unison.

¹ Aristotle, *De Partibus Animalium*, lib. i., cap. v., § 5.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS.

SOME authors have held that the first institution of military orders, particularly that of St. George, is to be ascribed to the emperor, Constantine; but it is generally conceded that the idea of chivalry was a fruit of the crusades, and that it originated at the close of the eleventh century¹ Like most of the institutions of the Middle Age, the idea of military orders came from the Church; it was her inculcation of religious devotion upon the soldier, even in the exercise of his profession, that gave birth to these organizations. As far back as the year 1022, in the time of the Fatimite caliphs, some Neapolitan merchants had established a hospital for pilgrims, under the patronage of St. John the Baptist, near the Holy Sepulchre. They assigned it to the care of certain religious who came to be known as Hospitalers. The rector of this institution was Gerald, a native of Scala, near Amalfi; he conceived the first idea of the Order of the Hospital of St. John, known in history, at first as Knights of St. John, then as Knights Hospitalers, afterward as Knights of Rhodes, and finally as Knights of Malta. Pope Paschal II. took the new order and its possessions under his protection; Calixtus II. conferred upon Raymond du Puy, the second provost, the title of Master, and he confirmed the statutes which Raymond had drawn up in 1104.

¹ It has been debated whether chivalry, as we fancy it, ever really existed, or whether it is not merely a pretty dream, like the Golden Age. If you read the authors of those days, says Cantu, "you will find them all lamenting the bygone time, and deploring the decay of chivalry. . . . We may well believe that the chivalry of the romances, that is, an era of valor, of loyalty, of spontaneous order, of happiness, of disinterested sacrifice, of chaste love, no more existed than did the idyllic blessedness of the Arcadian shepherds; but that books have modified it, and substituted an ideal era for the true one. Nevertheless, there was considerable reality in chivalry, and its members formed an efficient organization, with initiatory forms, rights and prerogatives. . . . In the time of the third crusade its reputation had become so great that even Saladin asked to be enrolled. Its principal theatre was the south of France, whence it spread into all Spain, already chivalrous by nature. . . . Italy, devoted to commerce, science and religion, cared little for the punctilios of chivalry, unless in Sicily, where it was introduced by the Normans. The Suabians wondered that the Hungarians possessed no chivalry, and they sent a message to them, praying in the name of woman that they would fight in a more courteous manner, that is, with the sword; they replied by scourging the envoy. . . . England, more aristocratic than chivalrous, shows us only Richard the Lion Heart, and he was formed to the arms and poetry of France; the heroes of the Round Table lived only in the pages of romance; Edward III. and the Black Prince arose only from contact with France. The Greeks and the Russians never knew the institutions of chivalry, but they penetrated into Poland."—*Universal History*, b. xi., ch. 4.

This order was composed of three classes of brethren,¹ namely, ecclesiastics, for spiritual matters; laics, for menial service; and knights, whose duty it was to protect pilgrims. In 1252, Innocent IV. gave to the head of the Hospitalers the title of Grand Master.²

Following the example of Gerald de Scala and Raymond Dupuy, two illustrious chevaliers named Hugh des Payens and Godfrey de St. Aldemar, with seven companions, founded in 1118, another military religious order which, taking its name from the temple of Solomon, near the site of which King Baldwin II. lodged the first knights, came to be known as the Order of the Temple. For nine years the Templars received no novices, and so poor were they, that one horse was made to serve for two knights; whence, says Matthew of Paris, originated the representation on the seal of the order. The Templars took, from the first, the ordinary religious vows, with a fourth, to protect pilgrims; but in 1128, St. Bernard composed for them a special rule which was both mystic and austere. The Templar swore to dedicate his life to warring against the infidels; to never decline battle unless the odds were more than three to one; to never ask for quarter; and to never give up, as ransom, "one piece of wall or one palm of land." St. Bernard wished the community-life of the knights to be frugal but pleasant; personal property there was none, and the will of the individual was to be merged in that of the superior. The divine office was, as a general thing, of obligation; but on occasions of military duty, private prayer was substituted. Thrice a week the members ate meat; two ate from one plate, but each had his own bottle of wine. When a knight died, his ration was given to the poor for forty days. Hunting, in the ordinary sense of the term, was forbidden; but the knights might kill ferocious wild beasts. They were never to be idle, said St. Bernard; when not on the march, their weapons and armor should claim their attention. Games, spectacles and buffoonery of every kind were prohibited to the Templar. Their horses should be spirited but plainly caparisoned. When battle was imminent, the knight should prepare cautiously for it, being armed within by faith and without with iron. He should charge the enemy with confidence, being secure of victory or of martyrdom. In every danger, continued the saint, the Templar should say to himself: "Living or dead, we belong to the Lord; glory awaits the conqueror, heaven the martyr." Though not so aristocratic an order as that of the

¹ From the French word *Frères* came our *friars*, and their name in every language. The Latin chroniclers style them *frerii*; the Greeks, *phreri*.

² *Lives of the Grand Masters of the Holy Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, by the Commander, Brother Jerome Marulli, Naples, 1636.

Hospital,¹ the Temple soon received among its votaries the scions of the first families of Christendom. From all parts of Europe the knights received money and provisions; few wills were made without clauses in their favor; many sovereign princes donned the white mantle. At the close of the twelfth century the wealth of the Templars was so great that their landed estates numbered nine thousand; in the kingdom of Valencia alone they owned seven-teen fortified towns. Their riches and privileges soon engendered corruption, and thirty years after they had adopted his rule, St. Bernard was forced to say to them: "You cover yourselves and your horses with silk; you paint your lances; your shields, saddles, and spurs shine with gold, silver and gems; your flowing tresses impede your sight; your long trains interfere with your walk; fine gloves cover your delicate hands. Discord is rife among you because of unreasonable anger, of inordinate desire of glory; and of love of earthly riches." The jealousy of the Templars in regard to the Hospitalers was a chief cause of the loss of Palestine to Christendom. Instead of regarding every Islamite as an enemy, they entered into an alliance with the Old Man of the Mountain; they gave refuge to a fugitive sultan; they warred on the Christians of Cyprus and Antioch, devastated Greece, and refused to contribute to the ransom of St. Louis. Indeed, public accusations were made against the Templars long before the time of Clement V. William of Tyre charged them with disobedience to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and with disturbing the churches in their domains.² In 1200, King Leo I., of Armenia, complained to Pope Innocent III. that the knights had not only invaded his territories, but had refused to aid him in resisting the attacks of the infidels.³ Even Innocent III., who had given many privileges to the Templars, lamented, in 1218, that the knights "had no respect for the Apostolic See," and that "they merited to be deprived of privileges so fearfully abused."⁴ In 1244, Frederick II. charged the Templars with receiving Mussulman princes into their houses and with allowing Mohammedan rites in their cloisters; and he adds that they were given up to the pleasures of the world.⁵ Gurtler gives many instances of Templar avarice in circumstances when religion needed their assistance. It is not surprising, therefore, that after the loss of the Holy Land, the Templars were regarded as entirely useless. Nevertheless, like the Hospitalers, they would have been allowed to subsist had not the world been

¹ The Knights of the Hospital were obliged, before admission, to show a noble descent of four generations by both parents; the chaplains and servant-knights were also of noble birth, though not necessarily by four descents.

² *Deeds of God through the Franks*, vol. i.

³ In *Dupuy*, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

horrified by their crimes. "While the common people were frightened at these accusations, the great ones of the earth charged the Order with an aspiration for universal dominion; with the intention of founding an aristocratic republic which would embrace all Europe—a very improbable design on the part of knights entirely dependent on the will of a grand master. . . . Philip hated the Order because it had refused to enroll him as a member, and would not sign the appeal against Boniface VIII.; he hated it because he wanted its riches." Such is the judgment of Cantu in regard to the suppression of this Order, and many other historians of merit hold the same opinion. The object of the present paper is to show that the Order of the Temple deserved suppression; that, whatever may have been the motives which actuated Philip the Fair, Pope Clement V. performed his simple duty in putting an end to an organization which had survived its usefulness and had become a scandal to Christendom.¹

On the feast of the Annunciation, 1307, the Faculty of Paris, having been consulted by king Philip as to his powers in the premises, issued a doctrinal judgment, attested by the seals of fourteen doctors, in which it was declared, that unless requested by the Church, the secular magistracy could take no cognizance of the crime of heresy, or of the cause of a religious order or of its members; but that, in case of imminent danger, the accused might be arrested, and then given over to the custody of the Church.² In accordance with this decision, but not before October 13th, and

¹ The following are the principal works on this subject: 1. *The History of the Military Order of the Templars*, by Peter Dupuy, in 4to, Brussels, 1751. After one has read the many works that this suppression has called forth, he finds that he can come to no satisfactory conclusion, unless he examines the original documents. Hence he is grateful to Dupuy for the care with which, in 1650, he extracted many from the archives at Paris. 2. *The History of the Templars*, by Nicholas Gurtler, of Basel; Amsterdam, 1712; a work of some research but very hostile to the Church. 3. *A Critical and Apologetical History of the Knights of the Temple called Templars*, Paris, 1789; by M. J., a Premonstratensian canon; an enthusiastic, but not critical, apology for the order. 4. *An Essay on the Charges against the Templars*, by Fred. Nicolai; Amsterdam, 1783. Nicolai was a Protestant, but impartial and judicious. 5. *Historical Memoirs on the Templars*, by Grouvelle; averse to the Order, but unsatisfactory as to proofs. 6. *Historical Monuments Relative to the Condemnation of the Knights of the Temple*, by Raynouard; Paris, 1813; the best defence of the Templars ever attempted, but too much like the author's tragedy on the same subject which caused much excitement in France. 7. The excellent work of the Abbé Christopher, *The Papacy in the Fourteenth Century*, vol. i, b. 4; Paris, 1853. 8. The incomparable *Universal History of Cantu*, b. xiii., ch. 6. All the *Acts* of the Pontifical Commission in the cause of the Templars were published by Moldenhauer in 1791; and the statutes of the Order were edited in 1794 by the Danish author, Munter. In his *Collection of Unedited Documents Concerning the History of France* (Series 1, *Political History*), Michelet edited the *Process* of the Templars, of which Dupuy had given only extracts.

² Cited by Dupuy.

after the grand master had complained to the Pope (August 24th), and demanded a juridical process,¹ all the Templars in France were arrested. On the 14th the clergy of Paris, and on the 15th the people, were informed of the charges against the knights. Then William of Paris, of the Order of Preachers, and inquisitor-general in the kingdom, undertook the necessary investigations, and interrogated one hundred and forty knights of the house in Paris. From the Continuator of Nange and the *Acts* of this inquiry, taken from the Royal Archives in 1650 by Dupuy, we learn that the following were the accusations. 1. On their entrance into the order, the knights were commanded to deny Christ and to spit thrice upon the crucifix; if the novice hesitated, imprisonment and torture forced him to yield. 2. Obscene signs of submission were made to the preceptors by the candidates. (*Ad præceptum præceptoris, nec-non præceptorem ipsum—quod nominandum quasi turpissimum—inferius in posterioribus osculabantur immunde*). 3. Although they had foresworn the society of women, sodomy was a prevalent and permitted practice of the Templars. 4. They were in the habit of adoring an idol, in the shape of a golden head with a long beard and fiery eyes. According to Hammer, in his "Mystery of Baphomet Exposed," this head was called "the head of Baphomet." He says that he found twelve of these heads in the prison of Vienna, with Arabic, Greek, and Latin inscriptions entitling them *Metis* or Wisdom; hence he concludes that *Baphomet* is derived from *Baphimiteos*, which would mean a baptism of the spirit or of fire—a Gnostic or Ophitic idea. These superstitious signs, says Hammer, the Templars must have derived from their intercourse with the Ishmaelites, and they have been frequently found, he adds, in the houses and tombs of the knights. He declares that he himself discovered several in the Templar churches at Stenfeld and Wultendorf. Teleky, in his "Voyage in Hungary," says that the same figures are found in the Templar church of St. Martin, in Muran. As for the obscenities ascribed to the knights, Hammer credits the charges, because of the many obscene anaglyphs found in the houses and sepulchres of the order; and he comes to the conclusion that the principal members and a large number of the rest were guilty of apostacy, superstition and gross impurity.² 5. The priests of the

¹ This fact explodes the charge that the arrest was secret and unexpected.

² See Palma's *Lectures*, cent. xiv., c. 30, and Mignard's *Hidden Practices of the Templars*, Dijon, 1851. The latter work is a dissertation on a casket found in 1789 on the Essarois estate of the marquis du Chastenay. This casket is made of limestone, and is about 25 centimetres long and 20 wide. On it is an image in relief, which Mignard lithographed. The image is of a sort of masculo-feminine being, standing naked, wearing a crenulated crown, and holding in its hand a chain which is surmounted, on the right, by the moon, and on the left by the sun; at the feet of the image is a death's head, set in a star and a pentagon; Arabic characters surround the

Order were accustomed, when pretending to celebrate Mass, to omit the words of consecration.

Among the knights questioned as to the truth of these accusations, were the grand master, James de Molay; Guy, the brother of the dauphin of Auvergne; and Hubert de Perault. There were one hundred and forty in all, and only three of them pronounced the charges false. Some protested that they had long since repented of having joined the Order, and had asked Rome for a dispensation; others insisted that they had already confessed their crimes to episcopal penitentiaries. The inquisitor, William of Paris, afterward held an examination of one hundred and eleven Templars at Troyes, and although these knights denied the adoration of the head of *Baphomet*, they admitted the truth of the other charges. At Caen, thirteen other knights admitted their guilt, when questioned by commissioners delegated by the inquisitor. At Pont de l'Arche, ten knights were interrogated by Peter de Hangest, governor of Rouen, with the same issue. At Carcassonne, John de Cassanhas, preceptor of the house of Noggarde, also confessed the alleged crimes. At Cahors, forty-four Templars admitted their guilt to the royal commissary. The *Acts* of all these inquiries were preserved, at least in Alexandre's time, in the royal archives, and had been diligently examined by Dupuy.

Pope Clement V. did not approve the high-handed measures of Philip the Fair in the affair of the Templars. He suspended the authority of the inquisition in France, and called the cause of the knights to the Holy See, requesting the king to surrender the persons and properties of the accused to the care of two cardinals deputed for that purpose. Indeed, so displeased was the Pontiff that he complained, eight months afterward, to the minister William Plasian, and declared that nothing could excuse the illegality of commencing so grave a prosecution without the consent of the Holy See.¹ Philip reluctantly complied with the papal request, and he sent many of the accused knights to Poitiers, where the Pontiff was residing, that Clement might himself inquire into their guilt. The Pope questioned seventy-two, and they all avowed the

main figure. There are also three other masculo-feminine figures. From the records of the Chastenay family it is proved that the property on which the casket was found was once that of the Templars; and we know that the important priory of Voulainelles-Temple was near Essarois. Following the interpretative systems of Nicolai and Hammer, Mignard finds a Gnostic meaning in the picture. In the Arabic inscription are found the *Ogdoagide* or Creator, and his seven *cones* or emanations; the fusion of the two sexes—the Gnostic *cones* were hemaphrodite; the denial of Christ: "If thou deniest, pleasure will environ thee." Basilides regarded this denial as the sign of true liberty; as to the sodomitic habits, the followers of Valentine and Basilides were addicted to such vices. This chest, concludes Mignard, reveals the key of the *Cabal*, with which the Templars were reproached, and proclaims infamous mysteries.

¹ Baluze, vol. i., p. 29.

crimes charged by the French inquisitor. We present the following rather lengthy extract from the diploma of Clement V. to the king, commencing with the words "Reigning in Heaven," as it throws much light on this entire subject.

"Some time ago, when we were first promoted to the height of the pontificate, and even before we went to Lyons, where we were crowned, and after that, in other places as well as there, we received secret information that the master, preceptors, and other brothers of the Temple, and even the Order itself, to which had been assigned the defence of the patrimony of our Lord Jesus Christ beyond the seas, had fallen into the horrible wickedness of apostasy against the same Lord, into the detestable crime of idolatry, into the execrable vice of the Sodomites, and into various heresies. But, taught by the example of our Lord, and by the doctrines of canonical Scripture, we wished not to lend our ear to such accusations; for, it seemed improbable, nay, incredible, that religious men who had shed their blood for Christ, and so often had exposed themselves to death for His sake, who had shown such signs of devotion in the divine offices, fasts, and other observances, should so far forget their salvation as to perpetrate such deeds. At length, however, you who had heard of these same iniquities, and moved, not by avarice—for you do not intend to claim or appropriate the property of the Templars, but have taken your hands altogether away from it, freely and devoutly yielding it up to us and to the Church, to be guarded and administered by our deputies—but excited by zeal for the orthodox faith, and following in the footsteps of your ancestors, having informed yourself, so far as you could, sent to us by messengers and letters many and extensive reports on these matters. Meanwhile, the infamy attaching to the Templars was becoming widespread, and we ourselves heard from a certain knight of the Order—a man of high nobility, and who was once of great influence in it, who swore to what he said, that a candidate to the Order, at the suggestion of the receiver or of his deputy, denied Jesus Christ; that he spat on a crucifix in contempt of Him crucified; that then, both candidate and receiver did things not befitting human decency; therefore, urged by the duty of our office, we were compelled to hearken to so many great complaints. Finally, we learned from public report, from you, and the dukes, counts, barons, and other nobles, as well as from the clergy and people of your kingdom, what we announce with great grief, that the master, preceptors, and members of the said Order, and the Order itself, had been charged with the aforesaid and other crimes, and that the premises seemed to be proved by many confessions, attestations and depositions of the said master, preceptors, and members of the said Order, made before many prelates and the French in-

quisitor into heretical depravity, and shown unto us and our brethren. Since then, the aforesaid rumors and clamors have so increased against the Order, and against each and every one of its members, that they cannot be disregarded without grave scandal, nor tolerated without imminent danger: We, following in the footsteps of Him, whose place, although unworthy, we hold on earth, deemed it proper to inquire into the aforesaid things. Having called into our presence many of the preceptors, priests, soldiers, and other brothers of the said Order, men of no light reputation, and they having sworn to tell us the simple and full truth in the premises, we interrogated and examined seventy-two of their number, many of our brethren diligently assisting. Their confessions were reduced to authentic writing, and were read in our presence and that of our brethren. After a few days we caused these avowals to be read in the Consistory, and before the accused, and to be explained in the vernacular of each one. Persevering in their confessions, they all, expressly and voluntarily, approved of them as they were read."

The Pontiff then recites how he had proposed to personally interrogate the grand master, and the preceptor of Normandy and others, but some of them being infirm and unable to travel, he had decided to take other means to discover whether they admitted the truth of the confessions made before the French inquisitor.

"Therefore," he continues, "we commissioned our beloved sons, the cardinals Berengarius of the Title of Sts. Nereus and Achilleus, and Stephen of the Title of St. Cyriacus *in thermis*, priests, and the cardinal-deacon Landulph, of the title of St. Angelus, of whose prudence, experience, and fidelity we are sure, to diligently inquire from the aforesaid master and preceptors into the charges made against the members of the Order and against the Order itself, and to report to us whatever they could discover, referring also to us the confessions, reduced to writing by public authority, conceding to them also the power to confer upon the said master and preceptors absolution from the excommunication which they had incurred, if the accusations were true, providing that they, as they ought to do, humbly and devoutly besought that absolution. These cardinals interviewed the master and preceptors, and explained the reason of their coming. And as *the persons and goods of all the Templars of the kingdom were in our hands*, the cardinals declared to them, by the Apostolic authority, that they might open their minds freely and without fear. Then, the master, and the preceptors of France, of the lands beyond the seas, of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitiers, having touched the Holy Gospels of God, swore that they would tell the full and simple truth before the three cardinals, in presence of four public no-

taries, and of many other public men. Before these, each one freely and voluntarily, without any coercion or fear, deposed and confessed: Among other things, to the denial of Christ, and the spitting on the cross, when they were received into the Order of the Temple; and some of them said that they had received many brethren with the same form, namely, the denial of Christ and the spitting on the cross. Some, also, confessed certain horrible and indecent things, about which, that we may spare their shame, we keep silence. They also avowed the truth of the confessions made some time ago before the inquisitor into heretical depravity; and those confessions and depositions of the aforesaid master and preceptors, reduced to writing by four public notaries, in the presence of the said master and preceptors and of certain worthy men, after a few days were read to them, by order and in presence of the aforesaid cardinals, and explained to each one in his own vernacular. Persevering in them, they all expressly and voluntarily approved them, as they were read. And after these confessions and depositions, they all, upon their knees, and with clasped hands, and with no slight flow of tears, besought of the cardinals an absolution from the excommunication which, because of the aforesaid things, they had incurred. Then, the cardinals expressly, and according to the form of the Church, extended the benefit of absolution by our authority, for the Church does not close her bosom to the returning one. Coming, then, into our presence, the cardinals presented to us the confessions and depositions, and all that had happened in regard to the said master and preceptors; everything being reduced to writing by public authority. From which confessions, depositions, and relations, we find that the aforesaid master and preceptors were grievously delinquent in the aforesaid matters, although some in a greater and some in a less degree."

If any confidence is to be placed in the solemn assertions of a Roman Pontiff, we have now shown the truth of what we undertook to demonstrate, namely, that the Templars acknowledged their guilt of the terrible crimes with which they were charged. But more light will fall upon the subject if we notice the following facts: In October, 1310, a Council of the province of Sens was held, and, according to the Continuator of Nange, "a diligent inquiry was made into the deeds of the Templars, and into everything regarding them; and their demerits having been weighed, and their quality and circumstances considered, with the approval of the Sacred Council, and with the advice of men learned in the Divine and Canon Law, it was adjudged and defined, that some of them should be simply dismissed from the Order; certain others, however, having performed an enjoined penance, were allowed to depart free and unharmed; some were detained in close confinement;

and many, having relapsed into heresy, were delivered to the secular power."¹ Bzovius quotes a Vatican MS., from which it appears that the archbishops of Florence and Pisa made an inquiry into the charges against the Templars, embracing therein all Lombardy and Tuscany; and that it resulted in proving the accusations well founded. In England, says Walsingham: "By command of the king (Edward II.), all the Templars in the realm were arrested, because of imputed indecencies and enormities contrary to the Catholic faith."² Pope Clement V. appointed as judges for the trials in Edward's dominions, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln, Chester, and Orleans; the abbots of Lagny and of St Germain, in Paris; Richard de Vaux, canon of Narbonne, and Guy de Vichy, a London pastor. In 1309, a Provincial Council was held at Canterbury for the consideration of this question, but we have no documentary evidence as to its result. But that the English Templars were condemned is evident from the process, as found in Wilkins; although it appears that the guilt of the English knights was less general than that of the continental brethren. We shall notice this fact more particularly when we come to consider the arguments adduced by the apologists for the Templars. In Aragon, as we are told by Zurita,³ there came from the French king, "on the 17th of the calends of November, 1307, an embassy, such as he had sent to all Christian princes, requesting each of them to undertake the defence of the Catholic faith in his own dominions against the Templars. The king received this request while residing in the royal castle of Valencia; and on the 3d of the nones of December he ordered the arrest of all those sectarians, and the sequestration of their property. John Lotger, of the Dominican Order, Apostolic inquisitor for the kingdom of Aragon, exercised the utmost severity in enforcing the law, repressing the guilty and their partisans. A large number of these shut themselves in the strong castles of Carthage, Montyon, Miravet, Villed, and Alfambra, hoping to escape the penalty following their indictments. In Catalonia, also, having no other hope, they acted in a similar manner. Then the king ordered them to be subdued by force." Pope Clement appointed the bishop of Valencia, the royal chancellor, as judge in the cause of all the accused Templars in Spain. We shall have occasion to notice the assertion that the Spanish Templars were pronounced

¹ At year 1310.

² *History of England*, Rymer, b. iii., nos. 30, 34, 43, 301.

³ Jerome Zurita (b. 1512) was historiographer of Aragon, and private secretary to the king. He wrote a collection of *Annals of the Crown of Aragon* (6 vols., fol., 1562-79), commencing with the rise of the kingdom and ending with Ferdinand the Catholic.

innocent of the alleged crimes;¹ but here we would remark that, according to Zurita, the knights were guilty of contumacy towards their legitimate judges, and of rebellion against their sovereign; which crimes, committed precisely because of the accusations brought against them, would indicate a consciousness of guilt.

All the above inquisitorial, pontifical, and episcopal *Acts*, as well as others of less importance,² were laid before the Fifteenth General Council, and in its second session, held on April 3, 1312, Pope Clement V., having preached a sermon on the text, "The wicked shall not rise again in judgment, nor sinners in the council of the just," and having adapted it to the existing circumstances of the Templars, promulgated the following decree: "With the approbation of the Sacred Council, and not without grief and bitterness of heart, by our ever-valid and irrefragable decree, not by means of a definite sentence, since we could not, according to the inquiries and processes held in the premises, so pronounce *de jure*, but by way of provision and Apostolic ordinance, we have abolished the Order of the Soldiers of the Temple of Jerusalem, and its state, name, and habit; because of the master and brethren and other persons of the said Order, residing in every part of the world, being stained with various and diverse not only wicked, but even unmentionable obscenities, depravities, and foulnesses, on which we are now silent because of their filthiness. We subject the said Order to perpetual prohibition, especially commanding that no one shall dare to enter the said Order, or to receive or wear its dress, or to present himself as a Templar. If any one does so, he incurs, by the very fact, excommunication. By our Apostolic authority we have decreed that all the property of the aforesaid Order be held at the disposition of the Apostolic See. With the approbation of the same Sacred Council, we give forever, concede, unite, incorporate, apply, and annex, out of the fulness of our Apostolic power, to the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and to the Hospital itself, the house of the Soldiers of the Temple and all their other houses, churches, chapels, oratories, towns, castles, villas, lands, granges, possessions, jurisdictions, revenues, rights, all movable and immovable goods, with all their rights and appurtenances, on this side and beyond the sea, in any part of the world where they may be found whatever, at the time the master and certain knights of the Temple were arrested, that is, in the month of October of the

¹ The authors of the *Catholic Dictionary* say that "in Spain and Portugal the knights were put on trial on the same charges but honorably and enthusiastically acquitted."

² Such as the investigation in the province of Sens; that in the province of Ravenna; and that in Castile.

year of the Lord 1308, the said Order and the said master and brethren of the Soldiers of the Temple, either by themselves or others, held and possessed . . . excepting such goods of the late Order of the Soldiers of the Temple as are found outside of the realm of France, in the kingdoms and dominions of our beloved sons, the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal and Majorca; these we have deemed proper to especially except and exclude from the above donation, concession, union, application, incorporation, and annexation; reserving them, nevertheless, to the disposition of the Apostolic See."¹

With regard to the clause, "not by means of a definitive sentence, since we could not, according to the inquiries and processes held in the premises, so pronounce *de jure*," it is to be observed, that these words by no means imply a deficiency of power on the part of the Pontiff to abolish, definitely and *de jure*, any religious order or community whatever, when he deems such action conducive to the good of the Church. The only reason for the existence of any religious order or religious institution is the good of the Church; it is only by a decree of the head of the Church that a religious order attains a legal status, and only so long as he and his successors will that said decree shall retain its force, does that Order remain a legitimate organization. What then did Clement V. mean by the above clause? We must remember that the entire Order of Templars, as an order, had not been called to judgment;² that in some provinces, the Order, as such, had been acquitted. Hence the Pontiff deemed it proper to abolish the Templars, as Durand of Mende is said to have put it, not "according to the rigor of the law" by a definitive sentence, but "by the fulness of his power," by way of Apostolic ordinance. Raynald³ gives the testimony of one of the fathers of the Fifteenth Council, a "bishop conspicuous for piety and knowledge," whose name he omits, but whom Alexandre says many regarded as Durand of Mende, one of those delegated by Clement V. before the Council, to inquire into the cause of the Templars. This prelate informs us that in the process preliminary to the issue of the decree of abolition, some of the fathers thought that the Order ought not to be abolished without every observance of law, whereas others contended that it "should be destroyed without delay, both because of the grave

¹ The property of the Templars in the Iberian peninsula was afterward appropriated to defray the expenses of the Crusades against the Mohammedan invaders of that land.

² Those who undertook the defence of the knights before the Apostolic commissioners at Paris, declared that they possessed no legitimate "procuracy," and that they could not act as procurators without the commission of the grand master.

³ *Annals*, at year 1311, No. 55.

scandals said Order had furnished Christendom, and because more than two thousand witnesses had shown its guilt of error and heresy." The bishop himself deemed it "expedient for the Church of God and the Christian faith that the Pope, either by the strict letter of law (*de rigore juris*), or by the fulness of his power, should abolish that most infamous Order which, so far as it could, had rendered fetid the odor of the Christian name among the incredulous and the heathen, and had weakened the faith of some Christians . . . and without delay, I say, even though the Order was good at its first institution; since we read in Dist. 63, cap. Verum, that if our predecessors effected anything which, though good in their day, lapsed into error and superstition, as is patent in the case of the said Order, it should be destroyed by posterity without delay . . . again I say without delay, lest this obstinate spark of error become a flame to fire the whole earth, and then there happens what Jerome spoke of, saying: 'Arius was only a spark in Alexandria, but not being extinguished, his flame scorched the entire world.'" Such is the interpretation of the qualifying clause in the Clementine decree given by two authors quoted by Alexandre; namely, Walsingham,¹ and the Continuator of Nange.² The former says that when the members of the Council debated whether "the entire Order could be condemned because of the citations of particular guilty members, as it was evident that the said Order had not been cited, the said Council decided (it should be done) not *de jure*; therefore Pope Clement inserted this clause." The Continuator of Nange says that the Pontiff "condemned the Order of Templars, not by means of a definitive sentence, because the Order had not been convicted as an Order; but merely by way of provision and ordinance. However, because the manner of reception, which hitherto they had refused to divulge, was suspected of old, and had now been revealed by many principal men of the Order, the Apostolic authority, with the approval of the Sacred Council, both wiped out the name of the Order, and abolished its habit; for the Order was now useless, since no good man would wish to enter it, and other evils were to be removed and scandals to be avoided."

It is asserted by certain apologists of the Templars³ that Pope Clement V. abolished the Order by his own authority, in a secret Consistory. When this objection is made by a Catholic, it may be met with the reply that the sole authority of the Pontiff was sufficient in the premises. But the assertion is untrue. The decree of suppression was drawn up on March 22, 1312, but it was published on April 3d, in full Council, the Pope declaring that it was

¹ *English History*, y. 1311.

² Y. 1310.

³ Thus Voltaire in his *Essay on Universal History*; and C. G. Addison, in his *Knights of the Temple*, London, 1841. See Palma, *loc. cit.*

issued *with the approbation of the Holy Council*. Against this declaration of the Pontiff a certain writer¹ alleges that the fathers, with only four exceptions, evinced a repugnance to the decree. It is impossible to avoid accusing this writer of bad faith in this matter. He appeals to the "Annals" of Raynald (y. 1311, No. 55), but if the reader will examine for himself, he will find that in the cited passage the annalist simply narrates how the fathers were divided as to the *manner* of condemnation, and how a bishop (supposed to be Durand, cited above) insisted on an immediate abolition, whether it were to be effected, as some wished, *de rigore juris*, or as others preferred, "by way of Apostolic provision." There is no mention or insinuation that the prelates disagreed with Pope Clement as to the necessity of suppressing the Templars.

Coming now to the arguments adduced by the apologists of the Templars, we first notice the one based on the authority of Villani, St. Antonine of Florence, Dante, Boccaccio, Trithemius, and Paul Emilius. Of what value is the authority of Villani in the subject-matter? His diction is certainly Tuscan in its purity, and he is a lucid and ingenious chronicler when unfettered by prejudice; but his writings are not always to be taken as gospel truth. Muratori, than whom no better judge in such matters can be desired, says that "this historian gives us not a few fables when he describes remote events,"² and that, in regard to the time of Frederick II., and the following period, "he is not always to be believed."³ And we know that Villani could never forgive the blunder of Clement V., whereby the Italians had to lament the seventy years of the "Babylonian captivity." As for St. Antonine, we must respect his sanctity, admire his canonical and moral science, but as a historian we must place him in the same category with John of Salisbury—among those who feed upon popular rumors, but who cannot digest such deceptive morsels. Like Villani, Dante, Boccaccio, and most Italians of that day, he naturally regarded the papal residence at Avignon with a religious and patriotic aversion, and was ready to credit Clement V., the cause of the "captivity," with many foolish and wicked actions. Thus, he records the popular notion that this pontiff was guilty of lust, simony, and necromancy, although the most reliable records of his time show Clement to have been an upright, though, perhaps, too compliant a pastor. And it may be reckoned that St. Antonine, when treating of the events of Clement's reign, is a mere transcriber of Villani; two-thirds of his sentences are literal translations from this author's Italian work. Seldom, indeed, does he seem inclined to venture

¹ Addison.

² In Preface to his edition of Villani's *History*.

³ *Writers on Italian Affairs*, vol. xiii., pt. 3.

an opinion which he is ready to defend as his own. Nearly every passage is introduced by a "they say," or, "it is believed," or, "many dignitaries assert." Therefore, since he must be regarded in the same light with Villani, we decline his authority in this matter of the Templars, especially because he is directly refuted, as we shall soon prove, by contemporary or quasi-contemporary authors of undoubted reliability.

Dante can be of little avail in defence of the knights; for, although he condemns Clement V. to hell,¹ it is because of that pontiff's reputed simony that the poet so writes, rather than on account of the abolition of the Order. We may here observe, that when Dante's politics required such obliviousness, he quite forgot his enmity to "the Gascon," as he often styled Clement in his letters; transcendent as was his genius, he was very human in his policy. Thus, when he heard that Henry of Luxembourg, just elected "king of the Romans," was about to descend into Italy, he wrote, in 1310, a letter "to the kings Robert of Naples, and Frederick of Sicily; to the senators of Rome; to the dukes, marquises, counts, and all the peoples of Italy,"² in the interest of unity and peace; in which letter, since hitherto Pope Clement had been favorable to Henry, the poet forgot his trick in the "Comedy," and tried to unite Guelphs and Ghibellines in honoring that pontiff. Encouraging his countrymen to obey Henry, Dante exclaims: "Open the eyes of your minds, and see how the Lord of heaven and earth has given us a monarch. This king is the one whom Peter, the vicar of God, commands us to honor; he is the one whom Clement, the successor of Peter, illumines with the light of the Apostolic benediction." And, in a letter to Henry, he thus vituperates rebel Florence: "With the cruelty of a viper she tries to wound the bosom of her mother, when she directs the horn of rebellion against Rome, who made her in her own image and likeness. With perverse obstinacy she tries to nullify the consent given in your favor by the Roman Pontiff, who is the father of fathers."³

Boccaccio is represented as favoring the innocence of the Templars, but he also merely echoes popular Italian rumor, naturally ready to second any report hostile to the pontiff who had transferred the papal residence to France.

¹ *Hell*, canto 19

² This letter of Dante's was known of old only by means of an anonymous translation into Italian, supposed to be by Marsilio Ficino. But in 1843, Torri published the Latin original from a Vatican MS.

³ An Italian translation of this letter was first published by Doni in 1547; but it being suspected as not very faithful, the original Latin text was greatly desired by the learned and the curious. It was finally discovered by Moschini, prefect of the Marcian Library, in Venice, in 1827.

Trithemius is also presented as an apologist for the Templars, since he tells us that Clement V. condemned them, "at the instigation of king Philip, by whose favor he had been made Pope; the Templars were very wealthy, and that he might obtain their possessions, the king, falsely, as many think, charged them with heresy." But this author shows himself unworthy of credence in anything concerning the Fifteenth Council, for he asserts that it lasted two years, whereas it is certain that it lasted only seven months. Again, he, like St. Antonine, hesitates as to his position, for he inserts the qualifying clause, "as many think." Paul Emilius is also adduced to defend the knights. He asserts that the movable goods of the Templars were kept by Philip, and only the immovable handed over to the Hospitalers; but that this is untrue will be shown when we come to the defence of the king in this matter. Papire Masson is also quoted by the friends of the knights, but as he simply relies upon Villani, we reject his authority in the premises.

To the above authors, quoted by the Templarites in order that they may prove that the vile passions of Philip the Fair found ready instruments in a Roman pontiff and his court, and in nearly all the bishops, inquisitors, kings, and magistrates of his time, we now oppose some contemporary authorities of greater weight than any adduced against our position. The testimony of the Continuator of Nange has been already given. Bernard Guido, a Dominican, and for eighteen years an inquisitor at Toulouse, died in 1331, leaving a reputation for great learning and sanctity. Among many valuable works, he wrote a "Chronicle," reaching to 1330, which he dedicated to Pope John XXII. Speaking of the year 1307, he says: "On the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, the 3d of the ides of October, by order of the king and Council, all the Templars in France were arrested; everybody wondered that this ancient Order of knights, so greatly privileged by the Roman Church, should be thus treated, for, excepting a few sworn secretaries, all were ignorant of the reason. However, the cause was finally manifested and given to public execration; namely, their profane rite of profession celebrated with a denial of Christ, and by a spitting upon the crucifix in contempt of the Crucified. Many of them, even dignitaries of the Order, acknowledged this abominable, execrable, and unmentionable ceremony of initiation, of which hitherto all (outsiders) had been ignorant. Some of them, however, though subjected to question and torture, would not confess. Finally, the Roman See, *which at first had regarded the accusation as incredible, and had been greatly displeased at the arrest,*¹ became

¹ Here Bernard directly contradicts the assertion of St. Antonine that Clement V. had "conceded by Letters Apostolic that all the Templars, throughout the world,

better informed at Poitiers, where the curia was residing; for, several of the Templars, being brought before the Pope and some cardinals, there avowed that the previous confessions were true; and therefore, it was then ordered, that the Templars should be arrested everywhere, and the truth be brought to light." The testimony given in the Fifteenth Council, by the "bishop renowned for learning and sanctity," supposed to have been Durand of Mende, may also be examined. Albertino Mussato (d. 1329) has the following: "About seventy-two of the masters, preceptors, and soldiers of the house of the knights of the Temple of Jerusalem having been convicted, and having confessed, awaited the Apostolic censures; and, O shame! although we ought not to relate such infamous things, yet, they are to be spoken of for the punishment of the transgressors, and that posterity may be more cautious in avoiding what our age has experienced; these abominable beasts, endowed with human forms, these brothers—or rather enemies—armed with the sign of the cross, long ago devoted their souls to Satan in their reception into the Order, by a denial of Christ, by a spitting on the cross, and by other things not to be mentioned for the sake of human shame." Mussato, well remarks Alexandre, was an Italian, and therefore not likely to be sympathetic with the court of Avignon; therefore, his testimony is of double weight. Walsingham, whose "English History" is one of the best sources of information for the historian, tells us in his "Life of Edward II.," that "the Templars were accused and convicted of this, that when they received any one into the Order, all but the brethren having been removed, they led the candidate to a private place, *et totalitur denudaverunt et tunc unus accederet ad eundem, et eum oscularetur in posteriori parte*. . . . Then, a cross was brought forward, and he was told that Christ was not crucified, but a certain false prophet, who was condemned by the Jews to death for his crimes. Then, the candidate was made to spit thrice upon the cross, and it was thrown to the ground, and they made him trample upon it with his feet. After this, they showed him the head of a certain idol, which they daily adored. Besides these things, it was deposed against them, that they were polluted with the vice of sodomy. . . . Hence, when a Provincial Council was called at London, to consider these accusations, the accused Templars acknowledged the rumor, but not the fact, unless on the part of a few. Nevertheless, all finally admitted that they could not clear themselves

should be arrested on the same day." We may, also, passingly remark, that these arrests did not take place on the same day. Those in the French dominions occurred on October 13, 1307; those in England, on January 10, 1308; those in Aragon, in November, 1307.

of the accusations, and hence the Council condemned them to perpetual penance." When Walsingham says that the Templars admitted "the rumor, but not the fact," he evidently alludes only to the English knights, for at the moment he is talking of the Provincial Council, convened in 1309 by the English primate, Robert of Winchelsea, and when he speaks of the Templars in general, he says that the charges were proved.¹ To these testimonies, of authors contemporary, or nearly so, with the abolition of the Templars, we may add that of a more modern writer, one who is frequently quoted by the apologists of the Order, namely, the famous Jesuit historian, Mariana. After enumerating the charges against the knights, this author asks: "What will the reader now say? Will he regard these accusations as founded in fact, or rather as fictions, and not unlike the tales of silly old women? Certainly, Villani, Antonine, and others, reject them as calumnies; but the more general report, and a nearly universal consent, condemns the Templars. . . . That the Order so soon degenerated into every kind of wickedness, would scarcely be credible, unless the Diplomas of Clement, from which we have drawn these things, and which are extant among the archives of the great church of Toledo, were proof that the reports were not unfounded; for he affirms that sixty-two (seventy-two) of the Order when questioned before himself, admitted the mentioned crimes and sought pardon."

The partisans of the Templars insist upon the comparative innocence of the English knights, and tell us that "in Spain they were honorably and enthusiastically acquitted. In Germany also they were acquitted."² That the English Templars showed a far better record than their continental brethren is true; and "if it be fair," says Lingard, "to judge from the informations taken in England,

¹ "*Depositum fuit contra Templarios et compertum*"—in his essay on the *Accusations against the Templars*, the Protestant Nicolai explains the contradictions of the witnesses, in reference to the initiations, by the fact that there were various kinds of receptions, and that all the knights did not receive the same secrets. Many of the depositions show this to have been the case.

² *Catholic Dictionary*, by Addis and Arnold. In this work we are told that "whatever confessions individual Templars made, were extorted by torture . . . and were invariably retracted when the victims found themselves out of the king's power. The Pope, Clement V., interfered so far as he dared, but too weakly and irresolutely to save them. . . . The Order was dissolved in France, and all its wealth seized by the king." The assertions as to torture and Philip's avarice are noticed by us in the text. The remark on Pope Clement's conduct is unjust to that Pontiff. So soon as he heard of the king's initiative, he reserved the cause of the knights to himself, and took their property under the protection of the Church. He "dared to interfere" just so long as justice demanded his intervention. He secured to the accused a fair trial before himself, in one case, and before his deputies, in all the others. To have gone further than this, to have shielded the impenitent, and to have continued the Papal sanction to so foully stained an institute, would have been worse than weak and irresolute.

however, we may condemn a few individuals, we must certainly acquit the Order."¹ But it would not be fair to so judge; nor was Pope Clement V. guilty of any such unfairness. He did not form his decision from an inspection of isolated cases, nor should we so form one. Again, we must remember that the English Templars had three years in which to defend themselves, for so long did their trial last; that Archbishop Robert of Winchelsea, who presided, was one of the most inflexible and independent prelates who ever sat in the chair of Canterbury, and that neither he nor his suffragans had anything to expect or fear from Philip; and yet, after mature deliberation, the English knights were condemned. We may well refuse, therefore, to believe, even with regard to this portion of the Order, that it was condemned "upon evidence so flimsy that in the present day a man could not be convicted on it of the most trifling offence."² As for the acquittal of the knights in the Synods of Salamanca and Metz, the innocence of some of the Templars does not acquit the entire Order, as was well understood by Mariana: "In the cause of the Templars it was decreed that their name and Order should be entirely abolished. To many this decree seemed cruel, nor is it probable that those crimes were found in every province, contaminating all the members. However, by the destruction of this Order, a warning to avoid similar iniquities was given to all, especially to religious, whose value and strength consist more in a reputation for virtue than in anything else."³ It must be observed, however, that according to the same Mariana, the prelates assembled at Salamanca gave no final and positive decision of acquittal in regard to the Spanish knights, but "referred the ultimate settlement of the whole affair to the Roman Pontiff." The apologists of the Templars do not gain sympathy for their clients by adducing the action of the Synod of Metz. The German bishops there assembled to consider, by order of Clement V., the case of the Templars, did not acquit the knights; but referred the matter to the Holy See. And even that leniency was procured by violence; for Serarius and Mariana tell us that Hugh, count of the Rhine, and twenty armed Templars burst into the Synod, "terrifying the fathers by their ferocity;" whereupon, lest a tumult might arise, the archbishop received their protest, and promised to use his influence with the Pontiff to secure their not being disturbed."⁴

Voltaire insists that King Philip, in his anxiety for vengeance on the Templars, many of whom had been outspoken against his oppressions, and in his covetousness of their great wealth, prepared

¹ *History of England*, vol. iii., ch. 1.

² B. xv., ch. 10.

³ *Catholic Dictionary*.

⁴ B. viii., ch. 92.

in advance the mine which, in his own good time, he exploded. Villani tells us that the grand master had condemned the prior of the Templars of Montfaucon to perpetual imprisonment because of immorality and heresy; that during his confinement the prior became acquainted with one Nasso, a Florentine, also a prisoner; that this pair, with a view to obtaining their release, invented the famous charges against the Order. Such, says Voltaire, was the origin of Philip's scheme. But while this narration of Villani may be true, and Mariana receives it as such, nevertheless, the evidence of the worthy pair was not uncorroborated. "The first witnesses," says Mariana, "were two members of the Order, the prior of Montfaucon in the county of Toulouse, and Nasso, a Florentine exile—not sufficiently reliable, as was shown by the testimony of many. Then came others, among whom was a chamberlain of the Pontiff himself, who had joined the Order in his eleventh year, and who related what he had seen and done."¹ But the favorite argument of Voltaire and the other apologists is derived from the tortures which, they say, extorted the confessions of the Templars. James Molay, the grand master, and others who were burnt at Paris, retracted these extorted avowals, and died protesting their innocence, and that of their Order. Even the Continuator of Nange, an author whom we often quote in favor of our thesis, gives the following melancholy picture. When treating of the year 1310 he says: "Outside the city of Paris, in the fields not far from the abbey of St. Anthony, fifty-nine Templars were burnt to death. All of these, with no exception, acknowledged none of the imputed crimes, but constantly and perseveringly declared that they were unjustly put to death." And at the year 1313 he writes: "When the aforesaid four, the general or transmarine master of the Order of the Temp'le, the visitor for France; and the masters of Aquitaine and Normandy, the final disposition of whose cases the Pope had reserved to himself, had, without exception, publicly and openly confessed the imputed crimes, and had persisted in that confession, and had appeared to wish to finally persist in it, a council was held with great deliberation on the Monday after the feast of St. Gregory, in the vestibule of the great church at Paris, by mandate of the Pope, and the aforesaid four were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment by the lord-cardinal of Albano and two other cardinal-legates the archbishop of Sens, certain other prelates, and other persons versed in Divine and Canon law, specially summoned to Paris for this case. But behold, when the cardinals had thought an end had been put to the business, two of the aforesaid, namely, the transmarine master and the master of Normandy, suddenly and un-

¹ B. xv., ch. 15.

expectedly defending themselves against the cardinal who had delivered a sermon, and against the archbishop of Sens, returned to a denial of their confession, and of all that they had acknowledged, most irreverently and to the wonder of many. Then the cardinals handed them over to the provost of Paris, who was present, to be merely guarded until the morrow, when their case would be more carefully considered. So soon as the news of what had occurred reached the king, who was then in the royal palace, having counselled with his courtiers, but wisely (*prudente consilio*) calling no clergyman to the conference, he commanded that both should be burnt at the same stake, on a little island of the Seine between the royal gardens and the church of the Hermits. They appeared to undergo the burning willingly and readily, and their final constancy in death excited the wonder of all the beholders. The two others were confined in the prison to which they had been sentenced." Now Voltaire asserts that the confessions of the Templars were drawn from them by torture. While, on the one hand, we would not attempt to defend the use of "the question" in a law court, neither would we, on the other, assert with Voltaire that every confession so obtained is valueless. But granting the worthlessness of every evidence so evolved, is it true that the testimony because of which the Templars were abolished was extracted by torture from unwilling lips? We do not deny that the torture was applied in some instances, but certainly there was no such thing in the case of the hundred and twenty-four knights examined before the inquisitor at Paris, or in that of the seventy-two interrogated by the Pontiff at Poitiers; and yet these knights, and others similarly situated, admitted their guilt.¹ This is shown by the *Acts* of the trial, by the diploma "Reigning in Heaven" already cited, and by the other diploma given by Raynald at the year 1307,

¹ Speaking of the prosecution of the Templars of Lombardy and Tuscany, conducted by the archbishops of Pisa and Florence and by a Roman canon, Cantu's love of truth forces him to say: "Here the accused had no fear, as they would have had in France, of being sent to the stake; for they were being tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal which assigned as punishment only repentance and retraction. This adds to the reliability of the deposition which they swore to have made, 'not out of hatred, or out of love; not for reward or because of fear; but merely for the sake of truth.' Some of the accusations were admitted by all; some others only by certain knights, and as regarding particular cases and persons, or as being matters of hearsay, or as being customary beyond the sea. But, above all, they agreed in admitting the most jealous secrecy of the chapters, and the guilt of infidel blasphemy. *If, therefore, the wicked prosecutions instituted in France tempt us to regard the Templars as innocent, and as victims of Philip the Fair, the calm with which the Church proceeded, the processes instituted during many years in Italy and in other lands, and without violence, allow us to suppose that many of the knights were guilty, and that the king of France should not be compared with Clement V., who, by suppressing the Order, 'not de juri, but by way of provision,' saved innocent individuals, and disappointed the royal greed by assigning its wealth to the defence of the Holy Land.*"—*Heretics of Italy*, Discourse viii.

No. 12. As for the fact that the grand master and other Templars died asserting their innocence; that the former and the master of Normandy retracted their former confessions; such facts by no means prove that the Order was unjustly suppressed. Criminals very frequently die with lies on their lips; and that James Molay lied most solemnly, either at the stake or in his repeated and spontaneous confessions, is indisputably proven. We are not bound to explain his vacillations. It is well to know, however, that in the inquiry held at Chinon in Touraine on August 18-20, 1308, by three cardinals deputed by the Pope, the grand master was so astounded on hearing the many depositions which had been made at Paris and at Poitiers, that he kept silence on all the points saving that of the denial of Christ, which he expressly admitted to have been practiced. When interrogated at Paris on December 26, 1309, he disavowed this confession, and accused the commissioners of forgery; demanding afterward to be judged by the Pontiff. Whom ought we naturally suspect of falsehood, asks Bergier, the three cardinals or James Molay? The Pope had insisted on the observance of the strictest equity in the premises; the king had consulted the universities, the clergy, and the parliaments; nor did he need any forgeries, as we have seen, to attain his end, the extinction of the Order. We would therefore suspect the grand master of falsehood, rather than the cardinals. When finally the Fifteenth Council had been held, and the Templars had been suppressed, Clement V. appointed new commissioners to close the process, namely, three cardinals, the archbishop of Sens, several bishops, and many learned men. Before these, Molay, Guy of Auvergne, and two others again avowed their guilt, and on March 18, 1313, they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. A platform, on which they were to affix their confessions, was erected in front of Notre Dame, but at the commencement of the ceremony, Molay and Guy suddenly retracted their avowals. For the grand catastrophe the Papal commissioners were not responsible. That was consummated in obedience to an order from king Philip, after they had delivered the culprits to the custody of the provost of Paris, intending to deliberate as to the sentence on the following day.

The grand master and the brother of the dauphin of Auvergne retracted their confessions, but we must remember that thirty or forty thousand other knights, who had been condemned to different kinds of punishment, survived the "persecuting" Philip and Clement, and did not retract or attempt to justify the Order. Again, even Michelet admits that "in the interrogatories which we publish, the denials are nearly all identical, as though according to a settled formula; while on the contrary, the avowals are all varied by special circumstances, often very naive, which facts give them

a peculiar stamp of veracity. Contrary, indeed, would have been the case, if the avowals had been extorted by torture ; then they would have been nearly alike, and the diversity would have been found in the denials."

In his zealous championship of the Templars, the prince of modern incredulists asserts that "seventy-four of them, who had not been accused, undertook to defend the Order, but were not heard." Bergier's reply to this absolute falsehood is worthy of the reader's attention: "In other places the apologist cites the "History of the Templars," by Peter Dupuy. Now this historian relates that these seventy-four defenders of their Order were heard by the commissioners for the first time, on Saturday, March 14, 1310, and that they deputed four of their number to speak in the name of all. Not only were they heard, but they presented requests and memorials in writing. The verbal reports of their speeches were exactly drawn up, and the author of the "History of the Gallican Church" has copied them. They protested against the confessions made by the accused ; like the apologist, they declared that these admissions had been extorted by threats and promises, or that those who made them were wicked persons ; they demanded to be judged by the Pope, and by the Council of Vienne, then about to assemble. Now what follows from this defence? Simply that those seventy-four Templars were innocent, for they were not accused ; that until then they had been ignorant of the crimes of their brethren, and that they found it difficult to credit them. But this is only a negative proof ; ignorance proves nothing ; they adduced nothing positive capable of destroying the confession of the accused." Voltaire endeavors to evade the charges of obscenity among the knights by pleading that "this infamy never could have become a law among them. I do not doubt at all that many of the Templars yielded to those excesses which have been, at all times, the inheritance of youth ; but these are passing vices, which it were better to ignore than to punish." To this characteristic remark we again reply with Bergier : "Here the author confounds two methods of reception. It is to be presumed that the public reception, performed by the grand master or others, was decent ; but there was another, a private one, invented by the libertines of the Order, to which the new knights were subjected, and in which

¹ The name of Michelet is dear to all well-informed Masons, and should be cherished by all the Templarites. In the *Collection of Unedited Documents Concerning the History of France*, published by care of the Minister of Public Instruction, this writer gave to the world the verbal process of the Templars. Speaking of the interrogatory undergone by Molay and two hundred and thirty-one knights before the Pontifical commissioners at Paris, he says: "This inquiry was conducted slowly, and with much care and kindness."

were committed those abominations and profanations already mentioned. Many witnesses declared that they had been forced into this latter rite by prison and torture. It is well known that wicked persons desire to have accomplices in their crimes. The majority of those who were executed were not young men; therefore their vices were not passing ones. It is but too true that aged libertines are more given to excessive lubricity than are young people." Voltaire pretends to find it difficult to believe that the Templars denied Jesus Christ, and asks what had they to gain by renouncing a religion which cherished them, and for which they had so gloriously combated? But many impious men, and among them Voltaire himself, blaspheme against the religion which has nourished them; and what they have to gain we do not know. As for the combats of the Templars in the cause of the faith, these had long been, at least for the French members, things of the past.

We now come to the assertion that the suppression of the Templars is to be ascribed to the covetousness of King Philip the Fair;¹ Mosheim, Potter, Voltaire, in fine, all the apologists of the proscribed Order, assign this as the prime cause of the abolition. St. Antonine says that "many dignitaries asserted that the knights were innocent, and condemned without just cause, in order that their property might be confiscated. They were afterward despoiled of their goods by the Pope, and their revenues applied to the House or Hospital of St. John. But as the property had already been seized by the king of France and by other princes, it had to be redeemed at a heavy price; whence these latter religious were rendered very poor. . . . It was ordered (in the Fifteenth Council) that all the goods of the Templars should be assigned to the Hospital of Jerusalem, and as they had already been seized by various lay lords, the Hospitalers were compelled to pay a large sum to the king and others who held the property." And we are told by Paul Emilius that Philip's treasury "retained possession of the movable property, while that affixed to the soil was given by a Pontifical decree to the Hospitalers of St. John." Even Walsingham inveighs against Philip in this matter, although he admits that the king did not gain his point. He says that "Philip, king of France, thought to make one of his sons king of Jerusalem, and to obtain for him all the revenues of the Templars. . . . But he did not attain his wish in regard to the property, for the Pope assigned it to the Hospitalers." Now the innocence of Philip in this matter is proved, firstly, by the Diploma "Reigning in Heaven" of Clement V. The Pontiff says to the king: "At length, how-

¹ The *Catholic Dictionary* says that Philip "coveting their wealth, laid a deep plot for their destruction . . . all its wealth was seized by the king"

ever, you who had heard of these same iniquities, and moved, not by avarice, for you do not intend to claim or appropriate the property of the Templars, but have taken your hands altogether away from it, freely and devoutly yielding it up, to be guarded and administered by our deputies." The same is proved, secondly, by the letter sent in March, 1311, by Philip to the Pontiff, requesting that the property of the Templars be assigned either to some new Military Order, or to some old one engaged in the cause of the Holy Land. It is shown, thirdly, by the instrument of transfer of the property in question to the Hospitalers. In this document, dated August 24, 1312, we read: "Since the aforesaid properties, inasmuch as they are in our kingdom, are under our special care and protection, and it is known that we fully possess in them, either mediately or immediately, the right of patronage; and having been induced by you, together with the prelates united in Council, to give this consent: We, therefore, whose interest it is, accept this disposition, ordinance, and transfer, and give to it our consent; perpetually reserving to ourselves, and to the prelates, barons, nobles, and others of our kingdom, all our and their rights such as hitherto obtained in the said properties." The same is evinced, fourthly, by the agreement entered into between Louis X, the son and heir of Philip the Fair, and Villaret, the grand master of the Hospitalers, on February 14, 1315, in which it was arranged that the knights of the Hospital should pay the king 260,000 livres, for which sum, expended by the monarch in the prosecution of the Templars, the ceded property had been pledged; not that, says the agreement, the Knights of Rhodes had not already been in the enjoyment of the Templar revenues, by virtue of the possession given them by authority of King Philip, but because there were many expenses to be liquidated, dating from the time when the Templars were arrested.

We would now observe in conclusion that much of the sympathy which has been manifested for the Templars is due to the connection supposed—whether rightly or not, is of little importance—to subsist between the unfortunate Order and Freemasonry. "We shall see," says Condorcet, "whether we ought not to number among secret societies this celebrated Order, against which Popes and kings so barbarously conspired."¹ In his valuable work on secret societies, Deschamps derives Masonry from four sources, Gnosticism, Manicheism, the Albigenses, and *the Templars*.² "The Masons," he says, "and all the philosophical revolutionists and

¹ *Historic Tableau of the Progress of the Human Mind*, epoch 7.

² *Secret Societies and Society, or the Philosophy of Contemporaneous History*, vol. i., b. 2, ch. i., § 5; Avignon, 1882.

Jacobins had a great interest in defending the Templars," and then he proceeds to show, from Masonic authorities, how these secretaries claim a descent from the proscribed Order. Among the authorities cited by this zealous and indefatigable writer, we select one which will prove of interest to the reader. On April 8, 1839, M. de Banville, an ex-officer of the Grand Orient of France, spoke as follows in a Lodge of the Knights of the Cross: "The Masonic Order is an emanation from that of the Temple, with the history and misfortunes of which you are acquainted, and reasonably it can have no other origin. Masonry was born in Scotland, and originally it was a prudent and ably arranged disguise conceived by some knights of that country in order to hide the continuation of their illustrious Order from the keen eyes of its powerful enemies. The heroic William de Moure, grand prior of England and Scotland, directed from his prison the knights of his language in the creation, organization and development of the Masonic rite, destined to shield, from the eyes of the profane, the proscribed and anathematized Order of the Temple. We may conceive how this local transformation, in the language of Scotland, of the Order of the Temple into that of Masonry, was enveloped in secrecy; how the unfortunate Templars, calumniated by vile renegades, cowardly betrayed by ignoble apostates who tracked them like wild beasts in nearly every land of Christendom, forced to hide their names and quality under pain of the most frightful persecution and of the most horrible torture, innocent victims of a king's avarice and a Pope's jealousy; succeeded in inventing, that they might recognize and aid each other *in all, for all, and everywhere*, in France, Germany, and Sweden, where Masonry soon penetrated, those sacred passwords, signs, and grips, which have come down to us from generation to generation. How can we otherwise explain, on the part of a vast philanthropic association, organized for the honorable purposes of giving to suffering humanity the consolations and alms of Christian charity, those severe commands to *say nothing, write nothing, signify nothing*, concerning the praiseworthy object of this secret society, under pain of incurring the certain effects of an atrocious vengeance, exposing the traitor to have his throat cut, his heart and entrails torn out, his body burnt and reduced to ashes, the ashes thrown to the winds, and his memory execrated by every Mason? All this would become a revolting absurdity, without the explanation, so simple and satisfying to reason, that the knights of the Temple had a powerful interest in hiding themselves under the mantle of Masonry, specially organized by themselves for that purpose. I therefore affirm that the Masonic Order was established in the fourteenth century by the knights of the Temple, in obedience to the grand prior of Scotland, and that this

beautiful institution emanated from that centre, and easily propagated itself in the European countries, then covered by our proscribed predecessors. I could easily adduce numerous proofs, drawn from a comparison of the rituals in use in the two Orders, and at first it would astonish one to notice the same system of reception, proceeding by way of physical and moral tests."¹ This theory of the Templar origin of Freemasonry is well developed in the "Masonic Manual" or "Tiler" of Willaume, and in the "Philosophical and Interpretative Course" of explanations of the symbols and mysteries of Masonry, published by Ragon, founder of the celebrated Lodge of the Trinosophists—a work solemnly authorized on June 24, 1840, by the Grand Orient of France. In contradiction to the above theory may be adduced the opinion of Guyot, printer to the French "Templars," who published in 1825 a "Manual of the Knights of the Temple," in which he contended that the Masonic claim is false; that Molay named his successor; and that the Templars continued to have an uninterrupted succession of grand masters down to Fabré-Palaprat, elected in 1804. As Philip d'Orleans was grand master of these "Templars" in 1706, it is amusing to read that they sign with their blood the oaths of obedience, poverty, chastity (!), fraternity, hospitality, and military service; and that each "knight" is obliged, if he can possibly do so, to visit the Holy Land once in his life. Lenoix, in his "Origin of Freemasonry," insists that St. Bernard, who gave their rule to the knights, was a Mason. If this assumption surprises the reader, he should know that Ragon, than whom there has never been a more authoritative writer on Masonic subjects, declares that the chevalier (*sic*) Gerson, or Thomas A'Kempis, the author of the "Imitation of Christ," was also a Mason, and that his book, "the masterpiece of one deeply initiated, undoubtedly gave rise to the mystic veil with which, under the titles of 'Rose-Cross,' 'Knight of the Eagle and of the Pelican,' the last mysteries of Masonry are covered."²

¹ *The Globe*, a journal of Masonic initiations, Paris, 1839.

² *Loc. cit.*

WHY EDUCATION SHOULD BE FREE.

THE wild utterances of many of the friends of the State schools would be amusing, if they were not mischievous. They horribly misrepresent the position of a certain class of our citizens. This class are denounced by them as enemies of constitutional government, as traitors to the country, because, as alleged, they are enemies of the State schools.

Were we to admit that they are enemies of the State schools, it would not follow that they are enemies of the Republic. There is nothing in the Constitution of the Republic that warrants the assertion. There is nothing in the law that will sustain it. There is no proposition more undeniable than that to the parent belongs the education of the child. It is his right, his duty, and, if he be true to his obligation, he cannot be interfered with. Because parents discharge this duty, conformably to their religious belief, are they, therefore, enemies of the State schools? That the discharge of a duty imposed by nature and commanded by divine and human law, can be so construed, is to assume that there is something wrong in the constitution of the State school. That there is something wrong, is beyond question; else why the complaints from other quarters outside of the particular class referred to? In so complaining, are they enemies of the State schools, or of the Republic? If a taxpayer complains of the management of one of our eleemosynary institutions, is he, therefore, an enemy to that institution? Clearly not. His desire is not to destroy but to purify. As a taxpayer it is his unquestionable right to protest against any abuse which he discovers. Now, the State school rests on the very same foundation that our eleemosynary institutions rest. It has no other legal status. When it goes beyond this it must do so at the expense of those who desire it. If, therefore, the majority desire a system of the proportions of the existing system, the class so freely, so shamefully and so cowardly abused have no objection to their having it. They simply say that as for themselves they will none of it, and let those who want it pay for it. This is a fair statement of the position of the extremists of this class.

Considering that it is the duty of the parent to educate his child—that to him alone belongs this education—that the law of nature, of God, and of the land, so regard it—what is there objectionable even in this view of the matter? All the talk about the necessity of the State school, all the arguments

advanced to support it are, in presence of the facts that confront us, the sheerest nonsense. That the system has not given satisfaction to the parties concerned, is a fact. That it cannot do so, is beyond question. When it suits the Catholic it will displease the Protestant. When the Protestant is enamoured with it, the Catholic, for very good reasons, dislikes it. When the Agnostic eulogizes it, the Catholic and Protestant alike denounce it. When Catholic and Protestant are satisfied, the Agnostic and Jew are in a rage. The Protestant says, I must have the Bible. The Catholic says, I must have the catechism. The Agnostic says, away with your Bible and catechism. If you want them read them at home or in the churches; the State school is no place for the Bible, the catechism, or God. The Jew—poor fellow—hardly knows what to say, and feels the less he says the better for him. The Agnostic has the *law*, and while the Protestant has not the Bible, he thinks, whether he be liberal or bigoted, that he can manage with what he gets. Such a Protestant is in the early stages of Agnosticism, and may be classed as an Agnostic.

From a system thus constituted, the Catholic, the Jew and the rigid Protestant are excluded. Thus excluded, is there any reason or any law for imposing a tax on them to give almost a collegiate education to the children of those who are in easy or affluent circumstances? We think not. The province of government is to feed, clothe, educate and take care of those who cannot or will not take care of themselves. Further than this it cannot bind all, without the consent of all. To this extent taxation is allowable, and that it is so allowable we are entirely indebted to the Christianity which is rejected by our schools as an element of discord. If, therefore, any one is dissatisfied with the State schools and cannot conscientiously patronize them, regard should be paid to his conscientious objections.

Now, it must be conceded that no uniform system can be devised that will suit all. If no uniform system can be devised that will suit all, and if the parental right cannot be assumed by the government without the parents' consent or negligence, it follows that any impediment on the part of the government to the exercise of the parental right is unjust and illegal. The plea of the public welfare will not justify the infringement of a right and a duty—a right springing from nature—a duty enjoined by human and divine law. But a tax to sustain the system of State schools as at present constituted and operated, is such an infringement. Therefore it is unjust and illegal.

Should parents, therefore, refuse to pay a tax or murmur at its imposition, is there any reason for branding them as enemies of

the Republic? There is none. Let the Agnostic or his liberal or bigoted Protestant friend indulge in educational luxuries to their hearts' content, the Catholic, the Jew and the rigid Protestants only say let them pay for them. This is justice, this is law, this is common sense, this is *American*. If the Republic cannot be maintained on this basis, it is not worth maintaining. An infidel Republic is an impossibility, and even were it possible it would be undesirable.

"Do not," says Balmes, in his great work on Civilization, "forget this, you who make war upon religion in the name of liberty; do not forget that like causes produce like effects. Where moral influences do not exist, their absence must be supplied by physical force: if you take from the people the sweet yoke of religion, you leave governments no other resource than the vigilance of police, and the force of bayonets."

A republic based upon the absorption of the individual by the body politic would, if possible, be still worse. All the demagogic or ignorant utterances about the homogeneity of the American people, are disgusting and defamatory. They are founded on the infamous assumption that the great bulk of the people, seeking homes here, are ignorant and degraded. Is the resolute, brave, independent German—the man who feels that he can be the architect of his own fortune—who knows that he has the brawn and brain to cleave a way for himself in a strange land far from the home of his earlier days—who is intelligent and moral—to be told that he is so degraded, and so devoid of common sense, that he cannot be trusted with the freedom for which he has so long pined and for which he sunders the dearest associations that cluster around the heart? Such a declaration is brutal. It is a brutal insult not alone to the German, but also to the Swede, the Norwegian, the Englishman, and the Irishman who come here to make homes for themselves, their little ones and their relatives. Men of this character—and they form the great bulk of our emigrant class—have the sense to accommodate themselves to their surroundings, and know that their true interests are identical with those of the law-abiding citizens of the Republic.

Are their customs criminal? Have not their lives been regulated by the precepts of the gospel? Must they be put in a straight jacket of Puritan design in order to be good American citizens? The Republic requires nothing of the kind, and to no other power do they owe allegiance. With the peculiar ideas of others, with their rights as individuals and families, they have nothing to do; and in reference to their own ideas, to their rights as individuals and families, they say, hands off. "We will not submit to your dictation, or to your assumption of superiority. We have rights with which you cannot interfere. They are absolute rights. They

are beyond your control. Among these rights, is the right to control the education of our children according to the dictates of our consciences; and this right, founded in nature and sanctioned by law, we will not yield. Our rights as citizens and individuals are equal to yours, notwithstanding that your ancestors may have driven the Indian from his home and appropriated his property. The parents who nurtured us and the teachers who instructed us, were as good, affectionate and wise as were yours. And if you force us to tell you the plain truth, and you yourselves must know it, we tell you to your teeth that this Republic was mainly established by the blood and treasure of foreigners. Washington is authority for the declaration that to Ireland and France—both Catholic countries—the Republic owes its existence. We tell you further, that in every dark hour of the Republic's life, foreigners were arrayed under its glorious banner in the proportion of two to one, according to their numbers.

"You want unity. You would by means of a common education form individuals and families into ONE compact whole. The Republic wants no such barbaric principle. It is her boast that she does not interfere with the manners of people, and that she fosters individual liberty to the fullest extent compatible with her safety. This boast is heard in every civilized land. Away up in the mountains of Switzerland the daring hunter hears it, and his eyes and soul follow the setting sun. The dweller along the castled Rhine hears it, and his mind is with his heart, and both are far away, where the western waves lave the shores of freedom. On Galtee slopes and Carpathian heights it is heard, and the fire of liberty, which centuries of oppression could not quench, blazes, as it blazed in the grand old days of Brian and Sobieski.

"Is this boast an *ignis fatuus*, a mirage? No, it is a living reality, and the bigots and cranks who stand in the way of its full realization, must yield or be trampled on. *We will pay willingly for no systems to mould us in their image and likeness.* Our manners and customs are our own. We will speak the language of our ancestors and teach it to our little ones whose education we will not commit to the fluctuating will of majorities. We will not be the dupes of ignorant or degraded preachers, mercenary scribblers and ruffian politicians, who, while they talk loudly of the glories of American institutions, are a disgrace to human nature. With intelligence to know what the Republic demands of us, and a will to comply with those demands, we can bid defiance to the venal and corrupt who live by defamation. The liberty secured to us as individuals we will use wisely and defend bravely."

This is the language the naturalized citizen holds and justly holds. He claims, and will exercise, individual liberty. He considers in-

dividual liberty an essential element of republican government, and the unity, which the absorption of the individual by the body politic is designed to effect, he regards as opposed to free government and Christian civilization. He therefore rejects this unity and the means that lead to it. Is he right in his rejection? Does history sustain him?

Guizot the eminent publicist in his magnificent lectures on European civilization says: "Where you find in ancient civilization liberty, it is political liberty, the liberty of the citizen. It is not with his personal liberty that the man is prepossessed, it is with his liberty as a citizen; he belongs to an association, he is ready to sacrifice himself for an association." Again: "Whenever we contemplate the civilizations of the ancients, we find them all impressed with one ever-prevailing character of unity, visible in their institutions, their ideas, and manners; one sole, or at least one very preponderating influence, seems to govern and determine all things."

If we consult the history of the various nations of the Orient and of Europe, previous to the introduction of Christianity, we will find evidence the most convincing of the truth of these observations. What a shocking spectacle meets our gaze when we rivet it, for a moment, on the Oriental nations! The king or ruler, a divinity; all under him, slaves or menials. Arrogating to himself the prerogatives of God, while indulging the crafty and loathsome passions of man, the power of the ruler was without bounds or limits. Life, property and liberty were at his feet, and subject to his capricious will. Law had no existence independent of him. With far more truth could he exclaim, "I am the State," than did the glorious, though despotic, French monarch ages later.

Whatever the form of the government, whether theocratic, aristocratic or democratic, the rulers and ruled had these characteristics. Oriental society was, therefore, a sort of unity to which all must be sacrificed. "It belonged," to use the language of Guizot, "to one exclusive power which could bear with no other. Every principle of a different tendency was proscribed. The governing principle would nowhere suffer by its side the manifestation and influence of a rival principle."

Passing from Asia to Europe we stand in the presence of Greece, the most eulogized of nations. The poet and the orator, the sculptor and the painter have paid to it the homage of their genius. Travellers from every civilized land have been eager to catch a glimpse of it, even in ruins. It has been the inspiration of a literature almost as grand as that which, ages ago, sprang up in its own soil. It is the Mecca of the student and the patriot; it is the Paradise of the sentimentalist.

That genius should be aroused to its loftiest flights, that enthusiasm verging on adoration should burst forth as all that is bright and glorious in its history passes before the mind, is, indeed, but natural. On that mental picture we will cast no shadow. Standing alone, no praise can be too extravagant for it, and we but heighten admiration when we say that it is a picture painted for us by a people who knew no liberty but political liberty, the liberty of the citizen. Liberty, as we understand it, had no lasting home in any of its states. It certainly did not exist in Sparta or Lacedæmon under the iron laws of Lycurgus. At intervals Athens caught glimpses of it, and these glimpses were productive of such marvellous results, as almost to justify the gorgeous rhetorical display with which Lord Macaulay concludes his review of Mitford.

As the liberty enjoyed by the Athenians bears a close resemblance to the liberty for which many are contending to-day in this Republic, we will quote a few sentences descriptive of it from this brilliant essayist; they are to the point. The advocates of unity and its methods will find them interesting, if not confounding.

"At Athens the laws did not constantly interfere with the tastes of the people. The children were not taken from their parents by that universal step-mother, the State. They were not starved into thieves, nor tortured into bullies; there was no established table at which every one must dine, no established style in which every one must converse. An Athenian might eat whatever he could afford to buy, and talk as long as he could find people to listen. The government did not tell the people what opinions they were to hold, or what songs they were to sing. Freedom produced excellence. Thus philosophy took its origin. Thus were produced those models of poetry, of oratory and of the arts which scarcely fall short of the standard of ideal excellence. Nothing is more conducive to happiness than the free exercise of the mind in pursuits congenial to it. This happiness, assuredly, was enjoyed far more at Athens than at Sparta."

In the days of Pericles, when the freedom here described by Lord Macaulay was at its zenith, Athens presented a spectacle that dazzled, and still continues to dazzle, the world. Such a spectacle would be impossible under the tameness, the unity and the slavery of Sparta and Lacedæmon.

Pericles is gathered to his fathers, the freedom that blazed like a meteor has disappeared, and twenty-eight years after, Socrates drinks the hemlock. War has degraded the Athenian, and stripped him of *the pleasure of feeling himself a man, the feeling of personality, of human spontaneousness in its free development*, with which Pericles had invested him, and which produced such grand results. The star of Sparta is in the ascendant. The banner of

brute force, of individual slavery, is triumphant. The struggle against nature and reason has begun. The edifice of Pericles must be torn down, and that of Lycurgus reared on its ruins. Athenian genius, Athenian manhood, must be cramped, fettered, put into a mould. *The welfare of the State requires it.* Plato, the pupil of Socrates, Plato the divine, shutting his eyes to the light which illumined his earlier years, and to which he is indebted for the development of his God-like intellect, asks: "Is not the worst evil of a State that which divides it, and *makes many out of one?* And is not the greatest excellence of a State that which binds all its parts together, and makes it *one?*" This great man, transformed by war and power and luxury, would take individuals and families and form them into *one* compact whole. To this end, what does he propose? To have education in common and women and children in common. Individual liberty must be crushed that the State may live. The State will have no rival; it will admit of no check. Individuals must live, think, feel and act only as parts of a great whole.

The teaching of Aristotle, who wielded the sceptre of philosophy after the death of Plato, was not more elevated or rational. Aristotle, however, was less culpable than his master. Plato was a native of Athens; he should have had the spirit and the manhood that made her name immortal. Aristotle had no tie binding him to her, except that of philosophy. He was a stranger in a strange land, and his views, if faulty, had the authority of one whose soul should be attuned to her capacities and aspirations. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, to hear him complain of the freedom of education that prevailed in his day, and sigh for the slavery of Sparta. Why does he complain of this freedom, and sigh for a system repugnant alike to nature and reason? Let him speak for himself: "As the object of society is *one*, it is clear that the education of all its members ought necessarily to be one and identical. Education ought to be public and not private; as things now are, each one takes care of his children as he thinks proper, and teaches them as he pleases. Each citizen is a particle of society, and the care to be given to a particle ought naturally extend to what the whole requires."¹

Doctrines such as these hastened the fall of Athens—Athens, for which Cimon and Pericles had done so much. When the Macedonian came, the spirit that nerved the arm of the Athenian to strike down and hurl from the soil of Greece the Persian invader, the spirit that evoked the creations of Phidias, aroused and sustained the genius of Thucydides, was dead.

¹ *Polit.*, i., viii., c. i.

“—Self-abasement paved the way,
To villain bonds and despot's sway.”

Vain the valor of Phocion and the eloquence of Demosthenes; the light of other days was extinguished and could not be re-lit. Philip triumphed, and Athens fell to rise no more.

Now, as the doctrine taught by these philosophers lies at the foundation of our State school system, and is advanced as the strongest argument for its support, let us contemplate its extent and its influence as only a master mind could. Anything that we might write on a subject of such vast proportions, a subject requiring not only great learning, but the very highest order of intellect, would be lightly regarded, if regarded at all, by those who know the difficulties that are to be met in its treatment. We will, therefore, take the liberty of transcribing a long passage from Guizot's second lecture on civilization. It covers the whole ground, and should be read and re-read until its truths are indelibly stamped on the memory. Here it is:

“When we look at the civilizations which have preceded that of modern Europe, whether in Asia or elsewhere, including even those of Greece and Rome, it is impossible not to be struck with the unity of character which reigns among them. Each appears as though it had emanated from a single fact, from a single idea. One might almost assert that society was under the influence of one single principle, which universally prevailed and determined the character of its institutions, its manners, its opinions—in a word, all its developments.

“In Egypt, for example, it was the theocratic principle that took possession of society, and showed itself in its manners, in its monuments, and in all that has come down to us of Egyptian civilization. In India, the same phenomenon occurs—it is still a repetition of the almost exclusively prevailing influence of theocracy. In other regions a different organization may be observed—perhaps the domination of a conquering caste; and where such is the case, the principle of force takes entire possession of society, imposing upon it its laws and its character. In another place, perhaps, we discover society under the entire influence of the democratic principle; such was the case in the commercial republics which covered the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria—in Ionia and Phœnicia. In a word, whenever we contemplate the civilizations of the ancients, we find them all impressed with one ever-prevailing character of unity, visible in their institutions, their ideas and manners—one sole, or at least, one very preponderating influence, seems to govern and determine all things.

“We do not mean to aver that this overpowering influence of one single principle prevailed without any exception in the civil-

ization of those states. If we go back to their earliest history, we shall find that the various powers which dwelt in the bosom of these societies frequently struggled for mastery. Thus among the Egyptians, the Etruscans, even among the Greeks and others, we may observe the warrior caste struggling against that of the priests. In other places we find the spirit of clanship struggling against the spirit of free association, the spirit of aristocracy against popular rights. These struggles, however, mostly took place in periods beyond the reach of history, and no evidence of them is left beyond a vague tradition.

"Sometimes, indeed, these struggles broke out afresh at a later period in the history of the nations; but in almost every case they were quickly terminated by the victory of one of the powers which sought to prevail, and which then took sole possession of society. The war always ended by the domination of some special principle, which, if not exclusive, at least greatly preponderated. The co-existence and strife of various principles among these nations were no more than a passing, an accidental circumstance.

"From this cause a remarkable unity characterizes most of the civilizations of antiquity, the results of which, however, were very different. In one nation, as in Greece, the unity of the social principle led to a development of wonderful rapidity; no other people ever ran so brilliant a career in so short a time. But Greece had scarcely become glorious before she appeared worn out; her decline, if not quite so rapid as her rise, was strangely sudden. It seems as if the principle which called Greek civilization into life was exhausted. No other came to invigorate it, or supply its place.

"In other states, say, for instance, in India and Egypt, where again only one principle of civilization prevailed, the result was different. Society here became stationary; simplicity produced monotony; the country was not destroyed; society continued to exist; but there was no progression; it remained torpid and inactive.

"To this same cause must be attributed that character of tyranny which prevailed, under various names and the most opposite forms, in all the civilizations of antiquity. Society belonged to one *exclusive* power, which could bear with no other. Every principle of a different tendency was proscribed. The governing principle would nowhere suffer by its side the manifestation and influence of a rival principle.

"This character of simplicity, of unity, in their civilization, is equally impressed upon their literature and intellectual productions. Who that has run over the monuments of Hindoo literature lately introduced into Europe, but has seen that they are all

struck from the same die? They all seem the result of one same fact; the expression of one same idea. Religious and moral treatises, historical traditions, dramatic poetry, epics, all bear the same physiognomy. The same character of unity and monotony shines out in these works of mind and fancy, as we discover in their life and institutions. Even in Greece, notwithstanding the immense stores of knowledge and intellect which it poured forth, a wonderful unity still prevailed in all that related to literature and the arts."

Whoever reads this passage, into which is condensed the learning of volumes, will see the justness of the view taken by the naturalized citizen, and by every right-minded natural-born citizen. It is clear that history sustains the rejection of the means that lead to unity, and that patriotism demands their rejection. True, these means are not urged in the name of unity, but that it is their tendency, history amply attests. Their ostensible object is homogeneity. If there was a time when that object was reasonable, it is now passed. The immense population of the United States to-day is homogeneous, and, by the operation of a natural law, must continue to be so. This justification is too flimsy for serious consideration, and dismissing it to the darkness from which it sprung, we will bring to a close this already too lengthy article.

Having, however feebly, established our position, we would now ask these men and women who are so much better than their neighbors, "Have you any solid ground of complaint?" You have none. You are like the hypochondriac who rushes to the doctor for every little ill, real or imaginary, and who, by his constant complaints, makes every one around him miserable. A speech in the language of Schiller or a convivial gathering of Schiller's countrymen fills you with alarm and dismay. A verse from "Das Deutschen Vaterland," sung by an enthusiastic company of Teutons, produces a serious attack of homogeneity. An Orange riot or an alleged Clan-na-Gael assassination drives you frantic, and a bomb thrown by a man your principles have made mad, gives you an epileptic fit. A kind word about the Pope or the Jesuits afflicts you with delirium, and the sight of a parochial school induces an attack of hysteria. A congress of Catholic laymen or an assembly of Catholic bishops has the same effect on you that a red flag has on a bull. A remark against the State schools develops all the symptoms of hydrophobia. You foam at the mouth, you bark, you attempt to bite and you *hate water*.

What is the remedy for all these disorders? You call for unity—common sense and common honesty are what are needed—and as a means to this end, you would make education compulsory and

in common. Strange infatuation! You would save the Republic by destroying it! You would take individuals and families and form them into *one* compact whole. You would reduce to practice the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, and precisely the same order of events would follow that followed their introduction into France. You would have a State, but it would be no longer the State that goes back of the Constitution, back of the Declaration of Independence, back of the Bill of Rights, back of Habeas Corpus, back of the Petition of Rights, back of the Magna Charta, back of the common law, back of all forms of our law, back, until the beauties of Paradise rise before our vision, and we hear the mandate of Omnipotence, with all that it implies, "Honor thy father and thy mother," ringing in the human heart—a mandate long afterwards promulgated amid the thunders and lightnings of Sinai—a mandate that is the corner-stone of every free government, and which cannot be rejected without destroying the moral order of the world. You would have a State, but it would be no longer the State with such grand historic barriers against the caprices and mad passions of majorities, and the foolish theories of ignorant or degraded men, whose conception of liberty and law is contemptible. You would have a State, but it would be no longer the state of diverse ideas and sentiments, of clashing opinions, of varied elements, habits, aspirations—one in essentials, free in non-essentials, charitable in all things. You would have a State, but it would be no longer the republican State—the State of Washington and Jefferson—the State that cherishes no utopias—that looks for no millennium—that, founded in nature and reason, concedes the fullest liberty springing from them compatible with its safety, and that provides and inflicts punishment on those who violate its rights, and the rights of *man as man*.

The State you would give has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The people of Asia and of Greece and Rome had it, and Guizot traces for us, with a master hand, its enervating, degrading and blighting influence on them. The people of France had it, and we behold "the bloodiest picture in the book of time." Well, indeed, did the monster Barère call it the government of the guillotine. "The guillotine," he said, "does all; the guillotine governs." "The gradation of their republic," says Edmund Burke, "is laid in moral paradoxes. All those instances to be found in history, whether real or fabulous, of a doubtful public spirit, at which morality is perplexed, reason is staggered, and from which affrighted nature recoils, are their chosen and almost sole examples for the instruction of their youth."

In the name of the fathers of the Republic and of Christian civ-

ilization, whose *chef d'œuvre* the Republic is, we protest against the introduction of any principle, upon any pretext whatsoever, that would lead to such a State. The circumstances which so afflict and affright you do not call for it, and if they did, it could only be reared on the ruins of the Republic and of Christian civilization. This being so, the remedy would be worse than the disease. The Republic gone, Christian civilization maimed and bleeding, you would have to drink to the dregs the poisoned cup that your ignorance or corruption pressed to other lips.

But we turn from the contemplation of so terrible a calamity. We have too much faith in the intelligence and virtue of the American people to believe that they would cripple, if not destroy, the Republic by the introduction of a principle that is at war with Christian civilization—the civilization that has braved the storm of nineteen hundred years, and that is to-day fast marching to universal conquest. Anxious as they are for a public system of education, they will have none that is not based on justice to all, and that is not in harmony with liberty as the founders of the Republic understood it. When they shall have secured such a system, we will say with St. Paul's noble prelate, "Withered be the hand raised in sign of its destruction."

EDGAR ALLAN POE.

EDGAR ALLAN POE was born in Boston on 19th February, 1809. His family was a very old Norman one, which settled in Ireland in the reign of the second Henry, so that the poet was certainly of Irish descent. The name originally was La Poer, its founder in Ireland being Sir Roger La Poer, marshal to Prince John, in the memorable reign referred to. Like many old Irish names, it lost its original form and became as we find it at present. The poet's great-grandfather emigrated from Ireland to America some time in the middle of the last century, bringing with him his wife and a son, David, who was then a mere child. As this boy David ripened into manhood, he acquired a taste for the profession of arms, and served with great distinction during the Revolution, attaining the high rank of General, and becoming an intimate friend of Lafayette. General Poe married a Pennsylvania lady of great beauty, by whom he had several children; one of these children, David, became the father of the poet.

Young David was sent to study law in Baltimore. He does not seem to have been a very attentive student, however, for at the age of eighteen, being sent to Norfolk on business, he fell in love with a young and pretty actress, named Elizabeth Arnold, whom he persuaded to marry him, to the great chagrin of his parents, who, naturally enough, could not countenance such an indiscreet proceeding on the part of their eldest son. But, nothing daunted, he joined the company of which his wife was a distinguished member, and contented himself with playing in very minor parts; as time went on he improved in his new profession, taking leading parts in Shakespearian drama, and it was while playing an engagement of this kind, at the Boston Theatre, that the poet was born, his birth being followed by two others.

In 1811 Mrs. Poe died, and very soon afterward occurred the death of her husband. The three children were thus left to the mercy of the world, and it is satisfactory to know that they all found respectable and kind protectors, Edgar being adopted by Mr. Allan, of Richmond, which was the place of his mother's death.

Mr. Allan was a wealthy merchant, and the kindness shown by him and his wife to the destitute child was remarkable; they were too kind to him, in fact. It was a mistaken good-heartedness to allow him his own wild will in every particular, and as he grew up to boyhood he manifested in many ways the forwardness of his

disposition, which they admired as a high spirit which no one should venture to break. It would have been much better, for the happiness of his future career, had they put even a slight curb on the high-spiritedness, which they admired so much and so erroneously.

The future poet received the rudiments of education in one of the first seminaries of Richmond, presided over by a widow lady, who found young Edgar rather difficult of management, and with a positive disinclination to be bound by any formal code of rules, though administered by the most respectable of widow ladies; and in this, as in everything else, he was warmly supported by his adopted father.

When the boy had completed his seventh year, he was taken from the seminary to accompany his foster-parents to England, who placed him at school at Stoke-Newington, where he remained until he had attained the age of thirteen. This school and its master are described by Poe in one of the most curious of his tales, "William Wilson." At this school he made fair progress in classical and mathematical subjects, but not very extraordinary for a boy of his superior intelligence and mental power. He was, however, noted for his extreme love and proficiency in all physical recreations, whether of the field or the gymnasium.

Arrived at his thirteenth year, he returned to the Allans in Richmond; at this time he was an extremely handsome boy, gracefully formed, with a remarkably intellectual face and wonderful, large, beaming eyes. The love of his protectors was, if anything, stronger on his return from England, and they humored him in every particular, Mr. Allan taking especial delight in the doggerel verses which about this time he began to produce, the source of inspiration generally being some individual who had given him offense, real or imaginary, more often, indeed, the latter. All his time, however, was not given to idleness and scathing doggerel. He still pursued his studies under the first masters in Richmond, told extraordinary stories, *extempore*, and declaimed poetry with remarkable vigor and elocutionary effect.

If the young poet was sensitive to insult or neglect, he was equally so with regard to kindness or any slight attention paid him; and one of his deepest friendships was formed at this time, and in the following manner: Visiting one day a schoolmate to whom he was attached, the lady of the house, on entering the room where he was, took his hand and spoke some kindly words of welcome, which touched the boy's heart so much that for some minutes he was unable to reply. For this lady he had the deepest and most ideal affection, confiding to her all his boyish troubles and sorrows; she seems to have understood his delicate tempera-

ment better than any of his acquaintances, and whilst she lived, exerted a gentle and charming influence over his impressionable nature. Death soon deprived him of this most valuable friend, for whom his grief was unbounded, and for months after her interment, he went, night after night, to mourn in the darkness by her silent tomb. She it was who suggested the ideal "Helen" of his most beautiful youthful poem.

When just seventeen years old he was sent to the University of Virginia, which, we learn, was then a most dissolute place, and some of his biographers have stated that Poe entered so thoroughly into the practices of dissipation rampant there, as to entirely neglect his studies, and finally was expelled. Now all this is not by any means true. He gambled a good deal, certainly, but was not by any means a drunkard, although his champagne bills were pretty heavy. He was fond of entertaining his companions, and we daresay they did not object to drinking champagne at his expense, or to speak more correctly, at the expense of his guardian. A fellow-student, who was afterwards Secretary of the Faculty of the University, states, "that Poe was tolerably regular in his attendance at class, and that at the final examination he obtained the very highest honors; also, that never at any period did he fall under the censure of the Faculty."

On leaving the University, Poe returned to the Allans, and did not find Mr. Allan ready to praise the liberal manner in which he had spent his money. However, he settled down and prepared a small volume of poems for publication, which Mr. Allan paid for. This volume, published in Baltimore in 1829, contained "Al Aaraaf," "Tamerlane," and some minor poems; it did not attract much attention at the time, yet, notwithstanding many crudities, it undoubtedly gave promise of future excellence.

Asked to choose a profession, he, like his distinguished grandfather, chose that of arms, and a cadetship was procured for him at West Point Military Academy. He did not find the study of tactics agreeable; well, he had an easy remedy at hand, and he availed himself of it, namely, not to study tactics. The time which should have been employed in reading up the science of war was devoted to idleness, writing local squibs, which were much relished by his comrades, and, unfortunately, drinking, not champagne, but what was far more ruinous to him, brandy. It is a melancholy fact that at this time he began to manifest an unfortunate inclination for over-indulgence in stimulants.

This would not do in a Military Academy, and in January, 1831, he was brought before a court-martial on two charges, "Neglect of Duty" and "Disobedience of Orders"; he pleaded guilty and was dismissed from the service of the United States. Things now

looked bad for Poe; Mrs. Allan was dead, Mr. Allen had married again, and a son and heir had been born unto him, so that the poet would have been an intruder in his former home. He determined to publish a volume of poems by subscription; the price was two and a half dollars a copy, which every one of his former comrades paid in advance. They were greatly disappointed in the book on its appearance, as it contained none of the squibs and satires which they evidently expected; they showed a lack of poetic taste in this, as the volume contained the germs of some of his best pieces.

The profits of this work did not last very long, and the unfortunate poet, soon found himself in decidedly straitened circumstances. He called at Mr. Allan's house, one day, learned from Mrs. Allan that her husband was ill; and naturally enough expressed a wish to see him—to this wish the lady would not accede, and positively denied him admission to her husband's room. We can picture both, each fancying the other an intruder, undoubtedly; and poor Poe mentally contrasting the present, with the former Mrs. Allan. Can we wonder that a scene ensued? That the poet left the house in a rage? That Mrs. Allan complained to her husband of Poe's insolence? with the result that he was forbidden the house.

For two years after this, Poe's doings are involved in considerable obscurity; how he managed to live is a mystery which all his biographers have vainly tried to solve. The most probable solution is, that he went to Baltimore where his brother was, and lived the life of a literary hack; certain it is, that in 1833, he was a successful competitor for two prizes, offered for the best tale and poem by the *Saturday Visitor*, published in that city. The proprietors of this journal showed especial kindness to Poe, and recommended him to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, for which he wrote some of his best tales; becoming editor in 1835. It was at this period of his career that he married his beautiful cousin, Virginia Clemm—she was a delicate, extremely amiable girl, and if anything poorer than himself.

His connection with the *Messenger* terminated in 1837, and it is to be regretted owing greatly to his own weakness; like our own Mangan, he could not shake off the thraldom of the Drink Fiend, although he made many efforts to do so. After breaking off with the *Messenger*, he and his wife went to Baltimore, where they staid but a very short time, going from thence to Philadelphia, and on to New York, where he published his longest story, "Arthur Gordon Pym," which attained a greater success in England than in America. It is an extraordinary story, written with such attention to the minutest details and completest vraisemblance, that

many English papers accepted it in real good faith, and vied with each other in copying and setting forth the marvellous discoveries of the imaginary Pym ; which was just the effect Poe intended and gloried in.

Soon after this Poe returned to Philadelphia where he accepted the editorship of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in which appeared numerous criticisms from his pen, some poems and several of his very best stories. His connection with this journal lasted exactly a year, and its severance was partly due to his old failing—though not altogether, for he had several disputes with its proprietor, relating to the scathing nature of his criticisms. This journal lived but a few months after Poe's departure ; its proprietor evidently regretted him, for on starting a new magazine he offered him its editorship, which he accepted.

This was *Graham's Magazine*, with which he was connected for over a year and a half. He strove hard to obtain an appointment from the Government, and being unsuccessful, went to New York, where he became sub-editor and general critic for the *Mirror*, a paper of which N. P. Willis was part proprietor, and who records his experience of Poe in the following manner : " With his pale, beautiful, and intellectual face as a reminder of what genius was in him, it was impossible, of course, not to treat him always with deferential courtesy ; and to an occasional request that he would not probe too deep in a criticism, or that he would erase a passage colored too highly with his resentments against society and mankind, he readily and courteously assented, far more yielding than most men, we thought, on points so excusably sensitive. With a prospect of taking the lead in another periodical he at last voluntarily gave up his employment with us."

It is a pity poor Poe did not always meet with men like Willis, who being a distinguished poet himself, and a thoroughly sensible man—was well qualified to manage the restless spirit of his greater brother-poet. Before entering on his editorial duties for the *Broadway Journal*, which is the periodical referred to by Willis, Poe published "The Raven" in the *American Review*, and for this splendid poem, which immediately caused an unparalleled sensation over the literary world, he received the munificent sum of ten dollars. After a short time he became sole proprietor of the *Broadway Journal*, a fact which ought to have made American versifiers tremble ; and with good reason, for never before was such criticising heard of—it was the genuine tomahawk and vitriol style, often unfair ; but it undoubtedly annihilated whole hosts of literary pretenders.

The turbulent existence of the *Broadway Journal* lasted but a year, and Poe betook himself to writing critical articles for a mag-

azine called the *Ladies' Book*. His society at this time was much sought after in high-class literary circles, and many have recorded their recollections of his refined manner and brilliant conversational powers. He was always accompanied by his wife, who at times was extremely delicate. Her gentle manner and almost ethereal beauty made friends for her everywhere. We cannot help selecting a few passages from a letter written by Mrs. Frances Osgood, the graceful poetess, in which she describes Poe and his wife in their own home. "It was in his own simple, yet poetical home, that the character of Edgar Poe appeared in its most beautiful light. Playful, affectionate, witty—alternately docile and wayward as a petted child—for his young, gentle, idolized wife and for all who came, he had, even in the midst of his most harassing literary duties, a kind word, a pleasant smile, a graceful and courteous attention. At his desk, beneath the romantic picture of his loved and lost Lenore, he would sit hour after hour, patient, assiduous, and uncomplaining, tracing in an exquisitely clear chirography, and with almost superhuman swiftness, the lightning thoughts, the 'rare and radiant' fancies, as they flashed through his wonderful and ever-wakeful brain."

His wife's health becoming still more frail, the poet took her to a charming cottage, delightfully situated in Fordham, near New York. Here he was surrounded by all that he loved most passionately in Nature, birds, flowers and waving trees; and he was often to be seen strolling meditatively amongst the tall pines, or seated on some rocky ledge gazing in silent rapture on the peaceful landscape which surrounded his cottage.

But amidst all this beauty and tranquillity, a dread shadow stalked ominously; for his adored wife was dying fast, and all the power in Nature could not save her. Her mother came and watched with the poet by her bedside—watched the young life ebbing slowly but surely away—he became ill and they were reduced to a pitiful state of poverty. Willis called attention to this in the *Home Journal* and a sum of money was raised, which at least afforded the family temporary relief. He recovered, but in a few weeks the spirit of his loved Virginia passed away.

Some months after her death, he settled down to the composition of his prose poem "Eureka," in which he aimed at solving the great problem of the Universe, and, as Mr. Stoddard remarks, "solved it to his own satisfaction, not like a man of science, which he was not, but like a poet." About this time he published "Ulahume," a requiem for his wife, and in 1848, "Eureka" was published, but without making the great sensation its author expected. After its publication he delivered several lectures, and kept on writing for the magazine. It was a fruitful literary time with him;

the beautiful blank verse poem, "To Helen," "The Bell," "For Annie," and "Annabel Lee," being amongst his productions at this period.

In the summer of 1849, he started from his cottage at Fordham for Richmond. On reaching Philadelphia he met with some old companions, and the result was, that he spent every cent in his possession in their company; having to borrow what was sufficient to take him on to Richmond. What he did with himself on his first arrival at Richmond is a question on which many speculations have been based; he certainly was very short of money, and we think it must have been at this time that the following peculiar incident took place. We copy it verbatim from a slip which we extracted from the *Evening Telegraph*, but the date of which we have lost: "A correspondent in the *New York Critic* has lately called attention to the poem published some years ago in the *Despatch*, of Kokomo, a little town in the State of Indiana. The poem is or was in the possession of an inhabitant of Kokomo, whose grandfather kept an inn in Chesterfield, a little village near Richmond, Virginia. One night, a young man who showed plainly the marks of dissipation, appeared at the door and requested a room, if one could be given him. He retired, and the inn saw no more of him; for when they went to call him the following morning he had disappeared, leaving only a book, on the fly-leaf of which was the following poem, written in Roman characters and almost as legible as print itself. The manuscript contains not a single erasure, nor a single interlineated word, and is signed "E. A. P." The peculiarity of the writing, the description of the young man, and the characteristics of the poem, point to Poe as the author. The poem is entitled "Leonainie" and is as follows:

"Leonainie—angels named her,
And they took the light
Of the laughing stars, and framed her
In a smile of white;
And they made her hair of gloomy
Midnight, and her eyes of bloomy
Moonshine, and they brought her to me
In a solemn night.

"In a solemn night of summer,
When my heart of gloom
Blossomed up to greet the comer,
Like a rose in bloom;
All forebodings that distressed me
I forgot, as joy caressed me,
Lying joy that caught and pressed me
In the arms of doom!

"Only spake the little lisper
In the angel tongue,
Yet I, listening, heard the whisper,
Songs are only sung
Here below, that they may grieve you.
Tales are told you to deceive you,
So must Leonainie leave you
While her love is young!

"Then God smiled and it was morning,
Matchless and supreme;
Heaven's glory seemed adorning
Earth with its esteem;
Every heart but mine seemed gifted
With the voice of prayer, and lifted
When my Leonainie drifted
From me like a dream."

This beautiful poem is not to be found in any of the editions of Poe's works; and our opinion is that no edition should claim completeness without it. His poems are too few to allow the loss even of the most inconsiderable or least valuable; and certainly the above poem does not enter into that category; it has all the characteristics of Poe at his very best and we do not believe any other American poet could have written it.

After several days he turned up at the office of his old paper, *The Messenger*, which a friend of his, a Mr. Thompson, was then editing. This gentleman treated Poe with considerable kindness and gave him a desk in *The Messenger* office, at which to carry on his literary work, which he did zealously for some time. He made desperate efforts to reform, and at last joined a temperance society—renewed his acquaintance with one of his youthful loves to whom he became engaged and all went merry as a wedding-bell—until business unfortunately called him to Philadelphia.

He started from Richmond in the first days of October, 1849. At some of the stations on the way he met some friends, and all his good resolutions dissolved into thin air. On arriving at Baltimore he was in a semi-delirious condition. An exciting election was taking place; some political agents who were on the lookout for voters perceived him, and in a spirit of thorough ruffianism seized and drugged the unfortunate poet. They then made him record his vote in several different polling-booths, treating him with such violence that he died from its effects in a hospital, to which he had been removed, on the 7th of October, 1849. So died he who has been well-termed the "Prince of American Poets."

It is very difficult to write anything new about the poetry of Edgar Poe. It has been lauded, perhaps excessively, and certainly criticized illiberally, and in both fashions by many whose

opinions on other subjects have been deemed worthy of serious consideration. No amount of praise can make a mediocre work permanently popular, nor can unjust criticism keep a really good work in the background. Admitting (as we must from hosts of examples in literature) the truth of both these propositions, we arrive at the conclusion that if a work outlives its critics and retains its hold on the popular taste, its excellence must, of necessity, be of a superior kind.

The merits of Poe's poetry were never so intellectually appreciated as they are at the present day—and this, notwithstanding the ephemeral sensation caused by poets of the strictly philosophic order, as we understand them, didactic versifiers and metaphysical, which latter is of all schools of poetry, the most absurd. A lesson may occasionally be taught in verse, we will not say in poetry, but prose is undoubtedly the only medium by which to impart metaphysics; being a science, it is in direct opposition to poetry.

In his poems Poe seeks neither to instruct nor to be metaphysical. He believed in "the poem which is a poem and nothing more; the poem written solely for the poem's sake," and he was undoubtedly correct. Nothing but the poem written for its own sake, written to give a lasting though imperfect embodiment to those glimpses of the loveliness which is not of the earth and which none but the true poet in his moods of inspiration, perceives, possesses the power of elevating other souls in the faintest degree; and the extent to which a poem possesses this power should form the principal basis of poetic criticism. Form, in its various details, although a secondary consideration, is nevertheless of very great importance. Still Hegel's assertion that "Metre is the first and only condition absolutely demanded by poetry," is not wholly correct. Metre is a condition absolutely demanded by poetry, but it is by no means the first and only condition essential to "the rhythmical creation of beauty," which is Poe's own definition of poetry. To this definition he adheres in all his poems. Even in those few which we cannot peruse without a shuddering sensation, we find elements of beauty in a true but almost indefinite form.

The range of ideal perception in his poetry is proportional to the domain in which he reigned and revelled—

A wild weird clime that lieth sublime,
Out of Space—out of Time.

Of this "ultimate dim Thule," and of the mysteries which lie beyond the tomb he loved to sing of love vanished from earth and the hope of its renewal after death.

The "Raven" is undoubtedly his best-known poem. We read somewhere that it is the best-known poem in the English language, and we are inclined to think it is. It is certainly the most unique, and it is certainly more than "a triumph of mechanism," as Mr. Nicholls (believing implicitly no doubt Poe's philosophy of composition) calls it.¹ It is, in our opinion, a masterpiece of serio-grotesque poetry; the grotesque element being introduced with the most consummate artistic judgment in such a manner as not to clash with the spirit of profound melancholy which pervades the poem; the "sorrow for the lost Lenore," of which the bird of ill-omen is made allegorical; the sorrow which is ever present, as we read in the last verse:

"And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting
On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door;
And his eyes have all the seeming of a demon's that is dreaming,
And the lamplight o'er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor;
And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor
Shall be lifted—nevermore!"

The peculiarity of the versification of this poem and its remarkable suitability to the subject has impressed all readers. The stanzas to Helen, written at a very early age, have elicited the admiration of even his severest critics, and it would be difficult to find a more graceful lyric. We quote it in its entirety:

"Helen, thy beauty is to me
Like those Nicaen barks of yore,
That gently o'er a perfumed sea
The weary way-worn wanderer bore
To his own native shore.

"On desperate seas long wont to roam
Thy hyacinth hair, thy classic face,
Thy Naiad airs have brought me home
To the glory that was Greece
And the grandeur that was Rome.

Lo! in yon brilliant window niche
How statue-like I see thee stand,
The agate lamp within thy hand.
Ah! Psyche, from the regions, which
Are Holy Land!"

The last two lines of the second stanza have always been especial favorites of ours. The whole tone of the poem is richly ideal.

Al Aaraaf, his longest poem, and written in youth, although somewhat unequal, contains, nevertheless, some extremely beau-

¹ Nicholls' *American Literature*.

tiful passages, and is decidedly worthy of a careful reading. The following passage contains much unearthly beauty:

"Sound loves to revel in a summer night;
Witness the murmur of the gray twilight
That stole upon the ear, in Eyraco
Of many a wild star-gazer long ago—
That stealeth ever on the ear of him
Who, musing, gazeth on the distance dim,
And sees the darkness coming as a cloud—
Is not its form—its voice—most palpable and loud?"

In a note he says: "I have often thought I could distinctly hear the sound of the darkness as it stole over the horizon." It may seem an absurd fancy to ordinary mortals, but we must remember that poets are not ordinary mortals, seeing and hearing with other eyes and ears, sights and sounds not perceptible to the mere physical organs.

Tamerlane, another youthful poem, is a vivid portrayal of burning ambition, in a heart which also loves deeply; the ambition is not wholly selfish, as the following passage tells:

"I spoke to her of power and pride,
But mystically—in such guise
That she might deem it naught beside
The moment's converse; in her eyes
I read, perhaps too carelessly—
A mingled feeling with my own—
The flush on her bright cheek, to me
Seemed to become a queenly throne.
Too well, that I should let it be
Light in the wilderness alone."

This poem has many other fine passages which shine out reddeemingly amidst the occasional crudities of the, as yet, undeveloped poetic artist.

Three poems and the fragment of a drama are the only attempts made by Poe in blank verse. The three poems are "The Coliseum," "To Helen," and the lines beginning "Not long ago." The "Coliseum" is a lofty inspiration, and it may be interesting to know that its author was never near Rome at any time. We can only give the opening lines:

"Type of the antique Rome! Rich reliquary
Of lofty contemplation left to Time
By buried centuries of pomp and power!
At length—at length—after so many days
Of weary pilgrimage and burning thirst
(Thirst for the springs of lore that in thee lie),
I kneel, an altered and an humble man
Amid thy shadows, and so drink within
Thy very soul, thy grandeur, gloom and glory!"

This lofty tone, so thoroughly in keeping with the subject of the poem, is maintained with great vigor throughout.

The poem, "To Helen," is one of the most beautiful ever written in blank verse, which is such a dangerous style for mediocre writers to attempt, and in which even great writers have failed. Cunning devices of rhyme and rhythm often clothe and beautify ideas, which in blank verse would seem the merest platitudes. Poe could not write dramatic blank verse (which he found out for himself), but he could write it in its most purely poetic style—as Shelly has written it in "Prometheus Unbound," and it is a thing to be regretted that he wrote so little of it. Such passages as the following are unsurpassable :

" It was a July midnight ; and from out
A full-orbed moon, that like thine own soul, soaring
Sought a precipitate pathway up through heaven.
There fell a silvery-silken veil of light,
With quietude, and sultriness, and slumber,
Upon the upturned faces of a thousand
Roses that grew in an enchanted garden,
Where no wind dared to stir, unless on tiptoe—
Fell on the upturned faces of these roses
That gave out in return for the love-light,
Their odorous souls in an ecstatic death—

And further on we meet the following exquisite lines :

" The pearly lustre of the moon went out :
The mossy banks and the meandering paths,
The happy flowers and the repining trees
Were seen no more : the very roses' odors
Died in the arms of the adoring airs."

This last idea is, indeed, the very essence of true poetry. His other blank verse poem is scarcely less beautiful. The "Bells" is almost as well known as the "Raven," and holds an equally unique place in our language; it is more than a masterpiece of verbal melody—it is as near an attempt at harmony as language will ever allow.

Annabel Lee is one of the poems inspired by the deep sorrow with which the death of his wife affected him. It is in his most musical style and not too long to quote entire :

" It was many and many a year ago
In a kingdom by the sea
That a maiden there lived whom you may know
By the name of Annabel Lee ;
And this maiden, she lived with no other thought
Than to love and be loved by me.

"I was a child and she was a child,
 In this kingdom by the sea;
 But we loved with a love which was more than love—
 I and my Annabel Lee;
 With a love which the winged seraphs of heaven
 Coveted her and me.

"And this was the reason that long ago,
 In this kingdom by the sea,
 A wind blew out of a cloud, chilling
 My beautiful Annabel Lee;
 So that her high-born kinsman came,
 And bore her away from me,
 To shut her up in a sepulchre
 In this kingdom by the sea.

"The angels, not half so happy in heaven,
 Went envying her and me—
 Yes! that was the reason (as all men know,
 In this kingdom by the sea)
 That the wind came out of the cloud by night,
 Chilling and killing my Annabel Lee.

"But our love it was stronger by far than the love
 Of those who were older than we—
 Of many far wiser than we—
 And neither the angels in heaven above,
 Nor the demons down under the sea,
 Can ever dissever my soul from the soul
 Of the beautiful Annabel Lee.

"For the moon never beams without bringing me dreams
 Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;
 And the stars never rise but I feel the bright eyes
 Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;
 And so, all the night tide, I lie down by the side
 Of my darling—my darling—my life and my bride,
 In her sepulchre there by the sea
 In her tomb by the side of the sea."

"Malume" was also written as a requiem for his dead wife; the supreme sorrow which is its theme, can best be understood by one who has strayed abstractedly near to the burial-place of some loved one, and suddenly recognizes his whereabouts. The sonorousness of the words in this poem; the peculiar rhythmic flow and constant use of repetend, combine in making it one of the weirdest poems in the language. It has been said that even if read to a person who did not in the least understand the English tongue, its mere rhythmic and verbal effects would cause a sensation of weird sorrow.

"The City in the Sea," "The Conqueror Worm," "The Sleeper," "For Annie and Lenore," are about his weirdest poems, but can only receive passing mention, although each has particular charms of its own to recommend it. "The Haunted Palace," which is introduced into "The Fall of the House of Usher," is a very beau-

tiful and delicate piece of imagination subtly embodying the conception of a rare and superior intellect overthrown. We cannot help quoting it in full :

" In the greenest of our valleys
By good angels tenanted,
Once a fair and stately palace—
Radiant palace—reared its head,
In the monarch Thought's dominion—
It stood there !
Never seraph spread a pinion
Over fabric half so fair !

" Banners yellow, glorious, golden,
On its roof did float and flow ;
(This—all this—was in the olden
Time long ago)
And every gentle air that dallied,
In that sweet day,
Along the ramparts plumed and pallid
A winged odor went away.

" Wanderers in that happy valley,
Through two luminous windows, saw
Spirits moving musically,
To a lute's well tuned law ;
Round about a throne where, sitting
(Porphyrogene !)
In state his glory well-befitting,
The ruler of the realm was seen.

" And all with pearl and ruby glowing
Was the fair palace door,
Through which came flowing, flowing, flowing
And sparkling evermore,
A troop of Echoes, whose sweet duty
Was but to sing
In voices of surpassing beauty,
The wit and wisdom of their king.

But evil things in robes of sorrow,
Assailed the monarch's high estate,
(Ah, let us mourn ! for never morrow
Shall dawn upon him desolate !)
And round about his home the glory
That blushed and bloomed,
Is but a dim-remembered story
Of the old time entombed.

And travellers now within that valley,
Through the red-litten windows see
Vast forms that move fantastically
To a discordant melody,
While, like a ghastly rapid river
Through the pale door,
A hideous throng rush out forever
And laugh—but smile no more.

Only the most consummate poetic genius could produce a poem

like this on such a theme. For its full appreciation, however, it is necessary to read the fascinating story with which it is connected. Even standing apart from the story, and on its own merits, solely, its delightfully imaginative spirit possesses an almost indefinable charm.

The last of his poems which we will quote is one of the tenderest and most charming lyrics he ever penned. It is inscribed—"To One in Paradise."

"Thou wast that all to me, love,
For which my soul did pine—
A green isle in the sea, love,
A fountain and a shrine,
All wreathed with fairy fruits and flowers
And all the flowers were mine.

"Ah, dream too bright to last!
Ah, starry Hope! that didst arise
But to be overcast!
A voice from out the Future cries,
'On! On!'—but o'er the Past
(Dim gulf!) my spirit hovering lies
Mute, motionless, aghast!

"For, alas! alas! with me
The light of life is o'er!
'No more—no more—no more—'
(Such language holds the solemn sea
To the sands upon the shore)
Shall bloom the thunder-blasted tree
Or the stricken eagle soar!

"And all my days are trances,
And all my nightly dreams
Are where thy dark eye glances,
And where the footstep gleams—
In what ethereal dances,
By what eternal streams."

The above selection contains much of what we think his most beautiful and unfamiliar work—unfamiliar certainly to ordinary readers, the majority of whom only know "The Raven" and "The Bells." This certainly ought not to be the case with any person who has the least pretension to poetic taste. Poe can be read with pleasure and delight at times, when the works of greater but heavier poets would be almost intolerable. Shelley, in "The Skylark," says, "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought," and the poems of Poe are the most sweetly sad in our language, though he mourns for love and beauty passed from earth, he ever looks hopefully to a more lasting and more beautiful restoration beyond the tomb. He certainly ranks as America's greatest lyric poet—no other American lyrist even remotely approaching him.

It would be impossible within the limits of this paper to do

even scant justice to his fascinating and beautifully-written tales, many of which possess much of that weird and magical spirit which animates his poetry. His tales of this class are master-pieces, as it was undoubtedly his natural style of writing. To this class belong "*Lisica*," "*The Fall of the House of Usher*," "*The Assigination*," and "*The Masque of the Red Death*." There are many others, but these four are the best. Then there are tales such as "*The Mystery of Marie Roget*," "*The Murders in the Rue Morgue*," "*The Gold Bug*," and "*The Purloined Letter*," which display a marvellous deductive power. An individual would possess a most unusual nervous organization who could read such tales as "*The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar*," "*The Black Cat*," and others of this class, without experiencing a thrill of genuine terror. His humorous tales are not so good, by any means, this style of writing always appearing forced in him.

Most of his critiques and essays are well worth reading and will be appreciated by persons of a logical turn of mind. His "*Philosophy of Composition*" is interesting and ingenious, but all its assertions are not, by any means, to be implicitly believed. Of more value is his essay on "*The Poetic Principle*," which contains the following remarkable estimate of the present Poet Laureate; remarkable when we consider that Poe's critical genius leaned more to the depreciatory than to the laudatory side. "From Alfred Tennyson—although in perfect sincerity I regard him as the noblest poet that ever lived,—I have left myself time to cite only a very brief specimen. I call him and think him the noblest of poets, not because the impressions he produces are at *all* times the most profound, not because the poetical excitement which he induces is at *all* times the most intense, but because it is, at all times, the most ethereal; in other words, the most elevating and the most pure. No poet is so little of the earth, earthy."

With this extract we are compelled to bring this paper to a close. We have merely tried to bring before our readers in the plainest manner, the most salient features of the poet's life, and to point out some beauties in his poems, which have not hitherto been specially referred to.

From a careful study of his life and character we say, and honestly believe, that no other poet has been so grossly maligned. He had faults—he were not human otherwise—but they were such as pass unnoticed in thousands of other men, or at most arouse but our sympathy. He wandered amongst the thronging millions, "*Dreaming dreams no mortal ever dared to dream before*," and the dull realities of earthly existence weighed heavily upon him. In our judgment of him, we must consider all these things in the spirit not alone of Charity, but also of Justice.

THE PAGANISM OF CÆSAR.

BROADLY speaking, the office of the law of the land is to deal with the rights and wrongs of individuals and of society. It does not profess to deal with every wrong of either, nor is it competent to do so with or without any such profession. It cannot reach all the wants of individuals, or of society. It aims, here and there, to protect virtue where it can, and at times to punish vice where some other person is wronged by it. It cannot teach morals, but it gives its aid, with its own lights, to what seems morality, and represses certain forms of immorality.

The State behind this law accepts God's moral law as it finds it, but it is neither able to interpret that law, nor to add to, nor diminish its provisions. In so far as this moral law is the measure of man's daily secular life, the civil power, the temporal power, is without office or jurisdiction. These large and most important duties fall within the spiritual order, and for them it is the province of the spiritual order—the Church—to legislate.

This division will not be accepted by those who do not recognize any King but Cæsar. For them the State or temporal order is a guide for the present life, leaving the regulations for the next life or for any other state of existence out of the question. Even for many who recognize a spiritual as well as a temporal order of things there is the overshadowing omnipotence of the State before which all mere spiritual regulations must give way. These indirectly put themselves as completely within and under the civil power as if there was no other. Of the two orders existing side by side, each independent of the other in its own sphere, and each supreme within its own sphere, but both closely connected and coming from the same God, there should theoretically be nothing but harmony; but when one comes to consider that every human act reaches out and touches the infinite and has its spiritual as well as human side, and that a multitude of human acts are obviously contained within the spiritual, one is not at a loss to see how easily conflicts may arise, and how readily a case may be found the settlement of which would be claimed by one of two co-ordinate powers.¹ "The Church within its rights, and the State over all," is not so often heard as it is meant to be heard. "The Church within its rights and the State to judge of those rights" is that

¹ The Encyclical *Immortale Dei*, November, 1885, is the perfect pronouncement on this subject.

species of modern atheism that is so acceptable to the world. The Church and the State cannot be co-ordinate without conflict. If the State is to define the limits of all law then, not only can it legislate in the spiritual order, but it can legislate all churches and all morality out of legal existence. That would be the worse extreme because no matter what *ultra vires* ordinances the spiritual power would make, they could never be carried into effect without the aid of the civil executive.

Even in this utilitarian point of view, the superiority should be accorded to the spiritual power; but from the nature of things the spiritual authority should be paramount in spiritual matters, else there is an end to all consistency. Granting that the temporal order is from the same God, the spiritual is intrinsically as high above it, as the things of heaven are superior to the things of earth.

It is not intended, however, here to discuss the orders temporal and spiritual, but to state as a fact, what must be admitted in the long run, that in every question of a spiritual kind the final authority to decide lies in the spiritual and not in the temporal order, for if one is to obey God rather than man, the former is superior to the latter. This doctrine of the Catholic Church works no harm in practice, but simply gives God His place in the Church, as well as in the State. All laws to be binding must come from Him, and if there are many nations of the temporal order under His eye, there is, as Catholics believe, one Spiritual Commonwealth—one Church to which He has entrusted the spiritual government of the nations and of mankind individually. "For it is not enough to say with Carlyle, after many German philosophers had thought it, and the Hegelian synthesis had given it a recognizable name, that the world is a system with one life flowing into all its veins and arteries and binding up the elements thereby, lest they fall into hopeless disorder. This half truth may, and in the course of time must, have for a consequence the absorption of the individual's body and soul into the devouring State. This half truth needs yet to be completed by affirming that God is the Life of that life and deals directly with every human soul."¹

What the Church teaches in spiritual matters is to be held above all human temporal law—not only because that law is unable to interpret or execute spiritual matters, but also because it is a usurpation of the prerogative of the Divine Commonwealth—the Church whose privilege and duty and mission it is to expound and enforce the moral law and determine its own sole and unfettered jurisdiction with reference thereto.

¹ *Dublin Review*, vol. xxxi., pp. 194-195.

The militant Church in this as in a thousand other matters has to combat the usurpations and encroachments of the civil order in matters specially within her own jurisdiction. It is the purpose of this paper to draw attention to some of these and to treat them from the point of view of a lawyer, and not that of a theologian or churchman.

First of all the State may say to itself, as did the unwise builders of old, "Come, let us make a city and a tower the top whereof may reach to heaven," though, as happened on the plain of Sennaar, they may cease to build the city, and may be scattered over the face of the earth. They may not understand one another's speech, though before they were of one tongue and of the same speech. They will have done no more than raise a monument to confusion. This has been the great, the sublime, so to speak, effort of the post-mediæval age. By one bold step a nation usurps all spiritual rights, and proposes to establish by its own potency a spiritual order which shall exist for all purposes human and divine. True, it will endure only so long as the temporal order exists, and die out when the temporal state is subverted or falls into decay, but in the meantime it will tower to heaven though it rests on the clay. This miserable conception of a church and of all things spiritual was realized in the sixteenth century, and has in its stronghold all but run its race. It will perish, as Cardinal Manning has beautifully said, by "that law of mortality which consumes all earthly things." It was not simply a bringing in the bondwoman to be mistress of the household, but it was a turning out the lawful consort to starve and die on the highway. It was such a monstrous treason to divine government as the world had never seen. The ignorant pagan rejected and persecuted the Catholic religion; but it was reserved for those professedly of the faith, and trained in the belief of a Divine Guide to throw off their allegiance to constituted authority and voluntarily exchange the yoke of Christ for the yoke of man. And so these sons of confusion speaking theretofore one tongue and one speech were scattered abroad, each speaking a language of his own—each at variance with the other and all with their former selves.

This experiment of combining the spiritual and temporal order, wherein the temporal was the acknowledged master, as history shows, has failed; and, as reason might have predicted, could not help failing. It was mighty in design, and promised all things in a legal and constitutional way. When the moral rule was acceptable to the State, and fitted it like the rare guest in the Procrustean bed, well and good; but if too long or too short it was lopped off or stretched to meet the required standard. And so morality

and spiritual matters were enacted, and amended, and repealed, along with the Game laws and the Civil Service regulations, and men were legal Christians and justified by Act of Parliament. The spectacle of the civil power, the temporal State establishing a Department of State for the spiritual guidance of a people, was, in view of the awful seriousness of the undertaking, apart from the arrogant assumption, enough to make the angels in heaven stand aghast.

Take the example of the Falck laws in Germany. Mr. Frederick Harrison, in the *Fortnightly Review*, discussed the practical effect of these laws: "First they require, as the condition of fulfilling any function in the Christian community, that the priest or minister should submit to a specified system of State education, and should have three years of theological training under a State professor. Next they require the sanction of the government to the appointment or the transfer of a cleric to any sacred duty, great or small, in every Christian community. Then they place the direction of the education in every clerical training-school in the kingdom in the hands of the minister of State, and make illegal any new religious seminary of whatever sect and however supported, including boarding-schools for young persons. These, then, are the main provisions. That is to say, the State undertakes the theological training of every kind of Christian cleric, Protestant or Catholic. It regulates the appointment of every kind of clerical duty, Protestant or Catholic, and it suppresses every theological education other than its own."

It is not necessary to particularize what ordinances a State may make in regard to religion; in discipline, in doctrine, in dogma, it is enough to see that it assumed to have all power in heaven and on earth. It was a mere question of lay votes in the House, not so much whether there should be sacraments or sacrifice, kneeling or bowing, but whether there should be altar, creed, or any visible form of worship whatever.

When the human, temporal, shadowy, and perishable power of man sets aside the Divine Guide and offers himself as a substitute, promising legal salvation, one is apt to think of the lying, boastful promises of the Tempter when he said to the Guide Himself: "All these things I will give thee if falling down thou wilt adore me." And so the State promised much to those who fell down and adored it, and they fell down and adored. More than that; rising they got possessions and lands and everything that the State could give, and these they kept, and will keep them always. To have a legal right to the things of this world is the religion and highest morality of the State. Its Kingdom is of this world.

The usurpation of the State in the case of a Church Establishment—a phrase as humiliating and significant as if one would say the Post-Office Establishment or the Army and Navy Establishment—is one that, when complete, effectually disposes of public worship and of all things spiritual. One well-worded Statute of Conformity makes short work of Dissenters and their churches and creeds. State churches, however, are going out of fashion, and it is not usurpations of this sort one must now expect, but encroachments more or less harmless in appearance, but in reality, and in the long run, totally subversive of religion.

The modern State having seen the failure of an Establishment in religion has gone to the other extreme. It will have nothing now to do with God or religion. There remains, however, some remnant of the spirit of old days when the civil arm helped the spiritual one to preserve decent respect towards the Creator of all things. There is a legend, preserved among other legal fictions, that Christianity is part of the law of the land. Well, to some extent it is part of the law of the land, but to what extent more than fifty other things which are part of the law of the land? It is, no doubt, contrary to law to speak or write or publish any profane words villifying or ridiculing God, Jesus Christ, the Old or the New Testament, or Christianity in general, with an intent to shock or insult believers, or to pervert or mislead the ignorant and unwary.¹ This is Blasphemy as legally defined, and renders the guilty person liable to fine or imprisonment, according to the discretion of the Court. The intent is the material point; consequently, we may villify and ridicule God and everything sacred, and yet the law of the land will take no notice thereof unless the jury find there was the intention of shocking or insulting believers or perverting or misleading the ignorant and unwary. Thus a man may "soberly and reverently" examine and question the truths of those doctrines essential to the Christian faith, no matter how fundamental, without offending the law.² No opinion, however heretical, no sarcasm or ridicule to the verge of profane scoffing or irreverent levity, can be held to be legal blasphemy and within the reach of the civil law. "The common law of England . . ." says Lord Mansfield, "knows of no persecution for mere opinions." "I apprehend," says Mr. Justice Coleridge, "that there is nothing unlawful at common law in reverently denying doctrines, parcel of Christianity, however fundamental." To those who are familiar with the ordinary civil law of libel and slander, there is nothing here that the State does for God and Christianity that it does not

¹ See Odgers *On Libel*, 2d ed., page 332.

² Mr. Justice Erskine in *Shore & Wilson*, Cl. & F. (House of Lords), 524, 5.

do every day for any citizen or subject, or any of the institutions, recognized by the law of the land. The secular Courts interfered to punish blasphemous libels for the same reason as they did in the case of any other libel, viz., in order to prevent a disturbance of the peace.¹

If the State stopped at this point it would be somewhat a justification of the phrase that it regards Christianity as part of the law of the land and further that it will see that God, the Three Persons of the Blessed and Undivided Trinity, are duly respected and that the Scriptures are not burnt contemptuously and irreverently.² This puts all these sacred persons and subjects on an exact level, before the law, with mankind and its institutions. But the State has not stopped at this point. Unitarianism for example, is not and never was blasphemous before the law, and the law will uphold a bequest "towards the support of Unitarians."³ These and other bequests that have been upheld for this monstrous heresy may not so obviously "strike at the root of Christianity," as Lord Raymond said in *Rex v. Woolston*,⁴ but what about trusts and bequests for the spread of the Jewish religion? One would suppose that to help the Jewish religion would be scarcely a recognized principle in a commonwealth where Christianity is part of its law. Lord Hardwicke, it is true, in the year 1754 decided⁵ that a bequest of twelve hundred pounds to found "an assembly for reading the law and instructing people in our holy religion" (the Jewish) was void as being in "contradiction to the Christian religion which is part of the law of the land." Now however the case is different. By a Victorian statute⁶ Jews are now placed on the same footing as Protestant dissenters, and all bequests to promote the propagation of Judaism are valid. And long before this statute, by a case decided in 1813, trusts and legacies in favor of Jewish synagogues were held to be valid.⁷ The spirit of Liberalism could not be fairly expected to do more than this, to legalize divisions in its own household.

The encroachments of the State are perhaps more baneful in process of time than its most daring usurpations. For it may not only take its property by delicate confiscation but it may debauch the household and at last may gradually wean and then carry off

¹ Odgers *On Libel*, 2d ed., page 340.

² Father Petcherini was indicted in Ireland in 1855 for having contemptuously, irreverently and blasphemously burnt a Bible in public and with intent to bring the same into disregard, etc., etc. After a one sided charge by Baron Green the monk was acquitted. See 7 Cox, C. C., 79.

³ *Re Barnett*, 29 L. J. Chy., 871.

⁴ 2 Str., 834.

⁵ *Da Costa v. De Pas*, Ambler 228.

⁶ 9 and 10 Vic., cap. 59 (1846).

⁷ *Lasarus v. Simmonds*, 3 Mer., 393.

all its inmates. And all this may be done so plausibly, so patriotically, that we may be reprehended and abused for not being charmed with the process.

The modern State, with the benefit of some experience in bolder methods, says in effect: We will have nothing to do with religion, the name of God shall not appear in our constitutions, we shall prohibit the recognition of any form of worship; we will banish the crucifix from our courts of law and the mention of salvation from our systems of instruction; we will give freedom to every one in the churches but let us have the training, the education of the country. Give us the Child. The world is wise in its methods—the child of to-day is the man of the next generation. And so a State system of education is legalized and the next step is to make it compulsory. That is the tendency of the present age and it is nothing more or less than the most dangerous attack that has ever been made on the very existence of Christianity. It is worse than an Establishment, it is worse than a Persecution. It is such an abridgment of parental and spiritual rights as will lead to the most disastrous results. The old writers on law would have held up their hands in horror at this invasion of the natural rights of man. The Church always taking the ground that intellectual training should go hand in hand with moral and religious instruction, sees the State taking under its control what it deemed as the sum of all education and either neglecting or repressing or perverting the larger half of it. Yet when the State is through with its so-called education when and how can the foundation of all education be laid? How can you prop up the foundation while the gingerbread ornamentation is glittering on the roof? It would be, perhaps, better for a Christian father that his child should have been trained in a school of what he deemed the deadliest errors of religion and morality than that he should be brought up in an atmosphere in which religion and morality were legally excluded. There from necessity a false religion and false morality would have taken its place. One can attack and correct the errors of a known system, but how can one be certain he has ever reached the influences of a thousand indefinite impressions? One cannot attack an unknown quantity as well as one can a positive, tangible, and determinate system. When once a State is determined that the education of its children is its duty and the duty neither of Church nor of parent, you can count, humanly speaking, on the next generation being as far from the Church and with as little of the belief of its members as human laws and worldly associations can make it. The great danger of this present day is the loss of the child. Could this be actualized now all would be lost.

“The education of children in a manner suitable to their station

and calling," says Chancellor Kent, "is another branch of parental duty, of imperfect obligation generally in the eye of the municipal law, but of very great importance to the welfare of the State. A parent who sends his son into the world uneducated and without any skill in any art or science does a great injury to mankind as well as to his own family, for he defrauds the community of a useful citizen and bequeaths to it a nuisance. This parental duty is strongly, persuasively inculcated by the writers on natural law. Solon was so deeply impressed with the force of the obligation that he even excused the children of Athens from maintaining their parents if they had neglected to train them up in some art or profession." The learned jurist goes on to show how several of the nations of antiquity were so impressed with the duty that they feared to entrust it to the parent. This however was "upon the principle totally inadmissible in the modern civilized world of the absorption of the individual in the body politic and of his entire subjection to the despotism of the State." It is this despotism that we complain of.

The rights of the parents result from these duties. They are bound to maintain and educate their children and the State cannot rightfully interfere to deprive parents of this sacred trust unless for good and sufficient cause. The interference of the State is not to be dreaded in particular instances where the law rightfully steps in and deprives the parents of the custody of the child. These are not grievances but good, wholesome remedies. The real grievance is where the State sets up its own idol of education and insists upon all bowing down before it. That is an infringement on parental rights that cannot be defended. It is a blow at human liberty—at the liberty of the person.

If the morality of national or State education is to be judged by a defective system, at what depths may we suppose it to be where the leaders and types of that system are themselves devoid of Christian feeling? In England a few years ago there was an inspector of national schools who had a world wide reputation. His name was Matthew Arnold—the so-called apostle of "sweetness and light." Yet Mr. Arnold scoffed at the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in language too brutal for repetition: he denied the divinity of Christ and ridiculed the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. He did all this in open day, and yet was a model school inspector for Christian England all the while. He acted in a manner that certainly rendered him amenable to the civil law for blasphemous libel.¹ After this *quis custodiet custodes?*

Again, the State, if unable to reach the child, may try its influ-

¹ See his *Literature and Dogma* and the shocking comparison of the three Lord Shaftesburys.

ence on the family. It has attacked the sanctity of marriage and has disputed the position of parents as the guardians of their children. Once the foundation of society in the family is endangered, a whole train of evils may be expected. Yet the civil law, by improperly unloosing what Heaven has joined together, strikes a serious blow at the Divine law. Marriage, with it, is a civil contract, to be dissolved or annulled on grounds more or less trivial, but always with regard to the parties interested, and not with reference to the inherent indissolubility of the relation in which they have voluntarily placed themselves. If the home is to have any sanctity, it must be preserved with a higher sense of morality than prevails in the partnership of a business-house or the by-laws of a joint-stock company. The family was the foundation of ancient society, even in pagan times ; but modern theories not only disregard the family, but disintegrate it. This is a dangerous encroachment, and one that is subversive of a species of morality most essential to the well being of any State. The history of Rome affords a sample of woman at one time degraded from her lofty position as mother and mistress of her family, and at another time forced up out of her proper sphere in the opposite direction during the effeminacy of the later Cæsars. The Church alone assigns her her true place, and its Founder ennobled marriage and elevated it to the dignity of a Sacrament. The civil purpose of the modern State is to weaken and destroy the marriage tie, and to allow the contracting parties to contract other unions to the confusion of their own offspring and the scandal of society.

And so, in various ways, the State goes on, little by little, eating into the Divine law, and by mere human regulations adapting itself to the fallen and depraved natures of its subjects. The Church as an organization, the family, the children, the rights of parents and guardians, become at length matters of civil law, until there is no law beyond it. It does more than all this—it seeks to withdraw the firm ground from beneath the Church and leave it nothing to rest upon. With this object it attacks the Church's rights to property, and enacts what it calls Mortmain laws. No land, or money to be invested in land, or mortgage securities, or any of those species of property called chattels real, can be left by will, and sometimes not by deed, *inter vivos*, to religious bodies or for religious purposes. Not a farthing's worth of these, out of the wealth of a millionaire, in some countries styled Christian, can be devised or conveyed, to have one Mass said for the repose of his soul, much less to build or help to build a church for the most struggling parish in the land. The law favors everything of earth and nothing of heaven. What an extraordinary thing it is, that in a country where Christianity is said to be part of the law of the

land—as in England, for instance—you will find a score of statutes repressing in every way the devoting of one solid acre of land to perpetuate the name and religion of the Founder of Christianity, or purchasing a few feet of earth for the burial of one of God's poor. Such is the fact, however, and such is and has been the policy of the law, even when England was not of the religion it is to-day. The State, as it fights for the things of the world, is the same State, whether in the time of Richard II. or George II., whether in England or in France. Truly, its kingdom is not only of this world but it begrudges and restrains any gift or disposition that looks beyond it.

The State, however, is not without its arguments against the foregoing, and it has a morality of its own to offer. The Sunday must be decorously observed, though not with the strictness of a Scotch Sabbath, nor with the exactness of the Blue laws of New England. A day of rest is a human necessity, and any Divine Ordinance is well as a corroboration, but not essential to the validity of the statutes. Men and animals require rest, and it was a habit of even pagan nations. And so the moral precept can be followed where good reasons exists, apart from the precept. Sunday must, therefore, be decently devoted to rest or idleness—or rather to ceasing from labor. But there the ordinance ends, and there is nothing spiritual in it, no more than in the “three days of grace” on a promissory note. There is no morality about it, and there could be none no matter what was intended.

The State, however, recognizes God in its courts of justice. This, when inquired into, has no great depth. Perjury is a crime when any one is injured pecuniarily, but as a sin simply, perjury is of no consequence from a legal point of view. To be a crime, perjury must be a wilful false swearing in any judicial proceeding. Then, the matter of the oath must be material to the issue or point in question, and the oath must be a lawful one, administered by some person of competent authority. When you come to regard all these, the moral complexion of perjury is lost sight of altogether—it is the highest contempt of the civil court, and the law must take care of its own self-respect and that of my lord the judge.

Again, blasphemy and sacrileges are punishable—the former when it disturbs the peace or is occasion of scandal to decency; the latter, when there is injury done to the material church. Of common swearing, lewdness, immorality, and all the species of offences known to the criminal law up to murder and treason, the safety of the citizen, as the Roman law has it, was the supreme law; the sin was not only not punished, but not taken into account. Therein the State was right—the sins that do not concern persons or property do not come within its jurisdiction. Admittedly, there-

fore, if mankind is to be governed by law, the civil law can only take its own share of rights and wrongs—the remainder of the list must be decided by some other law. So far as there is a visible outward authority for that purpose, it must be the Church. The Divine command is no less to render to God the things that are God's than to render to Cæsar his due.

These are a few of the encroachments of pagan Cæsar, but there are others, and the general design is to make his rule complete.

"The State," says Fr. Parkinson, "makes war on the practice of the Evangelical counsels, . . . it proscribes religious orders, and sets the brand of exile on its members. The State tears the priest from the sanctuary, and forces him to bear arms in wars, just or unjust, as it lays hands on the student in the seminary and educates him as a soldier, though God calls him to the altar. The State takes the child from the parent and the pastor, and educates him in its own schools in a mixed religion of its own; it even enters once more into the seminary, prescribes what the future priest shall learn, what books he shall study, and makes itself the final judge as to his fitness to enter upon the sacred ministry; and then, it supervises his doctrine and preaching, and takes into its own hands the control of his relations to his bishop, of the conditions of his communications with the chief Pastor of all the faithful. . . . But surely, these are enough to describe the system, which is the Anti-Christian system of relations between Church and State, which is the result of the working of the same domineering and impious spirit which carried the Roman ensigns into the Holy Place, and which shall have the fullest manifestation which God will ever permit when Antichrist shall seat himself in the Temple of God, showing himself as if he were God."¹

¹ The *Month*, December, 1874. See, also, article in *Dublin Review*, commenting on this.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE AND THE SIEGES OF
LIMERICK, 1690-1691.

I.

THE first great battle between the Jacobites and the Williamites occurred July 1, O. S., 1690. The writer stood on the historic spot 200 years after that strangest of battles between sire and son, had driven the one forever from Ireland, and almost secured to the other the crown he had coveted since the day of his marriage with his uncle's heiress. The astute and ambitious prince married his cousin for her expectations, not for affection. Many years elapsed before any love appeared on either side. His eye was always fixed on the throne which would be hers if her fair Italian step-mother bore no son. And should it come to her, it would be his, for, as he elegantly said, later: "He would not be his wife's subject, nor would he be tied to her apron-strings." From the hour of his marriage, he did all he could to create or foment discontent in England: and shortly after the birth of his wife's brother, he came over as the "Deliverer."

The Boyne which laves the southern frontier of Louth, the smallest county in Ireland, and forms part of the northern boundary of Meath, one of the largest, rises out of a holy well in Kildare, and is named after St. Boyne. Within four miles of its mouth, is the ancient town of Drogheda, situated in two counties and two dioceses. From its heights, or from the splendid viaduct that spans the river, may be seen the famous field on which William III. was victor and James II. vanquished. From the town to "King William's Glen," north of the river, or to "King James' Hill," south, is about a mile. You can go by the south side, cross the bridge at "the field," and return by the Rampart on Meath side; there is no mistaking the fatal field. It is marked by a massive obelisk, 150 feet high, on a huge irregular granite boulder, some 20 feet square. The date is in the Old Style. Other nations were ten days later. Rather than "quarrel with the stars," they followed the Gregorian, or New Style. Obelisks are not common in Ireland. An ugly one marks the spot on which George IV., the next king who visited Ireland after William III., landed at Dunleavy, now Kingstown. On the rocky base of the Egyptian landmark that overshadows the Boyne is the following pretty inscription.

"Sacred to the memory of King William III. who, on July 1,

1690, passed the river near this place to attack James II. at the head of a Popish army advantageously posted on the south side of it, and did, on that day, by a single battle, secure to us and to our posterity, our liberty, laws, and religion. In consequence of this action, James left the kingdom and fled to France."

"This memorial of our deliverance was erected in the ninth year of the reign of George II., the first stone being laid by Lionel Sackville, Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland, 1736."

The people of Drogheda, a most Catholic place, have always before their eyes this remarkable pillar, which says that this battle secured to their country her liberty, laws and religion—the contrary being the case. Even to the Williamites in Ireland, nothing was *secured* till the honorable capitulation of Limerick. Nor were the liberties and religion of the people restored to them, even partially till over a century later. And the laws were made so unjust, cruel, and repressive of everything the people gloried in, that it has been said, and not entirely untruly, that the ordinary idea of patriotism with the Irish peasant was: "To be again the law."

II.

Two roads lead out of Drogheda to the battle-field. The ground towards the fatal spot is varied by low green hills. Suddenly your horse makes a quick turn, and, behold, you are in the beautiful valley of the Boyne. Within a few yards of the obelisk, the river is spanned by a handsome iron and stone bridge, with latticed iron sides, painted white. Heavy piers of limestone support it. Visitors sometimes record their sentiments on the dead white of the parapets. Every available spot was covered with pencil scribbling, when we saw it. Some sentences were patriotic, others affectionate. Strange, there was not a line complimentary to the "glorious, pious, and immortal memory" of the peevish manikin whose name is inseparably connected with the sweeping river.

From the bridge are seen some fine country residences. Old Bridge House in the midst of smiling meadows that slope to the water's edge, is a charming and stately home. A rising ground, thickly wooded, leads to Donore Hill in the waving plains of fertile Meath.¹ From this height James viewed the contest he shared only vicariously. The spot on which the timorous, irresolute prince stood, in an ancient churchyard sanctified by a ruined church, is marked by a group of ash trees. Further off is Duleek, whither a part of his army retreated after the fight. On the ancient bridge, built 1587, some of his cannon were placed.

¹ It is said that one acre in Meath is worth two acres elsewhere, because of the great fertility of the soil.

III.

James landed at Kinsale, March 12, 1689. The house in which he rested, now an apothecary's shop, has little to distinguish it from its fellows, save some ancient stucco work. In Cork, he slept at the Dominican Priory, Crosses' Green, whose site is now occupied by a handsome Convent of Mercy, St. Marie's of the Isle. The Mayor of Cork, 1688, was Patrick Roche; the Sheriffs, Messrs. French and Morough. The Mayor, 1689, was Dominick Sarsfield; the Sheriffs, Messrs. Mead and Nagle. James heard Mass at the Franciscan Church, North Side, of which no vestige now remains. He was supported through the streets by two Franciscan Friars, and followed by several members of the same Order, in their brown habits. His host was the Earl of Clancarty; he created Tyrconnel, who met him in Cork, a duke, and thus Frances Jennings became a duchess long before her sister, Sarah of Marlborough. James was the first sovereign who visited Ireland since the Plantagenet epoch. Everywhere he was received with open arms; his early reputation for bravery made his supporters hope they had a king equal to the emergency that had arisen. On Palm Sunday, March 24th, he made his triumphal entry into Dublin. As he rode through the streets multitudes cheered him on every side; arras and tapestry hung from the windows of the rich,—the poor draped theirs with blankets. The season being ten days later than the date, O. S., vegetation was advanced, and green boughs and flowers added to the decorations. A solemn *Te Deum* was sung in Christ Church, in thanksgiving for the king's arrival.¹ His Majesty issued a proclamation convoking a Parliament for May 7th.

It has been acutely said that James II. was a Catholic in religion and a Protestant in politics. His chief enemies were the descendants of those English and Scotch fanatics for whom his grandfather had stolen thousands of acres in Ulster, and the Cromwellian settlers, whose chief also had robbed the Irish to enrich their enemies. For the latter spoliation, the "merry monarch" made scarcely any reparation, preferring to act on Clarendon's infamous policy: Humor your enemies; you are always sure of your friends. Everything James could do to lessen his chances of success, which were good, he did. He went to Derry to protect his Protestant subjects, who were tolerably well able to take care of themselves and had powerful allies. His General, Hamilton, had almost succeeded in taking the city, but James thought his conditions too easy. Had this unlucky king remained in

¹ King James, while in Dublin, attended Mass in Christ Church. The Lord Deputies, or Viceroys, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin used to be sworn into office in Christ Church.

France and commissioned others to fight his battles, history would have a different tale to tell of the Jacobite wars in Ireland. The only ill treatment meted out to him on Irish soil was bestowed in sight of Derry; he was refused admittance within its gates, and, to add injury to insult, one of his contumacious subjects fired on his sacred person. He returned to Dublin to meet his Parliament, in which to the evident disgust of Macaulay, the *O's* and *Mac's* predominated. It was mainly a Catholic assembly, natural enough in a Catholic country, though this, too, failed to find favor with the Whig historian, or rather, romancist. Parliament was held in an old Dominican Priory occupying the site from which now arise the massive Four Courts. James appeared on a throne in the House of Lords in royal robes, wearing a crown.¹ He thanked the Irish for remaining true to him when his other kingdoms had deserted his cause. It was the last Parliament he opened, and though its proceedings may not have been acceptable at Westminster, for which the Lords and Commons of Ireland were not legislating, yet some wise and honest measures were passed. Men who for a century and a half had been persecuted for their religion established full liberty of conscience for all, and they repealed the Act of Settlement, by which Cromwell had legalized the robbery of the lawful proprietors of their estates. "Though papists," says Grattan, "they were not slaves; they wrung a Constitution from James before they accompanied him to the field."

Ireland had been nearly wiped out of existence by Cromwell. Goldwin Smith says, "The descendants of the Cromwellian landowners became probably the very worst upper class with which a country was ever afflicted." The real owners were wandering about in misery, or had sought refuge in foreign lands; the Restoration brought no relief. "This country has been perpetually rent and torn since His Majesty's return," said Lord Deputy, Essex. "Men beaten with whips in Cromwell's time cry out they are now beaten with scorpions," wrote Bishop French, of Ferns. Since the accession of James, however, Ireland had enjoyed peace, and showed extraordinary recuperative power. To aid their King, the nobility equipped many military companies at their own expense; the country had been drained of its men by transportation and incessant warfare, but "there was life in the old land yet," and had it been possible to save the Stuart King from himself, and put a great soldier like Owen Roe O'Neill of an earlier

¹ James put a Catholic Irishman, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, at the head of affairs in Ireland; this was one of his best appointments. Unhappily, future Viceroy were not so well selected with a view to the happiness of the people over whom they were placed. Queen Victoria and her advisers have not yet imitated the liberality, or rather justice, of the much maligned James II.

era, or Patrick Sarsfield, who represented Dublin in James' Parliament, over the regiments hurriedly raised by McMahon, O'Reilly, Maguire, Nugent and others, and let James do what his successors have generally done since, keep far from war's alarms, Ireland might have been saved to the Stuarts. In justice to James, it must be admitted he was not fighting on his own element; the qualifications of England's greatest admiral would not necessarily make a general successful on land service; sailors fighting on land do little better than soldiers in a naval engagement.

IV.

William III. landed at Carrickfergus, under the walls of the castle, June 14, 1690. The stone on which he first set foot is still pointed out; from that memorial to the Boyne we have followed his trail. Between Newry and Dundalk two or three hundred of his men were routed by the Jacobites. Several skirmishes during the spring had resulted mostly in the discomfiture of the invaders. More than half of William's men were foreigners; he distrusted the English¹ and found a reaction in favor of his uncle. Prince George of Denmark and other high personages he kept near him rather as hostages than aids. His well drilled strangers, representing nearly every European nationality, were not chivalrous warriors; their princes were wont to hire them out to the highest bidder. The whole invading force, including raw recruits from England, has been variously estimated at from forty to fifty-two thousand, double the number of the opposing army. Three provinces and part of Ulster kept their fealty to their old king. William was fighting on his own element; he never risked himself in a sea fight, yet he scarcely ever won a battle. Personal bravery he showed, and, however unfortunate in the field, he loved fighting, and was more at home in the carnage of battle than in his palaces. Though he was part of the dual head of the Protestant Church (1688-1694), and posed as a Protestant hero, he was a Dutch Calvinist by profession, and hated the English Establishment. His behavior in church scandalized many, even among his friends; he carried his irreverence so far as to keep his hat on during Divine service. He probably cared little about any religion; ambition and intense devotion to his worldly interest held religion's place in his soul. A great part of his life he spent as hired generalissimo of the ultra Catholic power, Spain.

¹ William thoroughly despised the English, and treated England somewhat like a conquered province. One of his medals bore a shattered oak and a blooming orange tree, with the legend: "Instead of acorns golden oranges." Burnet's inaugural pastoral declared that William and Mary reigned by right of conquest. Bently published a book entitled *William and Mary, Conquerors*. These productions gave great offence; Parliament sentenced them to be burnt by the common hangman.

William was a man of mean presence, considerably below medium height. At the Revolution, his pictures represented him as a giant—a piece of flattery not without influence on his cause. His name is a synonym for bloodshed and religious intolerance. His “pious, glorious and immortal” memory is revered by Orangemen, of whom he is patron saint. Should you travel in northern Ireland toward the great anniversary, you will see that the cottagers take special care of the orange lilies that set their gardens aflame—they must be ready for “the wulk” on the 12th. On that great day, what commotion! gorgeous flags and fiery streamers, purple banners fringed with orange or gold—poor Catholics bar their doors, the Orangemen are out. The men wear orange sashes, the women ribbons of the same bright color, edged with blue. High above the crowd is borne a portrait of “the Oranger,” of greatly magnified proportions—there would be nothing imposing in a genuine likeness—on a white charger crossing the Boyne. The procession moves on; the horses are bedecked with orange flowers and streamers. It passes under arches of evergreens and orange lilies. On the other side of the Atlantic and below the Indian Ocean, the same has been seen. The eyes are regaled on these festive occasions, but the ears are not neglected. Band after band strike up Orange music. Cheers for the small hero of Nassau are commingled with groans and execrations for his hapless father-in-law. No Jacobite now lives to squeeze oranges at the wily stadtholder, or shout “Confusion to his hooked nose,” but the moving panorama rarely scatters without bloodshed.

Miss Strickland styles the foreign mercenaries of William, “the wickedest and cruelest troops England had ever seen;” by this it seems they surpassed the bloody hordes of Cromwell. Schomberg’s chaplain, Dr. Gorge, describes them as profligate, licentious and wallowing in crimes too odious to mention. While in the marshy neighborhood of Dundalk, many of them were sick in the sand dunes. James might have annihilated his enemies with the help of the pestilence that was decimating them, but he could not be persuaded to attack the troops of “his son.” This provoked Marshal Rosen¹ beyond endurance, and he exclaimed, in a burst of indignation: “Sire, if you had a hundred kingdoms, you would lose them all.”

V.

The troops of James retreated to the Meath side of the Boyne, near Drogheda, from whose gate-towers floated his royal standard

¹ Lord Wharton boasted that he had sung James II. out of Ireland by a song called *Liliburero*. This vile doggerel had a bold, catching air, which was sung everywhere and whistled in the hearing of James himself.

and the Flag of the Lilies. William had been only two weeks in Ireland, but had worked energetically from the moment of his landing. Still in the prime of life, in his 40th year, he was everywhere, attending to everything. James was prematurely old for 57. William's marauders poured down "King William's Glen," and posed as "an army in battle array." From Doure Hill, James, surrounded by some French allies, viewed the unequal contest. "With admirable courage," says James, Duke of Berwick, "the Irish troops charged the English *ten times* after they had crossed the river." But James II. had no praise for these "very great scorers of death." "If love begets love, the English should certainly love James II. He would scarcely have been pleased had he vanquished them. He would hardly have liked to see his English defeated. They had persecuted him almost from his birth. The Irish had shed torrents of blood for him and his, and were still, at terrible odds, fighting his battles. Yet he had no pity for them. When he saw them bearing rather heavily on his countrymen, he cried out, to the unspeakable disgust of his soldiers: "Spare, oh spare! my English subjects!"

Over a thousand Irish corpses lay stark upon the bloody field as the shades of evening fell on that bright July day. The enemy deplored 500 killed, among them Schomberg,¹ and many wounded. The defeat was due to the miserable King. The vanquished, though they had fought seven hours under a burning sun, were willing to continue the battle if they could get rid of their unlucky leader. "Change Kings and we will fight it over again," was their pathetic cry.

The domestic miseries of this British Lear, added to the premature old age sometimes seen in persons who begin life too early, and the injury done him physically by severe attacks of sanguineous apoplexy, may have partially unbalanced the royal mind; the action of James after his expulsion, was often the action of a maniac. On this fatal day, he fled before the battle was over, gained Dublin in an incredibly short time, and with base ingratitude (if he were in his senses) charged the Irish with

¹ William showed great grief for Schomberg and a funeral at Westminster was spoken of, but no further notice was taken by him of the death of "the first captain in Europe." The dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, where his ashes lie, vainly urged his relations to contribute towards a monument. A memorial was at length put up by the church dignitaries. The inscription by Dean Swift, says, that Duke Schomberg's reputation for valor availed more with strangers than ties of blood did with his own kindred. Walker, Bishop of Derry, fared worse. When the King heard he was shot at the ford, he gruffly asked: "Why did the fool go there?" Yet to this fighting parson he owed Derry, and perhaps Ireland. From the effigy of Walker, on top of the Walker monument, Derry, the sword is reported to have fallen the day the Emancipation Act received the royal signature.

cowardice. "The Irish, Madame, can run very fast," said the royal fugitive to Lady Tyrconnel, who came down the castle stair-case to meet him. "In this," she retorted, "your Majesty surpasses them for you have won the race." It was the first battle ever James lost. He embarked for France at Waterford, leaving his faithful Irish to continue the war.¹

When "Mary, the Daughter," heard of her husband's success, she wrote him a letter with the following passage, showing that, though she had violated the fourth commandment, she had some zeal for her own religion: "I have desired to beg that you be not too quick in parting with the confiscated estates, but consider whether you will not keep some for public schools to instruct the poor Irish. I must need say I think you would do very well if you would consider what care can be taken of the poor souls there; and, indeed, if you give me leave, I must tell you the wonderful deliverance and success you have had should oblige you to think upon doing what you can for the advancement of the true religion and promoting the gospel."

William never made the slightest reparation for the atrocities he inflicted on Ireland. The estates referred to he gave to the infamous Elizabeth Villiers, who had, even in the honeymoon of the Orange nuptials, supplanted the beautiful Mary in his affections. The Irish would not have accepted such "true religion" as "the daughter" proposed to give." But, strange to say, 15 years after Mary's death, "the Villiers" who had meanwhile become Countess of Orkney, founded a school in Middletown, Cork (1709) for the education of the poor children in the Protestant religion, and endowed it with some of the above estates. They had been leased by King James at £200 a year to Sir Richard Mead and William North, Esq., being part of his private fortune, inherited from the Earls of Clare and Ulster. The magnanimous William and Mary seized this property as they did the very furniture and clothing of their desolate father and his saintly queen.

VI.

Ireland had been "brayed in a mortar." There were people living, in a country always famous for the number attaining longevity, who remembered the terrible bloodshed and planting of James I, the stand made for his son when driven out by the English, and sold for a groat by the Scotch, and the Cromwellian massacre of 40 years previous. In the tragic and pathetic story of the century there was little to remember but wars and rumors

¹ O'Halloran, almost a contemporary, says that it was by means of a barter trade with France in which the Irish gave their wool, hides, tallow and butter, for powder, ball and arms that the war was so long maintained against William.

of wars, and the perpetual warfare the people waged for religion and liberty. Of the space between 1641 and 1652, Sir William Petty says: "If Ireland had continued in peace for said 11 years, the 1,466,000 (pop. in 1641) had increased by generations in that time to 73,000, making in all 1,529,000, which were brought by wars, 1652, to 850,000, so that 689,000 souls were lost, for whose blood somebody must answer to God and the King.

The recuperative powers of Ireland were literally enormous. In an account of Rinuccini's¹ sojourn in Ireland, 1645—1649, preserved in the archives of the Irish College in Rome, the writer says: "Families are very large. Some have as many as 30 children, all living, and the number of those who have from 15 to 20 is immense. All these children are handsome, tall and robust. The same unimpeachable authority mentions the extraordinary beauty of the women, their elegant manners, the superb entertainments given, the comeliness and strength of the men, the cheerfulness with which they bore every species of hardship. The description given in the Rinuccini papers of the fish, flesh, Spanish and French wines, excellent milk and butter, apples, pears, plums, and "all eatables" served to the Archbishop and his retinue,² is entirely at variance with Macaulay's word on the same subject. And both describe the state of things when the country was in her chronic condition—war. The papers mention with evident admiration, that the Irish, even in remote places, were thoroughly instructed in their religion, respectful to the clergy, and enthusiastically devoted to the Pope.

After the Boyne success, William III. repaired to Dublin, where he was cordially welcomed by the Protestants, now relieved from their agonizing fears that the Catholics might retaliate on them the cruelties they had remorselessly inflicted on the Catholics. Special thanksgiving was made for the victory which gave England a national debt and increased religious animosity a hundredfold.

¹ John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, was sent to Ireland as nuncio-extraordinary by Pope Innocent X., with a supply of arms and money.

² The diet, housing and clothes is much the same as in England; nor is French elegance unknown to many of them, nor the French and Latin tongues. *Political Anatomy of Ireland*—Sir William Petty. "What an answer to Lord Macaulay," is Maurice Lenihan's comment.

Mr. Lenihan quotes a curious letter of Captain Taylor, who sends to the camp near Limerick, Aug. 20, 1690, "all this poor country can afford, and all that is left worth his Majesty's eating . . ." "one veale, 10 fat wethers, 12 chickinges, 2 dussen of frest butter, 2 th ck cheese and a thin one, 10 loaves of bread, a dusen and a half of pidgeons; 12 bottles of ale, half a barrel of small ale, some kidnie beans." "We are strongly of opinion," comments Mr. Lenihan, "that no French *cuisinier* could provide a daintier feast for Royalty than did Captain Taylor, under the circumstances, provide for William III., while he lay before Limerick."

Sunday, July 6th, William rode in state to St. Patrick's Cathedral. The spot in the choir is still shown on which he stood, with his uncle's crown on his head, to give thanks for the success of his ambitious schemes. From that day the Cathedrals of Dublin, Christ Church and St. Patrick's, two of the most beautiful churches in Christendom, and rich beyond the power of words to describe in religious and historic associations, have been in possession of the alien church. Catholics within the memory of man were obliged to worship, in peril of their lives, in a new form of catacombs. Schomberg's tablet is in the chancel of St. Patrick's. Swift reposes not far off. Near him is Stella's last resting-place. What a cloud of witnesses arise from the grave and surround one in this venerable spot. Stella came from the household of Sir William Temple, friend of William III., and the King knew Swift and offered him a post in the army. But what are the historical to the religious associations of a temple sanctified by the presence of saints? The French allies retreated westward, the Irish were gathering near the mouth of the Shannon. William turned his face towards Limerick, the Jacobite metropolis of Ireland. The eccentric little Lauzan, whose selection by James and his queen for a high post in their army was a wretched mistake, was eager to return to France with the remnants of the Red, Blue and White regiments, and they were easily spared. If Macaulay's accounts of them be true, they were some of the poorest warriors that ever cumbered Irish ground.

VII.

Forty days after the battle of the Boyne, William appeared before Limerick, whose walls, Lauzan said, could be battered down with roasted apples. Limerick was a pretty town and made a fine appearance from the river. Some forty years previous, it had been the scene of many tragic and pathetic incidents when besieged by Cromwellian warriors under Ireton,¹ son-in-law of the ferocious Protector. Pestilence was scourging the city; 8000 died of the plague during the short siege of 1657. The heroic Bishop, Terence Albert O'Brien, lived among the stricken. Day and night he encouraged the people to be true to their God and their country. The besiegers offered him 43,000 gold crowns to leave the city, but he disdainfully rejected their treacherous advances. When the siege was raised, no quarter was allowed to

¹ Some sixty years before Ireton's attack, Spenser described "the most plentiful and populous country" of Munster as reduced to "a heap of ashes and carcasses" by the English soldiery. Later, the Puritans "swore to extirpate the whole Irish nation" (Clarendon). June 4, 1646, 5000 Irish under Owen Roe O'Neil defeated 8000 Puritans at Benburb. Napoleon said that, had this intrepid warrior lived, he would have proved a match for Cromwell.

priests or bishops, and a price was set on O'Brien's head. It was in the pest-house, ministering to the sick and dying, that the enemy found this brave prelate. Brought before Ireton, he was tried by court-martial and condemned to the horrible death of a traitor, in which the gibbet preceded the block and the quartering began before life was extinct. Undismayed by so dire a prospect, he upbraided Ireton for his cruelties, and, in stern words, which proved prophetic, summoned the unjust and sanguinary judge to meet him at the bar of eternal justice, to answer to God for his crimes. The noble head of the martyr was spiked on a tower in the middle of the bridge. The sacred spot on which he won his crown is proudly pointed out by his compatriots and revered by them with the piety characteristic of their race.

Eight days after this awfully dramatic scene, the dark and cruel Ireton was writhing in the agonies of the plague, which he had probably caught from the bishop's clothing. He raved wildly of the murdered prelate, and charged upon his council a crime committed by his own order. This fierce persecutor who had spilt the blood of the saints like water, enjoyed no peace after the awful summons of his victim. In tortures no remedy could assuage, he died in despair. In an ancient street in Limerick is Ireton's house, a large, gloomy mansion, wearing a weird, or, rather, condemned look; it is let out in tenements, and gradually falling into decay. His corpse, which would scarcely be allowed to rest in consecrated ground in Ireland, was buried in Westminster Abbey, but not suffered to remain there. After an heroic defence of six months, two thousand five hundred of the garrison laid down their arms in St. Mary's Cathedral. As they marched sadly out of that venerable edifice, many of them dropped dead of the plague!

William III. came before Limerick (1690) thinking the city would at once surrender. The soldiers relieved of the presence of their continental auxiliaries, guarded every post. William's 20,000 men encamped on the crest of the hills of Singland, a few hundred yards from the city walls. In the previous century, Limerick had been called the city of castles. Dinely, who made a tour of Ireland in the time of Charles II., mentions its houses as "tall, built of black or polished marble, with partitions five feet thick and battlements on the top." Whitmore Castle, called also Sarsfield's Castle, as tradition says the great general lived there during the sieges, was the Globe Tavern, and famed for its excellent claret. Ardent spirits were sold only in drug stores till William III. popularized their use legally and by example. The walls defending the Irish town were in better condition than those of the English town. William's friend, Herr Bentinck, and William himself with Herr Overkirke, and other officers, reconnoitred the premises.

The dash and spirit of the besiegers, the heroic resistance of the besieged, and the peculiar circumstances of a bombardment in which fair matrons and modest maidens took part, are recorded by the aggressors and the defenders. The ruthless savagery of William's heterogeneous warriors is a tradition among the descendants of those who suffered from it. Their chief occupation was hanging all the unfortunate Irishmen who came in their way, on pretence that they were Rapparees, but really because they were true to their creed and country.

Among the objects of interest that rose above the walls was St. Mary's Cathedral, from whose battlements floated the standard of King James. This beautiful edifice, with its soaring towers and romantic bells, was seized by the Protestants, June 15, 1655, when all papists were commanded to leave the city.¹ It was restored by James II. to the owners, who held it during the sieges, '90-'91. After the Treaty it was retaken by the Protestants. Founded by Donald O'Brien in the twelfth century, it has resisted the ravages of time and escaped the iconoclastic rage of more ruthless destroyers. The poor of Limerick indulge the hope that it will yet come back to the rightful owners.

This venerable temple, though abounding in objects of interest to the historian and antiquarian, has a dark and gloomy aspect. A visitor lately remarked this to a poor woman selling apples in the shadow of its massive spire. "Ah, then," she replied, "why shouldn't it be dark and heavy? Didn't Cromwell's wretches and William's Orangers turn out the Blessed Sacrament and quench the lamp? *Sure it couldn't be bright or lightsome without Him!*"

VIII.

Sarsfield's brilliant achievement, one of the grandest exploits of modern warfare, by which he led a chosen band out of Limerick and blew to atoms the siege-train of William, saved the city. The bravery of the besieged who flung back their assailants whenever they approached, extorted words of admiration from the phlegmatic prince who was too enthusiastic a soldier not to appreciate the extraordinary heroism of the defenders, women and men. The official list puts his loss at 500 killed and 1100 wounded, but more truthful authorities rate it much higher, even over 2000 killed. In the heaps of the slain were the uniforms of almost every country in Europe. The lateness of the season, constant rains, and other reasons are given for raising the siege. But it was raised because William was beaten, and for no other cause. The garrison, aided by the heroic women, forced him to withdraw. Sars-

¹ Cromwell's *State Papers*.

field's *coup* on the memorable night, August 11th-12th, contributed immensely to the discomfiture of his battalions. To his dismay he learned that the walls which the little knight errant, Lauzan, considered incapable of resisting roasted apples, stood firm against the scientific engineering of the most famous artillerists in the world. The maddened besiegers, in retaliation or revenge, hacked and butchered every native they met. William did not take his defeat philosophically. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," was especially true of him the last night of the siege. He drank plentifully of the strong liquor he loved, but this, instead of restoring the little good humor he had, at his best, made him more morose and gloomy. "He cursed the fate that brought him to Limerick to witness a defeat unparalleled in the annals of warfare. None of his generals dare approach him. Tortured and maddened, he cast the blame on all about him, and as he weighed the advantages of the Boyne with the losses and disgrace of Limerick, he groaned in spirit.¹ A spirited ballad by Thomas Davis, on the Battle of Limerick, August 27, 1690, concludes :

"Out with a roar the Irish sprung,
And back the beaten English flung,
Till William fled, his lords among,
From the city of Luimneach lionnglas."²

'Twas thus was fought that glorious fight,
By Irishmen for Ireland's right—
May all such days have such a night
As the battle of Luimneach lionnglas."

William raised the siege, August 31st, and turning his back forever on the "city of the Azure river," embarked for England, September 5th, and reached Kensington, September 16th. No doubt he was consoled by his adoring consort whom he found in much better physical health than himself. After her return to England, Mary had grown enormously large.

William had lost his hold on "the country worth fighting for." Hundreds of regulars were dead in the trenches. Before starting for Waterford, he had left his well-drilled but vicious soldiers in command of his countrymen, Solmes and Ginckle.

IX.

Colonel Richard Grace repulsed the Williamites at Athlone. "When provisions fail," said he, "I'll eat my boots, but never surrender." On June 18, 1691, Ginckle came before that devoted town with 25,000 men, and began a second siege. Grace, a gray-headed veteran, was removed to a subordinate position, and his place given

¹ *Hist. Limerick*, Lenihan.

² Limerick of the Azure river.

to d'Usson. This was one of the numerous Jacobite blunders. Grace fell fighting at his post. Bad generalship caused most of the Jacobite disasters. However, prodigies of valor were performed by the besieged, and the enemy were retiring when, through a mistake of St. Ruth, Athlone was taken in a final assault. July 23, 1691, at Aughrim, was fought the greatest battle of the war. The enemy lost over 3000, the vanquished over 2000. The conqueror might have said with an ancient hero: "One such victory more and I am undone." The death of the impetuous St. Ruth¹ in the moment of triumph, caused the defeat. The reader will recall Moore's beautiful lines to the air of "The Lamentation of Aughrim," beginning:

"Forget not the field where they perished
The truest, the last of the brave,
All gone, and the bright hope we cherished
Gone with them, and quenched in their grave."

Aughrim is now a mere string of small houses, in a sweet pastoral country. The ruined castle from which the Stuart standard waved still frowns above it. The peasant will point out the field called in the Irish language: "The cry of the heart," where widows and orphans sought their loved husbands and fathers among the heaps of the slain. Hard by is "The Bridge of a Thousand Heads," in defending which, tradition says, a thousand Irish warriors fell; 7000 are said to have perished at Aughrim, before the standard of St. George was flung out from the castle. Ginckle now tried his fortune at Limerick. What remained of the armies that had charged at the Boyne, and resisted unto death at Athlone, and shed their blood in torrents under the shadow of the ancient castle of Aughrim came down to the Shannon to defend the beleaguered city. It was said that Limerick looked somewhat like a spider, whose narrow waist was Ball's Bridge. Portions of the old walls flanked by towers are still standing. As late as 1760, seventeen gates stood around Limerick, whose sites may still be traced. The ramparts defended by women stretched from St. John's Gate to Clare Street. Some of the walls thirty feet thick, were afterwards tunnelled. In the next century, they were metamorphosed into Roche's beautiful Hanging Gardens, the wonder and delight of the people. The quarries of Garryowen supplied material for the citadel, the castle walls and monuments; even the streets were paved with marble.²

For sixty days, the besieged under Sarsfield, resisted the picked

¹ St. Ruth showed his jealousy by ordering Sarsfield to the rear, and keeping him in ignorance of his plans. Yet in ability and capacity Sarsfield was infinitely superior to the other great soldiers of his time.

² Limerick has always been famous for flowers and gardens; *Garryowen* is a corruption of *Owen's Garden*.

guards and legions of Ginckle, and the history of the late siege repeated itself. As the foreign mercenaries approached, Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel and Lord Deputy for James II., was struck with apoplexy, August 11th. He died August 14th, and was buried in St. Mary's Cathedral the following night.¹ The house in which he expired was long pointed out; only its site, near St. Munchin's Church, can now be traced.

The most disastrous incident of the siege was the massacre of the courageous men who held Thomond Gate against the enemy; 850 men were driven across the bridge when the French major in command ordered the drawbridge to be raised, lest in a hand-to-hand fight, the grenadiers might enter the city. Into the river were pushed 150 men; 600 were cooped up on the narrow bridge, so closely wedged together that they were unable to defend themselves. The heaps of the slain rose higher than the parapets; over 600 perished of that gallant band that had for hours checked the advance of a whole army.

Want of food and ammunition made the defence of the city toward the close nearly impossible. The besiegers offered conditions with which no fault could be found; further resistance was useless, and on September 24th a three days' truce was begun. Sarsfield and the brave Scotchman, Wauchap, who ably seconded him, conferred with the Williamites, represented by their leaders. Near Thornam Bridge may be seen, raised by steps several feet from the ground, the large stone which tradition asserts was used as a table when the Treaty was signed, October 3, 1591, by which was closed the war between James II.² and "his son," William of Orange. The treaty was quickly violated,³ hence Limerick is styled "The City of the Violated Treaty."

Scarcely was this treaty signed when a French fleet of eighteen ships and twenty passports, with three thousand men, two hundred officers, ten thousand stand of arms, with plenty of clothing and provisions, appeared in the Shannon. Had this help come sooner, Sarsfield would not have accepted the favorable terms of the enemy; with this great force behind him he might have taken

¹ Tyrconnel, an Irish noble, and a staunch friend of James II. was the first Catholic made Lord Deputy of Ireland since the Reformation—and, we may add, the last.

² James has been blamed for coining brass money and gun money (*i. e.*, money made of old guns) also for raising the value of English and foreign gold and silver coin. He promised to redeem all at the expiration of the "present necessity." Though an able financier he did not think of issuing paper money, or creating a national debt, like his successors.

³ When Sarsfield marched out of Limerick, colors flying, drums beating, with all the honors of war, he fondly hoped that he had secured liberty to his people. But alas, he relied in vain on the honor of a king. The "Treaty" was but "the perjured preface" to the Penal Laws. Besides that of Limerick, there are two violated treaties—Mellifont and Kilkenny.

back his word, and continued his defence of Limerick. But the gallant soldier was too honorable to commit a breach of faith—what he had written he had written. He kept his troth, even though Dapping, Protestant Bishop of Meath, was teaching, *ex cathedra*, “the sinfulness of keeping your oath or faith with Papists,”—a sinfulness never committed in those days.

X.

The Irish army refusing to serve under William the Usurper, took service under the principal sovereigns of Europe; Ginckle strove hard to obtain these brave men for his master, but only about one thousand, mostly Englishmen or Ulster men, declined to go to the Continent. Twelve thousand two hundred entered the service of France,¹ increasing the Irish contingent there to nearly twenty thousand. This was the celebrated Irish Brigade, whose valor was gloriously displayed on almost every battle field in Europe. When Maria Teresa instituted fifty crosses of the Legion of Honor, forty-six of them were won by Irish officers. Louis XIV. loved to welcome these exiles to his armies, and always spoke of them as “my brave Irish.” Francis I. wrote: “The more Irish officers we have in the Austrian army the better.” In several battles they turned the scale against the English; when defeated by their bravery and skill, the despicable George II. exclaimed: “Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such subjects.” Yet this wretched creature added new and horrible enactments to the penal code already existing. In the English House of Commons it was said that more injury had been done to England and her allies by these exiles, than if all the Irish Catholics had been left in possession of their estates. To escape the penal laws, thousands of young men joined their friends in France, Spain and Austria, and many emigrated to America. In Georgia and the Carolinas they soon formed the majority; in 1729, fifty-six hundred Irish landed in Philadelphia. The total emigration to France amounted to one million, and from 1691 to the Revolution, four hundred and eighty thousand Irishmen died in the service of France. After the defeat of the English at Fontenoy, May 11, 1745, the government decreed the penalty of death against any Irishman enlisting in France. Among the thousands who won distinction in foreign lands are Cooke, O’Shaughnessy, Lacy (Russia), Tyrconnel (Prussia), Nugent, O’Connor, O’Brien, Lally, O’Reilly, Captain General of Cuba, Governor of Louisiana, Count McCarthy, and Marquis Casacalvo (O’Farrell), Louisiana. Sarsfield,² “the Irish Bayard,” *sans puer et sans reproche*, is com-

¹ Some not choosing either service returned to their homes.

² Sarsfield married Honora Burke, grand-daughter of the Baron of Brittas who, suf-

memorated in Limerick by a fine bronze statue (Lawlor, sculptor). On the pedestal is the inscription :

"To commemorate the indomitable energy and stainless honor of General Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, the heroic defender of Limerick during the sieges of 1690 and 1691, who died from the effects of wounds received at the Battle of Landen, 1693."

The site was presented by Most Rev. George Buttes, bishop of Limerick. The writer had the pleasure of seeing this statue tastefully decorated with flowers and banners, on the second centenary of Sarsfield's defeat of William III.

Frightful statutes followed the violation of the Treaty. William, Anne, George I., George II. enlarged the horrid code. A characteristic enactment of Anne gave a child who conformed to the Protestant religion, his father's estates, excluding other heirs. As the sister queens, Mary and Anne, had driven out their own father, it was supposed other children would not hesitate to grow rich in a similar way.¹ In these reigns Ireland touched the depths of her degradation; yet contraband intercourse with the great world abroad kept hope alive in the hearts of many. The Pretender, "the son of a King," was to them a hero, because he would not renounce the true religion for a triple crown. When the saintly Mary Beatrice passed away, they bewailed her in their poetic language, and in their poor cabins sang a "Lament for the Queen" when the day's work was done.

Meanwhile, the penal laws continued to debase those who executed them. "Where they were not bloody," says Edmund Burke, "they were worse; they were slow, cruel and outrageous in their nature, and kept men alive only to insult in their persons every one of the rights and feelings of humanity." Yet so slowly did the work of conversion proceed that it was computed it would take four thousand years to convert the Irish! Nay, they sometimes converted their masters. From the day that Strongbow married Eva, Englishmen and other foreigners in Ireland have shown a strong disposition to marry Irish wives.² Many of William's

ferred the horrible death of a traitor, in 1610, because he had harbored a priest. Sarsfield's widow, Countess Honora, married James Stuart, Duke of Berwick, and thus became daughter-in-law to James II., and sister-in-law to queens Mary and Anne, the so-called Pretender, and Princess Louisa Stuart.

¹ The heroes and heroines of the Revolution were mostly cursed with bad sons or had none. William and Mary had no issue. Queen Anne's eighteen children all died young. The heir of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, Lord Blandford, died a boy. Bishop Burnet's sons were daring reprobates. Thomas wrote a song on his father's death, beginning :

"The fiends were brawling
When Burnet descending!"

² The proudest Norman invaders of Ireland sought Irish wives, but the Normans in

men,¹ and not a few Hessians of a later date, settled in the country and married Irish maidens. Ireton commanded his officers not to marry Irishwomen on pain of being cashiered. Yet many strict Catholics are descended from Cromwell's own soldiers.

Though ground to the dust, the Irish² had comfort in hearing of the glorious career of their countrymen abroad. "Wherever the Irish served," says Forman, "they had the good fortune to distinguish themselves; and it may be said, to their eternal honor, that from the time they entered the service of France, they had never the least blot on their escutcheon." At home, though "doomed to death they were fated not to die." Far on in the next century they spoke their ultimatum: "FREE TRADE, OR SPEEDY REVOLUTION." In the Irish Parliament, April 16, 1782, Grattan's celebrated resolution passed unanimously.

"That the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislator thereof—that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind the nation, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland,—nor any Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland."

Two hundred years have passed since the Treaty of Limerick was signed, October 3, 1691, and violated. And to-day, after a strange and wonderful history, the Irish race is pre-eminently Catholic at home and abroad, supplying the English-speaking Catholic world, to a great extent, with clergy and teachers. Foreigners settling in Ireland have mostly been absorbed into the race, and are one with it in religion and love of the dear old land. May the good God who has upheld the ever faithful Isle in the past, be with her people in the future, to give them unity of sentiment and action, as well as unity of faith.

"Here came the brown Phœnician, a man of trade and toil—
Here came the proud Milesian, a hungering for spoil;
And the Kirboly and the Cyniry, and the hard enduring Dane,
And the irate lord of Normandy, with the Saxon in their train.

"And oh, it were a gallant deed to show before mankind,
How every race and every creed might be by love combined—
Might be combined, yet not forget the fountains whence they rose,
As filled by many a rivulet, the stately Shannon flows."

England would hold no social relations with the Saxons, whom they spoke of as little better than swine.

¹ This is how the late Bishop Hendricken of Providence, a native of Ireland, came by his name.

² Under no circumstances did the Irish ever give up their desire, their love, and their struggle for freedom. And this is, perhaps, the most remarkable feature of their history.

Scientific Chronicle.:

THE PHOTOCRONOGRAPH.

WE hope our readers will not, at the outset, allow themselves to get frightened at the formidable looking word which heads this article. In the matter of inventions, long names have become almost a necessity, because the *name* is expected to be a pretty full etymological definition of the *thing*, and as a new invention is usually an addition to, or a modification of, an old one, and is supposed to introduce some new idea, a new root must be introduced into the name. Besides, a name which might fit almost perfectly to some new invention, may have already been applied to something else, and hence the necessity of another and usually a longer one. For example, we have an instrument for seeing small objects, and appropriately called a *microscope*; another for measuring small distances, and therefore called a *micrometer*. When the two instruments are combined to be used as one, a name was obtained by a clumsy juxtaposition, thus: *micrometer-microscope*. We think the two words might have been spliced more neatly, and had we been godfather in this instance, we would have suggested "*micrometroscope*."

On the other hand, when Léon Scott, about thirty years ago, invented an instrument by which sound-vibrations registered themselves, he called it a *Phonautograph*, a name perfectly appropriate. When Edison invented a much more perfect instrument, which not only left a mark (*graph*), but which would reproduce sounds similar to the ones it had received, he thought himself lucky in finding a shorter word (*Phonograph*). It is defective, however, for the reason that the idea of *self-registering* is left out, as is also the idea of the *reproduction* of the sound. Had these two ideas been embodied in the word, we would probably have had a name long enough to satisfy the most fastidious purists.

It is conceded by even the most advanced would-be iconoclasts of the classics, that all new names of inventions should be drawn from either the Latin or the Greek, preferably from the latter, and that no mixtures of different languages in the same word should be tolerated.

"Photochronograph" is all Greek, but it may be done into Anglo-Saxon somewhat after this fashion: "An Instrument for Registering Time by means of Light." Since, however, an essential part of the instrument is an electro-magnet, and since also it is *self-registering*, the full name should be:

"PHOTO-ELECTRO-MAGNETO-AUTO-CHRONOGRAPH."

Doubtless this name did occur to the inventor, but we cannot blame him if he recoiled before such a monster.

The Photochronograph may be applied to many purposes in astronomy and physics, though the use for which it was specially invented, and the one to which it has been so far principally applied by the in-

ventor, is the recording of star transits. It has been described briefly in some of the daily papers, but we believe it of such enduring merit as to be deserving of more than a mere passing notice, and we therefore intend to describe it somewhat in detail.

In a modest pamphlet of thirty-six pages, printed at Washington, D. C., by Stormont & Jackson, the inventor, Rev. Geo. A. Fargis, S. J., assistant astronomer of the Georgetown Observatory, and Rev. John G. Hagen, S. J., director of the same, have described, the former, the instrument itself, the latter, a few of the results already attained by its use, in the matter of star transits.

To the scientific world, the pamphlet will be perfectly intelligible, and, for the present, leaves nothing to be desired; but for those not well versed in scientific matters, some parts of it would probably be found rather too technical and abstruse. With the kind permission therefore of the authors, we propose to lay before our readers a sketch of the instrument, and of its use in recording star transits, a sketch which we hope to make rather fuller than those which have appeared in the newspapers, and yet not so deep as to drown the intelligent non-scientific reader.

Before getting down to the Photochronograph itself, however, we must beg leave to introduce some preliminary considerations which will lead up to it, and serve to make it more easily understood and more thoroughly appreciated.

First of all then, what is meant by a "star transit?" In the year 1874 and again in 1882, expeditions were sent out by different governments, to various parts of the world, to observe the *transit of Venus*. In the April number of this REVIEW, a special article described the forthcoming *transit of Mercury*, which was to take place on the 9th of May. By "transit," in these cases, is meant the passage, or apparent passage of the planet across the disc of the Sun. Now, although the *planets* may, generically, be called *stars*, yet the transits just mentioned are *not* what we properly call "star transits." A true star transit is the passage of a star across the *meridian* of the place where the observation is made. We sometimes meet men, not to count women and children, who do not appear to know clearly what is meant by "meridian." Let us then try to get a grip on the "meridian." Geometry tells us that only one plane can pass through three given points. Let now the three given points be: (1), the North Pole of the earth, (2), the South Pole of the earth, and (3), the eye of the observer; and let the plane, fixed as to position by these three points, extend outwards all around to the boundary of the universe. The line traced by that plane on the surface of the earth, from pole to pole, is the *geographical*, or *earth-meridian* for the place where the observer stands. Each point on the earth has a different meridian from every other point which is not directly north or south of it. The poles of the heavens are the spots in the sky to which the axis of the earth points, and hence the astronomical meridian (the one we have to deal with in transits) may be called the line on the sky between *these* poles, and vertically over the geographical meridian; but

it is better, practically, to consider as meridian the whole plane between these two lines.

On arriving at this point we at first imagined that we had made matters sufficiently clear, but on second consideration they seemed to begin to look a little muddy. Let us try again. Take an apple, as nearly a true sphere as can be had. Run a knitting-needle straight through the centre from the stem to the—well, to the other end. The apple represents the earth, the needle indicates the position of the earth's axis; the points where it comes through at each end are the poles. Now, tie a fine thread to the needle at one pole; stretch the thread tight and as direct as may be to the other pole, over the surface of the apple. If we imagine that thread to be an absolutely mathematical line; that is, having no thickness, it may be called the *pomographical* or *apple* meridian for every point over which it passes. In like manner other lines may be drawn—in your mind's eye, at least—from pole to pole, over the whole surface, so that every point of the surface will be on one meridian or another. A line drawn around the middle, equidistant from each pole, will be the equator. Next, place the apple so that its axis will be inclined a certain number of degrees from the vertical (according to your latitude), and imagine yourself a tiny speck on the highest point of the apple. (Many of us will have little difficulty in imagining that.) The line on which you then stand, in thought, will be your meridian. A line on the sky, directly overhead of this, and corresponding exactly to that meridian, will be your celestial, or astronomical, meridian; or, better, as we have said above, the whole flat surface which reaches from the one to the other may be considered as such.

As the earth turns on its axis from west to east, all the stars *appear* to travel towards the west, except those below the pole, and *they* appear to move towards the east. This movement of the stars, our Sun included, is only apparent, but that fact need not concern us in the least, since all we care about here is the *change of relation* between points on the surface of the earth and the stars, and that *change* would be the same, whether the stars were at rest and the earth revolving on its axis towards the east, or the earth were at rest and the stars sweeping round in unthinkable circles towards the west.

A star transit for a given place, is said to be the *passage* of a star *across* the meridian of that place. This is so very exact that it might be misleading. What we want to know particularly is the *exact instant of time at which* the centre of a star is *in* the plane of the meridian. To determine this might seem to the uninitiated a very simple matter; thus, set up a telescope in the meridian, that is, pointing due north and south; observe the star till it comes to the middle of the field of view, and *then* look at your watch. Very simple indeed. But how near would that crude method bring us to the truth? Within two or three seconds perhaps; a result which all astronomers know would be absolutely worthless. You might as well try to mark time by the consecutive, hysterical outbursts of a cackling hen.

We would like to know the *exact* time when a star (any star, each and

every star) makes its transit ; but we know that we have not got it yet for even one of them, and, strictly speaking, we have no hopes that we ever shall. All that we can expect is an approximation, but we want that approximation as near to the truth as human skill and ingenuity can make it. For the present we would not complain if we could get it surely to within, say, the one-thousandth of a second of time. Indeed, this would be a magnificent result ; but we now have some hopes that it may soon be obtained—at least, for some of the stars. The obstacles in the way are numberless ; a few of them will come up for consideration as we go along.

Star transits were observed, in a rough way, ages ago ; but it was not until after the invention of the telescope that any results worthy of being recorded were obtainable. The telescope used for transits is mounted especially for this purpose. It is set up permanently on an axle lying east and west, the telescope itself, therefore, pointing north and south. This setting up must be done with the greatest care. The axle must be rigorously horizontal ; otherwise, the telescope would swing aside from the meridian when elevated or depressed, and would then be correct for only one position. The supporting piers must be as solid as the framework of the earth itself ; the tube must be inflexible, and be balanced true, and yet be capable of turning on its axle with the touch of a finger, and at the same time be capable of being clamped rigidly in any given position without derangement of its axis. The lenses must be perfectly set, and all their centres must be exactly in the axis of the telescope. All these things being supposed done as perfectly as possible, there still remains to test for and take into account any possible errors that may yet lurk in the instrument and its mounting, or that may declare themselves anew from time to time. The greatest part of the work in this, as in all other kinds of fine measurements, seems to be the hunting up of errors and the calculation of the *probable* allowance to be made for them. "One half of the world don't know how the other half lives." Let us change the wording a little, and it will be at least as true in its new form as in the old. Nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the world (the non-scientific part) don't know how the other one-thousandth (the scientific part) does its work.

In order to render the telescope useful for anything like fine work, it must be provided with "*spider lines*." When we look through a telescope we see that it takes in a certain amount of space of a circular form ; this is called the *field* of the instrument. The axis of the telescope lying in the meridian we must know when the star is in the line of that axis. Guessing will not do here ; it must be determined correctly. For this purpose a fine line is stretched vertically across the eye-piece of the telescope in such a way that to the observer it will appear as a line exactly across the middle of the field. Another is, in like manner, stretched horizontally, and its intersection with the first is intended to determine the centre of the field. The line from the centre of the object-glass to the centre of the eye-piece is the optical alignment or *collimation line* of the instrument. But besides these two fun-

damental lines a whole system of others is inserted, by which the field is divided, from the centre, into spaces of equal width. The entire system of lines is called the *reticule*. The lines themselves are simply threads spun by some friendly spider; no human spinning or wire-drawing has been found equal to the work of the spider. Poor, maligned, hated, despised, dreaded spider, what were you made for? To catch flies, sir. Ah, no; look up. You were made to spin us lines to catch—not flies, but the far-off, wondrous, mighty, revolving worlds of space. The spider, however, does not believe in this system of regular squares, probably because he is not built that way, and so he will, if he gets a chance, try to improve matters by weaving a pattern of his own. This is a source of great annoyance in a telescope, though it can hardly be called an error; it is rather a delusion and a snare.

The first serious attempts at recording star transits were made thus: An observer stationed at a telescope watched a known star moving across the field. At the same time, with the other eye, he watched the observatory clock until the star was *near* the vertical spider-line; then, not being dual-minded or cross-eyed enough to be sure of catching both the star and the clock at once, he concentrated his whole *seeing power* on the star, and continued the time observation by listening to and counting the ticks of the clock. When now he judged that the star was exactly bisected by the vertical spider-line, he *estimated* mentally the fraction of a second between the last tick and the instant of transit as seen by the eye, and so recorded it. This is called the *eye-and-ear* method of observation, and has been, and is yet, extensively used for many other purposes besides star-gazing.

Strange to say, in these observations the ear, though not by any means perfect, is much more reliable than the eye. One reason for this may be that the ear hears nothing till the click comes; it comes suddenly, and ends almost as suddenly as it comes, while the eye is *all the time* watching the moving point of light and the vertical line. For fear of being too soon or too late, it hesitates, concentrates its attention again, backs out and starts over, and so sends the judgment through a series of acrobatic starts, stops and plunges that remind one of the attempt to catch a foul ball on the hop. Another reason why the eye is not to be relied on is that, even supposing the retina to be everywhere equally sensitive (which, however, is not the case), the eye becomes tired, the observer gets nervous, and when he thinks he has just got it, the star-image dances a regular hornpipe back and forth across the spider-line, as if to say, "Now catch me if you can."

This method, which was first thought to give quite accurate results, is thus found to be liable to considerable danger of error. The error, whatever it may be, inseparable from this method is called one's *personal error*, to distinguish it from errors that are due solely to imperfections in the instruments, and which are thence called *instrumental errors*. The personal error is different for different individuals and different in the same individual for different classes of work and for the varying circumstances of time and place, of rest and fatigue, and of other physical conditions.

It enters more or less into all observations of whatever kind, whether made by the eye, the ear or the sense of touch, and robs them of that ideal perfection which is the dream of the scientist.

Attempts are made to correct it by what is known as the *personal equation*; that is, a man, by long and careful attention, aided by a machine made for the purpose, may find out approximately what his average personal error is for various classes of work, and make this knowledge enter, as a correction, in the subsequent calculation of results. In any case, the correction is but an approximation, and hence strictly accurate results cannot be expected from any personal observation, however carefully made. Moreover, the personal error is usually much larger than instrumental ones.

The personal errors in the different parts of a given observation may, it is true, tend in opposite directions; that is, some may be above, some below the mark, and thus they may neutralize each other more or less completely; but of this we cannot ordinarily have any assurance. On the other hand, they *may* all be pulling in the same direction, and so may, by their addition, constitute a relatively large final error. The knowledge of one's personal equation will help him some here, as will also the application of the doctrine of probabilities, but the final outcome will be that there will always remain a doubt as to the accuracy of the result within certain limits. For example, we may know that we are right, in a given case, to within the one-tenth or the one-hundredth of a second either above or below the truth, but nearer than that we cannot get under the given circumstances.

Later on, improvements were made in the methods of observing star transits, by the chronograph with an electric make-and-break circuit. This instrument consists of a cylinder covered with a sheet of paper, and made to revolve regularly by clockwork, at a convenient rate. A pen is held lightly against the paper by a spring, and is moved forward regularly by a revolving screw, in a direction parallel to the axis of the cylinder. When at work, therefore, it traces a spiral line on the paper around and around the cylinder. The pen is connected with the armature of an electro-magnet in such a way that when the current passes the pen is pulled aside, and when the current ceases the pen returns to its former position, thus making a V-shaped jog or indentation in the line. The make-and-break in the current is brought about by the pendulum of the observatory clock, and hence the jogs on the spiral line are at equal distances apart, each interval representing a second of time. Appropriate means are taken to indicate the beginning of each minute. The observer, having this instrument at hand, watches the star crossing the field, and when it is bisected by the middle vertical line of the field, which represents the meridian, he touches an electric button, and an extra jog is thus made in the line. Its position among the regular pendulum jogs will indicate the instant when the electric contact was made by the button.

This improvement rids us of the personal error due to the ear, but not of that due to the eye of the observer. It takes time for the light

to make its impression on the retina of the eye ; it takes time for the impression received by the eye to be transmitted to the brain ; it takes time for the will to set the hand in motion, and it would require an impossible degree of skill to adjust the stroke on the button accurately to the instant of transit. Besides, the chronograph has the defect of introducing private little errors of its own. These are due principally to irregularities in the clock-work and in the screw which drives the pen. Still, on the whole, the chronograph method, as described, gives better results than the eye-and-ear method.

Still we are not satisfied, for

"The fiend that man harries is love of the best."

What further improvement is possible? The only thing that remains seems to be to dispense with the observer himself, as such, and so eliminate *all* personal error. This looks paradoxical enough—an observation without an observer! Nevertheless, it has been attempted. How? Why, by persuading a photographic plate to take the place of the eye of the observer. Could this succeed, it was foreseen that the chronograph too might go, or at least be pensioned off on half pay.

This idea had been suggested by Faye, as far back as 1849, "but," says Professor Young, "it is only recently that any serious attempt has been made to put the idea in practice." In January, 1886, Professor E. C. Pickering first tried it at the Harvard College Observatory. The trial was valuable chiefly in indicating the possibilities opened up by the method. In the summer of 1888 Professor Pickering made some further experiments, which are thus described by Professor Frank H. Bigelow, of the Washington Naval Observatory: "A small plate (photographic) was attached to the armature of a magnet, by which a movement up and down, perpendicular to the star trail through a very small interval, could be communicated to it, by making and breaking the circuit at fixed intervals, either by hand or by the clock, the latter requiring a commutator in which the makes and breaks should be of equal lengths. The effect was to leave on the plate a pair of dotted lines close together." (The star trail is the line along which the *image* of the star moves, while the star itself is crossing the field.) The next thing requisite was to devise some means of determining to which dot, or to what position between two dots, the actual instant of transit corresponded. Several methods were tried, with doubtful success; but finally Professor Bigelow found that by shining a light into the objective for two or three seconds, the whole plate could be fogged down without seriously obscuring the dotted trail, while the lines of the reticule were photographed on the plate. From these lines to the dots measurements could be made by the micrometroscope, at leisure, and repeated till satisfactory. During the summer of 1889, Professor Bigelow and Father Hagen made some further trials with improved apparatus, at the Georgetown College Observatory, but they could not be followed up, as Professor Bigelow was called away to take part in the West African Eclipse Expedition.

Just then, luckily, Father Fargis was appointed assistant at the Observatory, and the whole business was put into his hands. He set to work immediately and the result was, in a surprisingly short time, the invention of the Photochronograph. Want of space hindering us from entering into all the mechanical details of its construction, we will try to make intelligible its salient points at least.

The defects inherent in the best methods heretofore tried were chiefly the following: First, the idea of imparting motion to the sensitive plate was, if not theoretically wrong, at least practically unsafe; secondly, the weight of the moving parts (the armature, the plate and the plate-holder) must necessarily occasion undesirable vibrations and a certain amount of unsteadiness of action, and this again might react on the battery and render its action less regular; thirdly, there was danger of a *photographic parallax*, which means that the lines of the reticule, being at a considerable distance from the sensitive plate, their photographic images would be more or less thickened and possibly displaced; fourthly, there was danger of the partial obliteration of the star trail in photographing the spider lines.

Truly, on looking these difficulties in the face, one would think that we were as far away as ever from the object sought, but the ingenuity and perseverance of Father Fargis and the knowledge gained by experience overcame them all. We will take them up in their order. To overcome the objection to the movement of the plate, "it was decided," says Father Fargis, "that the sensitive plate *should not move*, the result of which decision was the invention of the *occluding bar*." The sensitive plate was therefore *fixed*, in a holder itself *fixed* to the eye-piece of the telescope, but not just in the place where the eye of the observer would otherwise be; for the rays of light which give the best picture to the eye are not those which act best on the chemicals of the photographic film, so that the plate had to be set back a little further than for clear vision. This difference of focus was determined with great care and much labor, and was found, in the case of the telescope at command, to be about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch. This may appear a trifle, but it is enough to make all the difference between good and bad, between success and failure.

If now the sensitive plate were exposed to the light of a star crossing the field, it would show, after development, a dark horizontal line on a light background. This photographed star-trail would afford no basis for time-measurement, since it had no connection with the clock. Just here comes in the *occluding bar*, the pith of the whole invention. An electro-magnet is properly fastened to the eye-end of the telescope, and its weight counterbalanced by a weight on the opposite side of the other end. To its armature is soldered a strip of steel about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch wide and $\frac{1}{128}$ of an inch thick, that is, about half as thick as an ordinary tin-type plate. This strip stretches across the reticule, through a hole in the side of the telescope tube, and when *held down* by the electro-magnet, *shuts off the light* of the star from the central zone of the plate, whence the name "*occluding bar*." When the bar is released it rises

and exposes the plate, and this alternate covering and exposing of the plate breaks the star-trail up into a series of dots. The electro-magnet is connected with the observatory clock, and hence the occulting bar is pulled down and released every second. The end of a minute is indicated by the omission of the last dot of the minute. An extremely neat arrangement permits the time of exposure to be varied from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{100}$ of a second. This is necessary for two reasons; first, because of the varying luminosity of different stars; secondly, because the apparent motion of a star is greater or less according as it is nearer to or further from the celestial equator. A faint star requires a longer exposure than a bright one, and a rapidly moving one would leave dashes instead of dots, if the exposure were too long. Theoretically, they can in no case be truly circular dots, because however short the time of exposure the image of the star *has moved a little during* that exposure. The shorter the time of exposure, then, the better it would be, if, during that time, a distinct picture could be obtained. This distinctness depends first on the amount and color of the light furnished by the star; over this we have no control; secondly, on the sensitiveness and structural perfection of the photographic film, in which, advances are being made almost continually. At any rate, the first two defects, the motion of the plate and weight of moving parts, with consequent irregularity and unsteadiness, are completely obviated. Even the battery has now so little to do that it can hardly find an excuse for not doing that little well.

The parallax next demands attention. Theoretically, this difficulty could be settled by putting the spider lines in *contact with* the photographic plate, but evidently they would not stand that treatment. Neither can they be placed *very close* to it (which would be the next best thing), since, in working in the dark, they would inevitably be broken in handling the plates. Another bit of ingenuity was needed here. It came in the shape of plate glass on which were ruled one horizontal and one vertical line. This was substituted in place of the spider lines, and the sensitive plate was placed almost in contact with it, thus reducing the danger of a parallax to a minimum. The horizontal line is used merely for setting the stars, and for adjusting the occulting bar parallel to the path of the star. The vertical one is used, of course, to show the true instant of transit.

The fourth defect (the partial obliteration of the dots in photographing the reticule) is remedied very simply by keeping the occulting bar *down* during that operation. This covers the line of dots and protects them *perfectly* from fogging, a result only second in importance to the invention of the occulting bar itself.

The photochronograph being now ready we will follow the inventor while he gets in a night's work. We will describe it in about his own words.

About an hour before the observations begin, the *roof-shutters* of the observatory are opened, so as to equalize the temperature indoors and out, and the caps are taken off the telescope. In the meantime, every-

thing about the telescope is put in ship-shape order—the levels are put in position—the batteries are tested—the movement of the occulting bar is adjusted by the proper screws—sensitive plates of different grades are got in readiness, and measures are taken to secure them firmly in the plate-holder, and to protect them from any stray light, either before or after use—lamps for room-work, and for photographing the reticule are got ready, and a special one for reading the levels—a handy note-book and the star-list of the principal stars that will cross the meridian for the next few hours, are arranged in convenient places. The level is then read and its indications for both east and west readings, recorded, together with the date, the temperature, the state of the atmosphere, and the time by the observatory clock.

The telescope is now set on any star about to cross the meridian. The current is turned on, and an *eye-observation* is made of the working of the photochronograph. By means of a sliding eye-piece the eye of the observer takes the place, for the nonce, of the sensitive plate and the working of the occulting-bar is carefully observed. This operation affords the observer a striking illustration of his personal equation. For, the armature-beats, at the appearance and disappearance of the star, enable him to appreciate the slowness of the retina in receiving and losing the star image, reminding him that the star is not seen where it actually is, but where it was just a moment before.

A star is now chosen from the list, the transit instrument is *set* on it, and clamped. When the star is just entering the field, the occulting-bar is adjusted for the exposure desired, and the sensitive plate is slipped into its place. When the star has crossed the field, the current is turned on to the photochronograph alone, by which operation the occulting-bar is *held down*. A light is then held to the object glass of the telescope; this photographs the vertical line, and then the plate is put away, ready for development. The process is continued for other stars during four or five hours, thus securing from twenty to thirty plates. The work of development is done later.

We will pass over the photographic part of the work, and suppose that we have a number of negatives all properly finished. The next step is the measurement of these negatives. The distance of each dot from the vertical line is carefully measured by the micro-metroscope; the mean of all the measures is taken, and after a thousand and one calculations and corrections for instrumental errors, the description of which would carry us far beyond the scope of this article, the final results are entered in the book of star-records.

The outcome of all this is that we have an instrument by which the *personal error is entirely eliminated*, and that is precisely what astronomers and physicists have always been looking for, but which no one ever found before.

The authoritative star-catalogue of the world is the *Berlin Jahrbuch*. Its records are the results of hundreds of observations for each star, and it represents the work of many long years by many patient workers; yet, a single careful observation by the photochronograph, under good

atmospheric conditions, is probably of greater value than the corresponding result in the *Jahrbuch*. What then will it be when the same star has been observed by the new method a dozen or a score of times? In the *Jahrbuch* the probable error in the places of the stars is within some hundredths of a second; by the photochronograph this error will be reduced to within some thousandths of a second, a result that will gladden the hearts of astronomers for years to come. No star record can hereafter be considered of any account unless obtained by this method.

At the Georgetown Observatory it is proposed to continue what has been so happily begun, and indeed the work of observation and computation is being vigorously pushed at the present time. It is hoped that within the next year and a half, the places of about 120 stars (ranging from the 1st down to the 3.6th magnitude) will be determined. This will represent from 1100 to 1200 observations of stars included between the 30th parallel south, and the 67th parallel north of the equator, and will be the foundation of a catalogue far more reliable than any hitherto known.

To do this properly, however, and especially to be enabled to observe stars of still lesser magnitudes, a special photographic telescope is sadly needed, as is likewise a more perfect micrometroscope for the measurement of the plates. It is a great pity that the devoted men engaged in this important work should be hampered by the lack of a few good instruments.

Want of space prevents us from entering into any details as to the good of all this refinement in determining the places of the stars. Suffice it for the present to say, in general, that by it alone can the old problem as to whether the stars have a proper motion of their own, be definitely solved; that by it alone can the *true* latitude and longitude of places be determined, and the living astronomical question of the age, as to whether latitudes and longitudes are changing or not, be satisfactorily answered. The practical bearing of these things on navigation and commerce needs no elucidation here. In bringing this article to a close, we have but to add: God speed the work and bless the workers.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

THIS association held its annual meeting this year at Washington, D. C. It lasted from the 19th to the 25th of August, and took place in the halls and class-rooms of the Columbian University. In former years the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* has given an account of the details of the meetings. This time we deem it would be more interesting to give some account of the association itself, of its history, its aims and its methods.

Fifty-one years ago a small but enthusiastic body of students of geology and natural history organized themselves into a definite association. Previous to this time scientific societies in this country had been merely

local, both as to membership and the ends in view. The new one proposed to strike out on a broader path, and to gather to itself as many workers as possible from all parts of the country. The name adopted: "*Association of American Geologists and Naturalists*," is suggestive of this. The success of the undertaking was so gratifying that, after an existence of eight years, it was decided to widen still further the scope of the Association, so as to include students not only in geology and natural history, but in every branch of natural science. To indicate this the name was changed to "THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE." The long-headed ones in those days seemed to think that a long name would reach further, wind itself around a greater number, as it were, and perhaps last longer than the puny, little names heretofore in vogue; but in our times, when we are all in a hurry, we have abbreviated it, colloquially at least, to "A. A. A. S." A Constitution was framed and adopted, of which the first Article runs thus:

"The objects of the association are, by periodical and migratory meetings, to promote intercourse between those who are cultivating science in different parts of America, to give a stronger and more general impulse and more systematic direction to scientific research, and to procure for the labors of scientific men increased facilities and a wider usefulness."

The first meeting under the new name was called in Philadelphia, September 20, 1848. The practice since then has been usually to hold a meeting once a year, although there have been a few exceptions. In 1850 and again in 1851 there were two meetings, while in 1852 there was none. During our civil war (1861 to 1865 inclusively) no meetings could be held. Taking these breaks into account we find that the meeting of this year is the fortieth of the A. A. A. S.

The idea of having no permanent headquarters has proved to be an excellent one. At each meeting a new place is chosen for the succeeding one, generally on the invitation of some scientific society or of the civil authorities of the city itself. Twenty-nine different cities of the United States have thus tendered hospitality, one or more times, to this nomadic association, and had their offers accepted, while Montreal has been honored twice by their presence and Toronto once. Next year Rochester will open its arms to receive us, and without being a prophet we may safely venture to predict that Chicago will welcome us in 1893. We hope so at least.

Had the association established itself permanently in any one city, it would hardly have been known outside of that city, but by adopting the migratory plan, it brings itself to the knowledge of a much larger number, and, as with all good things, to be known is to be loved. The roll of membership shows this very plainly. At the start in 1848 the total number of members was 461. In the course of years the number has fluctuated a good deal, down and up, but the present year stands at the head, the number of members having mounted to 2182, of which about 6 per cent. are ladies. The lowest ebb was reached in 1867

when there were only 415 members. Since the beginning, 578 names have appeared on the death-roll.

The actual attendance at the meetings varies greatly, depending, of course, in the first place, on the number of enrolled members; to some extent also on the size and location and general convenience of the place chosen, and probably a good deal on its scientific status or state of intellectual *culture*. The smallest number present at any meeting was 73, out of a total membership of 415, being rather less than 18 per cent. This was at Burlington in 1867. The lowest percentage, however (11 per cent.) was at Cincinnati in 1851, and the next (12 per cent.) at Buffalo in 1866, the first meeting after the war. Ten years before that Albany had mustered nearly 53 per cent. of a total of 722. In 1884 Philadelphia came to the front with a total membership of 1981 and an attendance of 1261 (over 63 per cent.), but this was in part due to the presence of members of the British Association whose meeting in Montreal had just been concluded and who, as honorary guests, were numbered in the attendance. But the palm must be awarded to Boston, where, in 1880, out of 1555 members, 997 (over 64 per cent.) were on hand. This will be recognized immediately as being according to the eternal fitness of things. Boston beans and Bunker Hill will always stand near the head of the list, even if we were to forget the Blue Stockings. As stated above, the total membership at the present is 2182, the attendance at Washington was about 700, thus placing it among the most successful meetings yet held, at least in point of numbers.

It might be well just here to correct an error which seems to have taken hold on the minds of a certain number. It has been hinted at times that the association is composed of second-rate men, who do not represent the real scientific talent of the country. We will readily admit that all are not equal, the Declaration of Independence to the contrary notwithstanding, but we assert that the very best men of science in the country have belonged to it from the beginning, and continue to belong to it to this day. The list would be too long to insert here; we will merely jot down a few of the names about which we feel there will be no dispute. Thus: Joseph Henry, Louis Agassiz, Asa Gray, the two Sillimans, Henry Draper, Jas. B. Eads. These, and many more as worthy as they, have passed away. Among those yet living we have T. Sterry Hunt, Jas. D. Dana, C. A. Young, S. Newcomb, Frank Bigelow, Geo. F. Barker, E. S. Holden, Thos. A. Edison, Asaph Hall, Joseph Le Conte, J. S. Newberry, E. C. Pickering, A. W. Greely, E. L. Zalinsky, Chief Justice Fuller, Oliver W. Holmes. These are a few of the better known ones, but there are dozens of others, presidents of universities, professors, astronomers, navy and army engineers, physicians, lawyers, clergymen and specialists of all kinds, some already eminent in the sciences, some well ahead on the road to eminence, some only beginning, but all in dead earnest, ever striving onward and upward.

The president and other officers are elected every year, except the treasurer and permanent secretary, and no one but the permanent secretary receives any salary.

The whole association is divided into eight sections: A. Mathematics and Astronomy; B. Physics; C. Chemistry; D. Mechanical Science and Engineering; E. Geology and Geography; F. Biology; H. Anthropology; I. Economic Science and Statistics. Each section is presided over by an officer with the title of vice-president and a secretary whose duty it is keep a record of all papers read in his section, and transmit them to the permanent secretary for publication.

The meetings last for a week, the first four days being devoted to serious work, the other three to scientific recreation, such as visiting such places of natural, historic and industrial interest that may be within reach. A general sessions of all present is held each morning of the four days, at which business matters and subjects of general interest are discussed and voted on, after which the sections retire to their respective quarters. Each vice-president reads a paper on some subject appropriate to his section, in which usually he takes a broad view of what has been accomplished during the year past by workers in that line throughout the world. Next follows the reading of the special papers that have been voluntarily offered by the members, and that have been previously passed upon by the council. These subjects are frequently illustrated by blackboard work, by diagrams, by photographs previously prepared, and even by complete instruments. At the close of the reading of each paper, a discussion follows in which every one has a right to take a hand, and of which many avail themselves. The discussion frequently lasts longer and is of more value than the original papers. All the papers are afterwards published in full, or in abstract, according to their importance, and form a volume of about 500 pages, which is distributed gratis to the members and offered for sale to the general public. To meet all expenses, an initiation fee of five dollars and an annual assessment of three dollars is levied on each member.

From the meagre account we have given, some, at least, of the advantages of the association will be apparent. A large body of scientific workers become personally known to each other, and this of itself is of no mean value; they learn what has lately been done and is yet being done in scientific matters, what new problems are springing up and what new attempts are being made to solve the old ones. They learn of the failures and of the successes of others, and consequently they have a guide for their own subsequent work. These things encourage men to go on, and courage is oftentimes the chief factor in the work. Besides, the funds of the association, though slender, are always available to help those who need them in any specially worthy investigation.

At the Washington meeting more than 250 papers were read and discussed, besides nearly 40 by members of the Entomological Club, whose meeting took place at the same time and place, and which was attended by many members of the association. Many of the papers, especially in sections A, D and H were of high merit, but it would be impossible even to summarize them here. The discussions and criticisms of the various papers were carried on with vigor, but in a perfectly frank and cordial manner and in a spirit that reflects honor on all concerned. In conclusion, we will only say: Long life and success to the A. A. A. S.

THAT RAINFALL.

THE readers of this REVIEW will remember that in the April Chronicle there appeared a short article entitled "Rain on Tap." It was there said that it was intended to try to produce rain artificially by the use of explosives, and that the experiments were to take place under the auspices of the United States Government. The experiment has since been tried, and, if we may believe the reports in the daily papers, it has proved a success. The time and place chosen were about the most unpromising that could be thought of—the month of August and the Llano Estecado, or Staked Plain, of Texas.

Gen. R. G. Dyrenforth was at the head of the expedition. His companions were Edward Powers, the author of "War and the Weather," who has for twenty years been trying to have his idea tested, and has at last succeeded; Dr. C. A. O. Roswell, a government chemist and Patent Office Examiner; Prof. Geo. E. Curtis, of the Smithsonian Institute, a meteorologist; Paul E. Draper, a well-known electrician; John T. Ellis, Gen. Dyrenforth's first assistant; Prof. Carl E. Myers, the aeronaut, and other scientific worthies, making up a party of fourteen (not thirteen) in all.

The ranch, or cattle farm, around the village of Midland, in the very heart of the dry lands of Texas, comprising 300,000 or more acres, is owned by Nelson Morris, of Chicago, who placed his festive cowboys at the disposal of the experimenters for the heavy parts of this unique entertainment.

A number of balloons, varying in capacity from 600 to 1000 cubic feet, were filled with an explosive mixture of two parts of hydrogen to one part of oxygen, and were exploded, at stated intervals, by electricity. Charges of dynamite and rackarock powder were tied to the tails of kites and exploded in like manner, besides other explosions on the ground, until old war men declared that, as far as noise was concerned, it was like the battle-days of thirty years ago, without, however, the rattling of small arms. The experiments were performed every time under a clear sky, when the "oldest inhabitant" would have been laughed at if he had ventured to predict rain.

After some hours of this kind of racket, the party retired to their quarters and waited for the results. And every time the results came in the shape of a smart rain, within twelve hours, at most, after the cessation of hostilities. At times the rain was accompanied by violent thunder and lightning. The rain came—not once or twice only, but nine or ten times, and frequently covered an area of many miles in extent.

Can rain, then, be made to fall by the use of explosives? The ranchmen of Texas are jubilant, and say it can. Of all men the truly scientific man is the slowest to draw sweeping conclusions from a few experimental facts. He will say, "Try again; try other places; try other seasons, and don't prophesy until you are fairly sure." And try again they certainly will. At any rate, if the rain in Texas during last August was not produced by the explosives, it is, without doubt, the most remarkable series of coincidences ever recorded. Let us still hope on.

THE EARTH GOING ASTRAY.

THIS dear little earth of ours seems to be getting frisky in its old age. Ever since it was first generally believed that the earth had an axis of its own on which to rotate, it has been taken for granted that that axis was as securely fixed as if it were a crow-bar driven through from end to end. For some time past, however, astronomers and geographers have been suspecting that things are not exactly just so. The latest thing touching this question is a series of experiments, lasting for a whole year and carried on simultaneously in Berlin, Strasburg and Prague. They consisted of careful observations, from day to day, of the altitude of a given star; relying on which, the German astronomers believe they have discovered that the latitude of places in Europe is changing. If this be true, it means that the poles of the earth are getting loose, so to speak, and, consequently, that the equator and meridians are roaming about recklessly. This means, again, a change of climate, from hot to cold or from cold to hot, pretty much all over the whole world, and then—what?

But is such a change in the position of the earth's axis possible? Undoubtedly it is, and we may easily imagine what might be the cause of it. If the interior of the earth be in a liquid or semi-liquid state (as in all probability it is), then its motion of rotation would naturally tend to shift things around inside, and so disturb the centre of gravity, and this, in turn, would change the position of the axis.

Happily, the alleged change is very small, and, more happily still, it is not always in the same direction, but only an oscillation back and forth through about the $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a degree. If it gets no further than that we need not be troubled nor fear that the world will go all to smash—at least in our day. Whether there is even that much of a change or not will only be finally settled by the photochronograph. Supposing it proved, however, that the axis of the earth does change, we would be glad of it; for it would furnish us with another and a very strong proof that it is the earth, and not the sun, that “do move.”

THE RAMIE FIBRE.

ABOUT two years ago (January, 1890,) a note appeared in the *QUARTERLY* on this subject. It was there stated, in substance, among other things, that the extraordinary strength of the ramie fibre—twice that of hemp—would render it valuable as a substitute for other fibres in the manufacture of cordage, twine, thread, sails, etc. Since then, improvements have been made in its culture and manufacture, which seem to point to its practical introduction on a large scale in the near future. We need something stronger than hemp, at times, and it looks now as if we should need a pretty constant supply.

But, in the present note our purpose is to call attention to a new and heretofore unsuspected use to which it may be applied, and that is, the manufacture of steam pipes ! That a vegetable fibre should be found having properties that render it suitable for such a purpose, is simply marvellous. Yet it seems to be true.

The secret of the manufacturing process is merely in hardening the texture of the finished pipe by tremendous hydraulic pressure. Under this operation it becomes two and a half times as strong as steel, while remaining comparatively light. It will not absorb moisture, and consequently will not leak. It will neither swell nor shrink, and this is a point of the utmost importance. All the leaking of steam pipes, supposing them properly fitted at the outset, is due to the expansion and contraction occasioned by changes of temperature; this causes them to work loose at the joints and couplings, and sometimes even to break. When a system of piping is extensive, this becomes a great nuisance, as can be seen, for example, in the artificial hot geysers—steam volcanoes—that burst out so frequently in the lower parts of New York City, especially during the winter months.

The ramie pipe will not rot or rust; and for work buried under ground, this is another most valuable property, sadly lacking in iron and steel. Naturalists and epicures tell us that “a fish begins to spoil, all through, the moment he is dead.” A steam-pipe begins to rot, on the outside, as soon as it is buried. Coatings of asphalt, tar, and such things only put off the evil day a little longer, but, especially in damp places, do not afford permanent protection. The inside of the pipe is pretty safe while it is kept hot by live steam, but when it cools down, and air finds its way into the moist interior (as it never fails to do) active corrosion sets in. The ramie pipe is proof against all this.

Again, ramie is a non-conductor of heat, and this is precisely what we want. When steam is carried long distances through metal pipes, the loss of heat by radiation is very considerable, and in order to prevent this loss, as far as practicable, we jacket the pipes to a depth of two or three inches with some non-conducting substance, such as plaster, hair, asbestos. These do their work pretty well, but they are expensive, unsightly and clumsy. Now, if ramie is as good as it has been represented to be, it will replace all these with advantage, or rather, it will render jacketing about unnecessary. Moreover, ramie, in this hardened condition, is sufficiently incombustible to make it safe for use in steam-pipes.

What more could we ask? A gentleman of the *genus* called newspaper reporter, has kindly stooped to suggest that it would be just the thing for steam-boilers. Shades of Watts! Make a boiler out of a substance that will not conduct heat, and which is, at the same time, combustible? Try again. It is a vegetable substance; perhaps it might do to make boarding-house pies. We are content to stick to the steam-pipes.

A NEW USE FOR MILK.

MILK seems to have been originally intended as an article of food, for the early days at least of the lifetime of a good many animals, man himself being among the number, and this indeed is the only use made of it by the lower animals. Man, however, at the very dawn of history, learned the knack of appropriating to himself the milk of other animals, to make of it an article of diet throughout life, and of extracting from it butter and cheese. Later on it was discovered that milk would easily undergo fermentation, the product being a weakly alcoholic beverage called "koumyss." These are about the only uses known for milk down to our own day. But now a chemist comes forward and finds a new use for it in the industrial arts. We will describe in a few words the process he proposes to employ.

The milk is first coagulated as in the process of making cheese. This is then strained and the whey rejected. Ten pounds of the curd is taken and mixed with a solution of three pounds of borax in three quarts of water. This mixture is now placed in a suitable vessel over a slow fire, and left there till it separates into two parts, the one as thin as water, the other rather thicker, somewhat resembling melted gelatine. The watery part is next drawn off, and to the residue is added a solution of one pound of a mineral salt in three pints of water. Almost any mineral salt will answer; for example, sugar of lead, copperas, blue or white vitriol. This brings about another separation of the mass into a liquid and a mushy solid. The liquid is again got rid of by straining, or better, by filtering. At this point, if desired, coloring matter may be added; if not, the final product will be white. The solid is now subjected to heavy pressure in moulds of any desired shape, and afterwards dried under very great heat. The resulting product, which has been named "lactitis," is very hard and strong. It may be used in the manufacture of a great variety of articles, such as combs, billiard balls, knife handles, pen holders, in fine, for almost anything for which bone, ivory, ebonite, or celluloid have heretofore been employed; articles, of whose origin, the most advanced thinker among the cows would not have the slightest suspicion.

Book Notices.

MORALPHILOSOPHIE. von *Victor Cathrein, S. J.* Zweiter Band : Besondere Moralphilosophie. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herder'sche Verlagshandlung. 1891. Herder. St. Louis. \$3.25.

In our number for October, 1890, we gave a review of the first volume of this incomparable work on ethics by Father Cathrein, S. J. He then promised that the second volume on Special Ethics should appear in the course of a year. We have received the volume, and if the first was deserving of every praise that could be bestowed upon it, the second certainly deserves the same, not only because it is of greater interest, as treating of all the burning questions of the day, but also for the vast erudition, the keen analysis, the complete history, the searching criticism displayed in every subject treated. The author divides his work into two parts: The first treats of individual duties and rights; the second, of society. He subdivides the first part into five books, viz.: (I.) Man's relations to God, and in this he speaks of natural religion and its necessity; of supernatural religion and the relation between religion and morality; of religious indifferentism; the religious instinct; of the origin of religion; of religious worship and its acts, such as prayer and sacrifice, vows, oaths, superstition and irreligion. (II.) Man's relations to himself, to his soul, to his body; suicide. (III.) Man's relations to his fellow-man, or love of neighbor; on lying, self-defence, dueling. (IV.) Right of property; Socialism, its nature and history; reasons advanced in its defence; its impossibility; private ownership of the ground, in the light of history and its adversaries; the necessity of such ownership; Henry George's arguments; positive proofs for the right of property; right to transmit property; wills. (V.) Contracts; interest. The second part is divided into three books: (I.) On the family; marriage, its rights and duties; the emancipation of woman; relations of parents and children and servants; slavery. (II.) On the State, its origin, its nature, the limits of State authority; Church and State; State and school; Church and school; freedom of the Press; the social question; Liberalism; the functions of civil authority, how it may be acquired and how lost; the different kinds of governments. (III.) The right of nations; international law; war; the family of nations.

From this bare statement of questions, the reader can see how very important the work is; and we add, that nowhere have we seen so exhaustive and learned a treatment as that contained in this volume. There is a list of authors whose works are quoted, numbering over four hundred and fifty.

The intellectual conflict which the Church must wage to-day is no longer with this or that heresy; it is no more Catholicity versus Protestantism, but Christianity versus paganism. It is Church or no church. It is faith or infidelity. Modern paganism rejects the Holy Scriptures as the inspired Word of God, rejects Tradition, despises the fathers, doctors and theologians of the Church and takes its stand on reason alone. It knows nothing of the supernatural; will have nothing of it; rules it out of all discussion.

With such men the only appeal that can be effective is, to reason, to conscience, to history, to facts. Hence the necessity of a deeper knowl-

edge of philosophy both speculative and moral—Ontology, Psychology, Cosmology and Natural Theology, will answer all problems of the universe, of God, of man, and in doing so makes use of only the light of reason. Moral philosophy, using also only the same light, will answer the question why man is here and what he must do to work out his destiny. The infidel cannot reject its teachings. He must answer its arguments. He is constantly talking about rights, progress, culture, civilization, knowledge, humanity, honor. What are they? Are they possible without God, without obedience to law? The object of a true moral philosophy is to show from reason that without God, without His law, without His sanction for that law, life is a riddle, moral obligation an unreality, that might is right; that egotism and selfishness must be the only rule of conduct. Reason alone is sufficient to demonstrate that the only system of morality admissible is one that is in complete harmony with revelation. It is true that the modern Agnostic rejects the whole of this reasoning as a pure *petitio principii*, and our author mentions that difficulty on pp 69-70 of the first volume. The Agnostic objects that we take for granted that there is a personal God, the Creator of the world and of man. If that be granted, then the foundation of Christian morality necessarily follows; but we deny such a God, such a Creator. We want no theology, they cry; we consider man just as we find him and considering his nature, his aspirations, we deduce the laws which must direct him in his conduct. Our author admits that something must be taken for granted, but that the same difficulty must be answered by the Pantheist the Materialist or the Agnostic. He holds that ethics gives the best refutation of Pantheism and Materialism, and that "the moral law is the test and touchstone of every system of the world." "*An der Sittenlehre muss jede Weltanschauung ihre Probe bestehen.*"

Whether the existence of God be admitted or not, Theism is the only rational moral philosophy. As a critic in the "*Civiltà*" argues, there is no begging the question as the Agnostic asserts. If the Christian philosopher supposes the existence of God, he has a right to do so, for it is a truth known and well proven. When an architect undertakes to erect a building, he takes for granted that the earth is there to build on. As he digs the foundation and comes down to the rock, ought he still to doubt? The existence of a personal God is certain and proven as it is certain and proven that the earth has power to support the buildings erected on it. If then from the existence of God it is logical according to our adversaries to deduce the moral system of Christian philosophers, then Theism is the only rational moral philosophy. The object of moral philosophy is not to prove the existence of God; no more is it the object of the architect to prove the solidity of the earth's surface. It will not do to cry out "theology," for as Cathrein observes we would then be forced to call Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Kepler, Newton, and even Kant, theologians (p. 69, vol. i.). But if even the existence of God be not admitted the moral system of Christian philosophers remains unshaken. It becomes a certain argument for the existence of a personal God; for all the principles of natural morality, of order, of right, of honor, of loyalty, of whatsoever goes to form the true dignity of human nature, cannot be preserved without admitting the existence of God. Just as the solidity of a building supposes the solidity of the earth, just as the swinging door supposes the hinges, just as a chain supposes a support; so without admitting a God, Creator, Legislator, Judge, it is impossible to explain anything in the moral order, it is impossible to preserve the idea of virtue and vice, of

good and evil. All would be reduced to selfishness and man would be degraded to the level of the brute.

Considering the great importance of all the questions treated, the patient research and profound philosophical analysis displayed throughout the work, it would be impossible for us to give in a book notice such a review as we would desire. We will mention only two subjects, which perhaps more than any others are now commanding public attention, viz., Socialism and the School Question. Our author devotes one hundred and forty pages to Socialism and the Rights of Property. He begins by defining Socialism and its relation to Communism, and then gives its history in ancient times; in the middle ages. Treats of the founders of Modern Socialism and its present position. He then examines the various arguments which are urged in favor of Socialism, and goes on to show the impossibility of the system. In treating of the right of property in general and of property in land in particular, he begins by criticism of the Belgian author, C. de Laveleye, who attacks the right of property or land from a historical standpoint, and whose arguments have been the arsenal from which Henry George and many others have borrowed their weapons. He then gives the history of such ownership as shown in the earliest Eastern peoples. The conclusion he draws is, that such ownership is as old as man, and that the higher the civilization of a people, the more developed this right. He then gives various theories invented to explain this right of property, examines and rejects those that are untenable, and defends at great length, that it is a natural right. In the last chapter of this article he treats of the doctrines of the fathers, doctors and theologians of the Church who have been freely quoted as the forerunners and defenders of the socialistic views. It is a *strange* chapter for a moral philosophy, and our author admits it, but as the defenders of Socialism, Bebel, H. Baudrillart, W. Roscher, Ritschd and others have pressed their authority into their service, he has done well to consider the quotations from St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, St. Thomas Aquinas, the Corpus Juris Canonici and such theologians as Soto, O.P., Card. Toledo, Card. de Lugo, Lessius, S.J., and Laymann, S.J., pp. 249-256, vol. ii. We thank the author specially for this chapter, as the authorities here quoted have been repeatedly urged in defence of Henry George. The question however of the right of property in general and of land in particular, has for Catholics been definitely settled by the late Encyclical of our Holy Father Leo XIII., on Labor and Capital.

In speaking of the school question, our author considers to whom does the right to educate children belong. He then speaks of the monopoly of education on the part of the State; of compulsory State schools; of compulsory schools and compulsory education; of the rights and duties of the State in the matter of schools. He considers the right the Church has to the religious education of youth; gives the history of the relation of the Church to schools, and then lays down the right the Church has in the school. Who has the right over the education of children? Our author begins by this fundamental principle:

"That parents are the nearest and direct educators of their children, or that they are called by God to take the first place in such education, appears to us so self-evident as to need no proof. But we go further and assert that, in the purely natural order, parents have the *sole* right to the immediate care and direction of the education of their children." p. 485.

Not to be accused of prejudice, as if he refused to Cæsar the things

that are Cæsar's, our author thus summarizes (p. 497) the rights and duties of the State in the matter of education and the school.

1. Civil authority has the right and the duty to tolerate no schools that propagate openly public errors, or are sources of immorality, or threaten danger to the community. It is clear that the right must be used honestly and justly, and must not serve as a shield for the advancement of party interests.

2. Civil authority has the right on its side to erect and conduct schools whenever and so far as private energy is insufficient, and as far as the public revenue may allow. Such public schools erected by the State should, however, be under the direction of the community, so as not to sever the school from the home; at least each community should have a determined influence in the appointment of teachers and the direction of the studies. Whenever the school becomes a State affair, it ceases to be under the influence of the family, and very easily becomes antagonistic to it. On the other hand, the civil authority has undoubtedly the right to watch over the proper distribution and use of the support it may grant.

3. Wherever in special cases it is shown that parents neglect entirely their children, and these thus threaten to become a burden and a danger to the community, the civil authority can compel such parents to fulfil their duty, and so, in case of necessity, to force them to send their children to school, or itself to care for their education, without detriment to the right of the Church.

4. As in our day it is commonly admitted that without an elementary education (reading, writing, arithmetic) it is absolutely impossible for any one to fulfil properly his duties as a citizen, the State has a right by law to impose on all children the duty of acquiring such knowledge. Compulsory education, but not compulsory schools.

5. The Church, to secure the religious education of children can, in certain cases, oblige parents to send their children to school. In such cases the State, acting with the Church, can oblige the children to attend school.

6. The State can demand of all who seek for positions in the civil service a certain amount of knowledge, and also determine what kind of knowledge is required.

7. As the State can erect schools, so can it also, as far as the revenue may allow without overburdening the tax-payer, institute libraries, clinics, scientific expeditions, etc., to advance the intellectual growth of the community.

We have given this lengthy notice of Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy*, hoping it may inspire some one to undertake its translation into English. For professors of ethics and moral theology, the book is invaluable. For all who desire to have at least one work on moral philosophy, we would say: If you read German, buy Cathrein's.

The work is enriched by two indices, the one, of all names quoted; the other, of all subjects treated.

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGY. By *Paul Schanz, D.D.*, Ph. Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen. Translated by the *Rev. Michael F. Clancey*, Inspector of Schools of the Diocese of Birmingham, and *Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D.*, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Mary's, Oscott. In Three Volumes. Vol. II., God and Revelation. 1891. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co.

In reviewing the first volume of this great "Christian Apology," which treated of God and nature, we said that the work was clearly one

of the very best—if not pre-eminently the best—of the kind yet given us in the English language. Having read this second volume, which but the other day came from the press, and which treats of “God and Revelation,” we have to add, by way of commendation—and we do it with all cheerfulness—that our estimation of the work has been greatly enhanced. Every one familiar with the subject will understand the vastness and delicacy of the task he assumes who would enter upon a treatise of “God and Revelation.”

In the book before us the author has done this, and done it well. He has done this as only a great scholar and profound theologian could do. That in all the details of the work, the author’s method or his views on certain questions men will concur, we do not suppose, but that all will admit him to be sound and safe on even the most delicate questions we feel assured.

His “History of Religion” is most thorough and clear, giving evidence in every line of the widest and most intelligent reading and broadest learning. So thorough and learned a history on the subject of which it treats, we have never before seen in our language.

But it is when he enters on the question of Christianity, and all that the treatment of it involves—the origin of Christianity, Revelation, Reason and Revelation, Prophecy and Inspiration, and the many other themes that are allied to them—that we are brought to a full appreciation of the true merit of the work. To enter upon those themes, or give the author’s views of them, we have not the time nor inclination; indeed, in the scant space given to a book review we should do the author more harm than good. To all who desire a thorough knowledge, a most learned explanation of those questions, we recommend the work of Dr. Schanz.

A quotation from a retrospect of the work given by the translators will, we think, furnish a clearer notion of the high worth of this book than anything we could possibly say: “The subject of the second volume is supernatural revelation, especially the revelation through Jesus Christ. Since, however, according to Holy Scripture, supernatural revelation began in Paradise, it was absolutely necessary to follow the track of this primitive revelation through the religions of divers peoples.”

And at the present day this is a most important duty of the apologist, for the history of religion applies to the origin and growth of belief, the same principle that natural science applies to organic life. The Christian view of the world and the evolutionary are in sharp antagonism. After the first chapter, introducing the subject generally, the history of religion had to be treated in detail. The “History of Religion” follows a downward course. That of the Indo-Germanic tribes, which stand highest, comes first. Hindus, Iranians, Greeks, Romans and Germans follow on in turn. Buddhism serves as a transition to the religions of the south—to the Chinese of the Malay peninsula—from whom the Hamites (the Egyptians) and Semites are not far removed. These latter are of the utmost consequence in the history of revelation, because some are closely connected with the race of the chosen people, to whom revelation was entrusted, and others were for centuries in contact with them. The History of Religion closes with uncivilized races, which cannot be regarded either as the ideal of incorrupt humanity nor as the semi-brute commencement of the race. Everywhere, however, both among civilized and uncivilized peoples, there has been preserved at least a smoldering ember of ancient religious truth; everywhere at least the negative preparation for the salvation to come had been completed.

A positive preparation, in the strict sense, must come from God, and

it is found in the history of Israel, the chosen people. This fact alone would go far to justify the history of the Old Testament. But there is in addition a twofold and weighty reason. On the one hand, rationalist historians of tradition deny the revealed character of the Old Testament; on the other, theologians of the critical school call in question the origin and history of the canon. For this reason it was necessary to subject to a searching scrutiny the hypothesis of Graf and Wellhausen, from the point of view both of the history of religion and of biblical criticism. For only when the revealed character of the Old Testament has been made secure against attacks can revelation itself be examined more closely. Besides, it must not be forgotten that the consequences of this theory spread to the New Testament. Christianity is said to be not a new revelation, or indeed a revelation at all, but the outcome of religious development, the result of a blending of the Greek spirit with the Semitic religion. The chapter on the origin of Christianity is intended to meet these objections and at the same time to point out the relation of Christianity to other religions. And thus it is most clearly shown that the religious truth of the Old and New Testament, with its practical bearings and moral effects can only be explained by divine revelation.

The meaning of revelation, and its possibility, necessity, kind and manner had then to be expounded. Next its bearing on human knowledge made it incumbent under the heading *Reason and Revelation* to explain the *criteria* of revelation, that is *miracles* and *prophecies*, as they are motives for faith in a divine revelation. The miracles of Christianity in the spiritual life, in overcoming internally and externally the heathen sinful world, naturally follow. The antipathy of the modern world to the supernatural has called these criteria of revelation much into requisition. Hence it was indispensably necessary to examine closely, with special reference to the natural knowledge of the present day, how far miracles are either possible or knowable. The importance of the prophecies led further to a closer examination of the spirit of the Old Testament revelation. As, in this, it was necessary to start with the received *canon*, it became necessary to treat both in general and particular the question of the credibility of Holy Scripture. And thus was laid the ground-work for the life of Jesus Christ. Credibility was proved both by the history of the canon and by testimonies of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church to Holy Scripture as a whole and as to its several parts. In deciding this question it is of the utmost importance to understand clearly both the *nature* and *extent* of inspiration. An exact distinction between what is of faith and morals and what is only side matter, between things sacred and profane, is not merely founded on Holy Scripture itself and deduced from its purpose, but is likewise required by the advance of secular science. The boundary is ill-defined, and on many points the reader and the commentator will be left in painful uncertainty and suspense. Hence prudence is required in *interpreting* the sacred Scriptures in the sense in which they were inspired. Without the "spirit of the Church" no absolute certainty in matters of faith is possible. As the ground-work of the life of Christ, the Gospels containing His glad tidings require special treatment. The relation of the synoptic Gospels to one another and to the Gospel of St. John forms the "Gospel-question" which for a hundred years has held the chief place in New Testament criticism. The hypothesis of Griesbach and the Mark-hypothesis are efforts to solve by the dependence-hypothesis the synoptic problem which the tradition-hypothesis avoids. A fusion of the two after the example of St. Augustine has the greatest weight of

probability in its favor. The credibility and genuineness of the fourth Gospel are of supreme importance for the Life of Christ and for any estimate of His character. These, then, are the materials for the life of Christ, from the crib at Bethlehem to the ascension from the Mount of Olives. The biblical doctrine concerning the *person* and *nature* of Christ is set forth, and in particular it is shown that the doctrine of His *divinity* is attested by both Gospels and Epistles. The formal proof for His *divinity* is given in the chapter on the *doctrine* and *work* of Christ.

In a further section the condition of the two natures and their mutual relations are studied, though not so fully as would be done in a treatise on dogmatic theology. Thus the apology for Christianity, in its strictest sense is concluded. It forms the introduction and ground-work of the apology for the *Church of Christ*.

NATURAL THEOLOGY. By *Bernard Boedder, S. J.* New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1891. \$1.50.

This work of Father Boedder is the concluding volume of the "Manuals of Catholic Philosophy," published by the Jesuit Fathers of Stonyhurst College, England, especially for English readers. It may be well to give here a complete list of these admirable works, the first of their kind that have appeared in the English language: I. "Logic," by Richard F. Clarke, S. J.; II. "First Principles of Knowledge," by John Rickaby, S. J. III. "General Metaphysics," by John Rickaby, S. J.; IV. "Psychology," by Michael Maher, S. J.; V. "Natural Theology," by Bernard Boedder, S. J.; VI. "Moral Philosophy," by Joseph Rickaby, S. J. His Holiness, Leo XIII., gave his cordial approval to these publications in the vernacular in a letter directed to the Bishop of Salford, in whose diocese Stonyhurst College exists. We feel that English-speaking Catholics all over the world owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the Jesuit Fathers for this series, and hope the welcome it will receive from the public will be in accordance with its great merit.

German and French Catholic literature is rich in philosophical works published by learned professors to meet the intellectual errors of the day. Our German brethren especially seem to be keenly alive to the necessity of such works in the present conflict between the Church and infidelity. We need the same for the higher education and intellectual development of our people, not merely as text-books in our colleges and academies, but also for those who realize that their faith is indeed their pearl without price, which they should not only preserve at all risks, but be able also to defend from all attacks of every enemy, and to-day the enemy is infidelity, or agnosticism. To meet this enemy a philosophical training is absolutely necessary, and that training can now be had, not in a dead language, as heretofore, but in their own English tongue, in these learned volumes. Balmes' "Fundamental Philosophy" has been heretofore almost the only work in English, and even it was limited in its scope. We have now in this series a complete course of philosophy, with the exception of cosmology.

The author follows the well-known track of all Catholic writers on natural theology, but draws his illustrations and objections from modern authors, thus adapting his work to our own times and to the difficulties most commonly urged by modern infidelity.

After an introductory chapter on the difference between natural and dogmatic theology, the author divides his work into three books: the first on the existence of God, the second on the divine attributes, the

third on the action of God upon this world. In the first book, beginning with the views of monotheistic philosophers on the natural foundation of a reasonable belief in God, he passes on to a lengthy refutation of ontologism, and then considers the so called ontological argument, or argument *a priori* of St. Anselm, which must not be confounded with ontologism. He then gives the direct proofs for the existence of God: (a) The metaphysical argument of an intelligent First Cause or Personal God; (b) The argument from design, or the physical argument; (c) The universal belief of the human race, or the moral argument. He admits that the first, or metaphysical, proof is the only one which is independent, and that the other two are only proofs, inasmuch as they are aided by the first.

He next considers the fundamental attributes of God, passing from self-existence to unity and the rest, instead of to infinity, as most philosophers do.

In treating of the fundamental relation of God to the world he refutes pantheism and develops the doctrine of creation. Perhaps the most interesting chapter of this book is the last, where he answers the difficulties against these fundamental truths of natural theology. Seeing the refutation of ontologism, we looked with some curiosity whether the author would speak of the immediate consciousness of God as laid down in the writings of some of the Fathers, and found that he did not omit that difficulty, but treated it very briefly in one of the appendices. He mentions St. Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Augustine, but makes no quotations. In less than a page he gives his answer to these difficulties, which he divides into two classes, and refers to Kleutgen's large work on scholastic philosophy for a fuller explanation.

In the second book all the divine attributes are considered—immortality, eternity, immensity, the divine intellect, the divine will, omnipotence and the metaphysical essence of God.

The third book belongs more properly to cosmology, and treats of divine preservation and concurrence, divine providence and the existence of evil and the possibility of a supernatural providence.

Some of these questions naturally introduce the famous controversy between the Jesuit and Dominican schools of theology, and our author speaks of them only so far as his subject requires.

We do hope that our intelligent Catholics will be inspired to procure for themselves all these manuals of Catholic philosophy. We feel sure that students of philosophy in our seminaries will welcome their appearance and make good use of their clear, forcible and practical arguments. But why should their use be restricted to seminaries and colleges? We desire to see them finding a place in the libraries of Catholic gentlemen. They may be a little hard and dry reading at first; they certainly demand serious attention, reflection and study, but the more they are studied, the more fascinating they will become, and, what is best of all, they will furnish the reader with the weapons he needs so badly to protect himself against the insidious attacks of infidelity, and will show him the firm foundations presupposed by his faith.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST ACCORDING TO THE GOSPEL HISTORY. By Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College, Md. St. Louis: B. Herder. 1891. \$2.00.

The Abbé Fouard's beautiful life of our Divine Lord, translated into excellent English by George F. X. Griffith, was introduced to Catholic readers by His Eminence Cardinal Manning, and at once received a cor-

dial welcome, as filling a long-felt want. It was the fruit of years of study and travel in the Holy Land. Of it the Cardinal says: "The history of Abbé Fouard unites the sacred narrative of the three-and-thirty years of Our Saviour's earthly life with the living consciousness of faith, in which the mutual personal relation and the mutual personal love of the Divine Master and His disciples are as living and sustaining at this day as they were when He ascended into heaven." Father Maas, in his life of Our Saviour, allows the four Gospels, in their own inspired language, to give us all the facts of that history. He tells us that "the text is entirely framed out of the words of the Gospels in such manner that nothing is omitted and nothing added. With regard to chronology, the harmonies of Tischendorf, Friedlieb, Coleridge, Lohmann, Fillion, Gilmore and Abbott have been consulted." In the notes which have been added, besides the classical commentators on the Gospels, he has made use also of such modern writers as Schuster, Reischl, Corluy, Schaff, Milligan, Fellow, Geikie, Farrar, Sepp, Stanley, Fouard and others. His notes, for the most part, are explanatory, and not devotional. On all controverted points he simply states the various opinions, being satisfied with assigning to each a greater or lesser probability.

As Father Coleridge's "Life of Our Life" has long been out of print, and his voluminous work explanatory of that Life cannot hope for a wide circulation, this volume of Father Maas, as His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons says in his letter of approbation, "supplies a long-felt want. . . . The book is calculated to interest and benefit all classes of readers, but to priests and religious it will be of special assistance."

In an introductory dissertation of nineteen pages the author speaks of the origin of the four gospels, contrasts the synoptic gospels with that of St. John, and dwells briefly on their chronology, thus to show in a negative way the truth of the gospel account. He next gives a positive argument for their genuineness and truthfulness drawn from the tradition of the Church and the testimony of heretics. He speaks of the four Evangelists as their authors, and vindicates the genuineness of the last part of St. Mark's Gospel, xvi., 9-20; as also of John viii., 9-11, which contains the story of the woman taken in adultery.

We have gone over the notes carefully, and find that the learned author has not allowed any passage which required explanation to escape his notice. The notes, it is true, are very concise, but that became a necessity if the work was to be completed in one volume. We would, however, have wished to see some of the texts more fully developed, e.g., Matt. i. 25, Luke ii. 7, Matt. xxvi. 26.

We have, however, nothing but words of commendation for the work. It is a most valuable compendium of scriptural commentary, including whatever is good in the latest modern researches. As Cardinal Gibbons says, "to priests and religious it will be of special assistance," but we hope that it will find an entrance into every Catholic family. There can be no better book for spiritual reading than the gospels; there can be no better explanation of the gospels themselves than to read them harmonized, and when to such a harmony is added an explanation of every difficult passage, a description of the country and the various places, of the individuals, classes and sects, of the laws and customs of the times and peoples, then a new and wonderful light is thrown on the "good tidings," and we feel sure that the sacred word would be not only read with interest, but studied and meditated on with the greatest spiritual delight and immense spiritual benefit. Now all this is done in this "Life of Jesus Christ." The book is enriched by three maps, one of Palestine in the time of Christ, the second giving the nine journeys

made by our Lord during his public ministry, the last a bird's-eye view of modern Jerusalem. It contains also an excellent analytical index and an index to Scripture references. The work is printed for Mr. Herder by the New York Catholic Protectory Press, and is a credit to that institution.

THE LETTERS OF THE LATE FATHER GEORGE PORTER, S. J., Archbishop of Bombay.
London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

These published letters of Bishop Porter are very pleasant reading, far more pleasant in our opinion, than would have been a biography from the pen of the dearest friend or warmest admirer.

Never dreaming that at some future day they would be published, the author wrote them in that easy, familiar vein which, in letters especially, is ever to be preferred to the more elevated and labored style. They treat of a variety of themes; many of them no doubt will have but little interest for the general reader, written as they were to persons peculiarly situated and in answer to souls spiritually perplexed and doubtful, yet for all that, the book contains much valuable information. Incidentally the author, who clearly was a well read and exceptionally able man—throws a flood of light on books and questions that are near and dear to the heart of the general Catholic reader. How lucidly in a letter to a friend (dated April 30, 1883,) he writes of the Immaculate Conception: "You ask me, for the Count, how we prove the Immaculate Conception. By any chance have you the letter I wrote you for Count S—— on that subject? It would answer much of your question. The great point is to understand what is meant by the Immaculate Conception. It means that the soul of the mother of Jesus, when it was created by God to be united to her body born of Joachim and Anna, as the bodies of other children, did not contract the taint of original sin, as the souls of all who are descended from Adam in the ordinary way; but by a special privilege in consideration of the merits of her Divine Son, that she might be a worthy temple of this Divine child, she was preserved from this taint, and at her creation received from God the robe of grace, just as Eve received it when she was created before Adam had sinned. We prove the Immaculate Conception from the tradition, which has always taught that the Blessed Virgin Mary was never for *one instant* the slave of sin and the devil, that she from the first instant of her existence waged war against the devil, and that she overcame him through her Divine Son. This proof we read in Genesis iii., v. 15. This is, in short, our proof."

Hear him again in a letter to a friend, where he writes of Höttinger's work on the Church, which he was translating. "I like the book better and better. It explains very fully the prerogatives of St. Peter, always leading up to the 'bond of union;' then the position and privileges of the Apostles; lastly the Divine institution of the Episcopate and the duties of the Episcopate vis-a-vis of the Primacy; all matters of highest importance in our day. Sometimes it comes home to me that where non-Catholics are weakest is in their conception of the Church and of St. Peter's place. They quite leave out St. Peter, and without St. Peter there can be no Church."

In another letter written to a friend who had been reading the conferences of Freppel and had written to our author of the impressions it made on him, he says: "The feeling which the conferences of Freppel have awakened in you is in some respects right, but it may easily carry

you too far. We believe that the one road to everlasting happiness made known in revelation is the Church, Christ's Kingdom on Earth, which rests on faith in God and His Son Jesus Christ whom He has sent into the world. At the same time we believe that many will be saved who never gain admittance into the visible Church, and never become visible members of Christ's Kingdom on Earth. Such souls do the best they can in their circumstances; they avoid wrong and do good up to the measure of light they have received, some as pagans, some as sincere heretics, some as unbelievers. It may be that some of these, rising to a certain level in their ignorance of any thing higher, spend better lives than they would have done had they received the light of revelation. But it would be wrong to suppose them incapable of taking on the fuller truth; every one who comes into the world, and reaches the use of reason, is capable of knowing and loving Jesus Christ." These are quotations taken at random, but they give, we think, a fair evidence of both the style and matter of many of the letters contained in the work.

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIÆ MORALIS. A. Joanne Petro Gury, S. J. Primo conscriptum et deinde ab Antonio Ballerini ejusdem societatis adnotationibus auctum, etc. Ab Aloysio Sabetti, S. J., in Collegio Woodstockiensi, S. J. Theologiæ Moralis Professore. Editio Sexta. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York, Cincinnati, 1891.

No better sign of the popularity of this "Manual of Moral Theology" could be desired than the constant demand for new editions. This is the *sixth* revised edition, and knowing that almost all the various editions must have been taken by the clergy of this country, it speaks well for the authority the work has obtained as one of the very best books for study and reference, whether in the seminary or for the busy missionary. Father Sabetti's work is based on Ballerini's third edition of Gury, in which Ballerini gives his answers to the difficulties proposed in the *Vindiciæ Alphonsianæ*. There are no notes whatsoever in this volume. Whatsoever seemed desirable to the author he has incorporated into his text.

As Gury's work has especial relation to the French law, Father Sabetti has treated all such topics in their relation to the laws of the United States and those of the different States.

The treatise on censures has been entirely revised according to the constitution "*Apostolicæ Sedis*," and the interpretation of the same by the best commentators, especially Father Dumas. The latest decrees of the Roman Congregations have been added, some of which are of the greatest importance for the solution of grave questions, v. g. p., 705.

The author declares that he has verified every quotation he has taken from any author. His object he declares to be to give a *short and practical manual* for seminarians and missionary priests. For seminaries it will be most useful as a text-book, because it contains no lengthy dissertations, no controversies, no doubtful or new points of doctrine, but short and solid solutions of all questions, which the professor is expected to explain and illustrate. For missionaries it is invaluable, for they have here the answer to almost every practical question which may arise in the course of their ministry. The author gives the result of his vast experience as a professor of moral theology for very many years, during which he has been consulted in every kind of difficult case arising out of the special circumstances of our people and of the country. There are many such solutions which cannot be found in any other treatise of moral theology. Besides the general index, there is also an excellent alphabetical index of every question treated of in the book.

The work has been published in the most substantial form, good type, fine paper, strong binding.

It has received the cordial approval of many of the archbishops and bishops of the country, and with Koning's ought to find a place in every priest's library.

THE ISRAELITE BEFORE THE ARK OF THE COVENANT AND THE CHRISTIAN BEFORE THE ALTAR; or a History of the Worship of God in two parts. Part I. The worship of God among the children of Israel before the days of Jesus Christ. Part II. The worship of God since the days of Jesus Christ or the rites, ceremonies and Sacrifice of the Catholic Church. By *L. de Goesbriand*, Bishop of Burlington. Burlington: The Free Press Association, Printers.

This is a work both interesting and instructive. Of the history of religion, especially under the old dispensation, men generally have a very imperfect knowledge. There is no disputing this fact. We are forever talking of the Scriptures, making it our boast that we have read and reread them, and yet for the most part what have we gathered from them?

Take the moral laws of the Jews. take their sacrifices, what do the most of us know of them? Almost nothing. We talk of the Tabernacle and the Temple, the Priests and Levites, and yet our notions of those same things are the most meagre and obscure. The fault, of course, lies with ourselves; we read, but we read amiss.

In his "History of the Worship of God" the Bishop of Burlington brings to us in clear and simple style a thorough knowledge of those things. He gives us a history, a continuous history, of the worship of God from the beginning. He tells us of the Ark of the Covenant, of the Tabernacle, of the Temple, of the Priests and Levites and Sacrifices in so masterful a way that one is almost brought to fancy that he has seen and touched them. So, too, with equal skill and clearness, does the author, in the second part of his work, bring before us a knowledge of the history and great events of the New Testament. With rare skill he shows us the relations existing between the events of the Old and New Testaments, how one thing is the foreshadowing of another, how the former has its fulfilment in the latter, both making one harmonious and uninterrupted whole. Of the Mass—the great Sacrifice of the new law—the Bishop, in the second part, discourses most learnedly and eloquently. He gives us its history. He traces its foreshadowings in the sacrifices of the old law; tells us of its efficacy, and makes it, as it truly is, the great central doctrine of the Church.

The book is clearly the fruit of long and loving study, of close familiarity with and profound knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. It will, we are sure, be greatly appreciated by both the priesthood and the people.

THE LIFE OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST DE ROSSI. Translated from the Italian by *Lady Herbert*. Introduction on ecclesiastical training and the sacerdotal life, by the Bishop of Salford. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1891.

For two reasons we extend warm welcome to the American edition of the life of St. John Baptist de Rossi; we welcome it first, for its own sake; for the great good its careful perusal is sure to effect; and secondly for the masterly and most beautiful introduction of the Bishop of Salford, which prefaces the work. Indeed were we to say that we welcome the work first for the introduction, and secondly for the beauty and in-

terest of the life it portrays, we would be giving truer expression to our feelings not that the life of St. John Baptist de Rossi is wanting in interest, for it is fascinating and moreover written in a style that commands admiration, but because of the ringing sincerity and pre-eminent importance and timeliness of Bishop Vaughan's words. It is truly a noble introduction, and it is noble in its truthfulness and manly candor; it is inspiring.

Of course it is only to the priesthood and clergy, to the secular, or missionary priesthood, that the earnest, truthful words of the bishop will be all we claim for them. For it is to them and not to the general reader he addresses himself. But alike for priest and people the life of St. John Baptist de Rossi, will, we are sure, have highest interest, and be most profitable. His was a beautiful life; so sweet and simple, so entirely for God. And yet what a busy practical life it was! just the life, the work and deeds demanded of every missionary priest throughout the land. What priest can read the story of that life and not be stimulated and inspired to greater things than he has heretofore accomplished. And for the people too, it will, we are sure, do great things. It will bring them closer to their clergy. For in the love and tenderness and self-sacrifice of St. John Baptist de Rossi for the people amongst whom he labored they will see what the priesthood is to them. To Lady Herbert we owe a debt of gratitude for giving us in English so clear and elegant, this excellent work.

THE LIFE OF THE VENERABLE MADELINE BARAT. Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Drawn and abridged from the French by *Lady Georgiana Fullerton*. New York: P. O'Shea, publisher, 45 Warren street. 1891.

This is a delightful book. It is, as it purports to be, a history of the beautiful life of the Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and it is at the same time a most interesting history of the origin, the growth, and wondrous achievements of the Society of which she was the chief corner-stone. Wondrously from the beginning, step by step, did the providence of God watch over and lead that beautiful soul in the path marked out for her. This no reader of the book can fail to perceive and respect. Equally interesting and edifying also to all who read the work, must be the singular docility with which that young girl, through many a trial and many a sacrifice, followed the designs of God, as made known to her by her remarkable brother and the other directors in whose hands God had placed the guidance of her soul. How true it is that the greatest achievements have had the humblest beginnings! Few who know the Society only as it now exists can bring themselves to realize what it was in the year 1800; what great things it has done for God and Religion since that date. Greater far than is within our power to measure. We cheerfully recommend the work. It is both edifying and instructive. It is sure to bring men nearer to God.

MOSES BAR KEPHA UND SEIN BUCH VON DER SEELE. Von *Dr. Oscar Braun*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Herdersche Verlagshandlung. St. Louis: B. Herder. 1891. \$1.40, net.

Moses Bar Kephā, or Moses the son of Peter, was one of the writers of the Syriac Monophysites. He was born in 815, at Baldad, on the Tigris. He was educated and instructed in the Sacred Scriptures by Rabban Cyriacus, the Archimandrite of the renowned monastery of

Mar Sergius, and by Ignatius of Karonta and Habib. He became a religious in that monastery, and afterwards, in the year 863, was consecrated Bishop of Mossul, as also of Bet Raman and Bet Kionaya, when he took the name of Severus. He wrote a commentary on many of the books of Sacred Scripture, a work on heresies, and also a history of the Church. He died in February, 903—according to Greek reckoning, 1214.

It was whilst pursuing his studies in the Vatican Library that Dr. Braun became interested in this manuscript of Moses Bar Kepha in so far as it had relation to his investigations concerning anthropology and eschatology. He divides his book into two parts. In the first he gives a life of the author; an account of his writings, exegetical, philosophical, liturgical and homiletic; his doctrine on creation, origin and fall and on the sacraments. In the second he gives a translation from the Syriac of his work on the soul, according to the Vatican manuscript.

As in the course of his studies he consulted various Jacobite and Nestorian writers, he gives as an appendix their opinions bearing on his subject, such as the faculties of the soul, its definition, on the doctrine of emanation, the generation of the soul, its pre-existence, the time of its creation, the sleep of the soul, the earthly paradise as the abode of just souls till the day of judgment, the creation of the soul after God's image, on prayer for the dead and purgatory.

HANDBOOK OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. For the use of advanced students and the educated laity. By the *Rev. W. Wilmers, S. J.* From the German. Edited by *Rev. James Conway, S. J.*, Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros., Printers to the Holy Apostolic See 1891.

This is an excellent book. Here and there we could wish for a fuller development of certain questions, not that in their present form they are obscure, but that they might be brought home in all their completeness to the young minds for whom the work is intended. Of course the work is but a handbook or catechism, and does not aim at the fullest and completest exposition of the subjects of which it treats. This we understand, and therefore do not urge our point as an imperfection.

For the students of our colleges and the educated laity the work is most admirably adapted, exactly what was wanted. On the questions which at the present time are claiming so much attention, the creation of the world, the origin of man, etc., it is very satisfactory. In regard to those questions we have in the past been altogether too indifferent, and in consequence have been but poorly equipped to meet and answer the subtleties and sophistries of the enemies of the Christian religion. Henceforth these questions must receive our closest and most serious attention. Above all things we must bring these questions in their true light home to our youth. This is a reading generation, and if we fail in our duty, our young men and young women will drink in the poison of unbelief and be lost to us and to their own salvation. We cheerfully recommend this work of Father Wilmers, and wish it the greatest measure of success.

LA VIDA DE S. LUIS GONZAGA PATRONO DE LA JUVENTUD CRISTIANA. Por el *P. M. Meschler*, de la Campaña de Jesús. B. Herder, Libero-Editor Pontificio. 1891. \$1.20.

The celebration of the third centenary of the death of St. Aloysius

was the occasion not merely of a wonderful spread of devotion over the Catholic world in honor of the Angelic Youth, but it brought out, as well, new editions of his saintly life. Almost all such lives have been translations of the authentic memoirs written by Father Ceparo, S. J., the master of novices of St. Aloysius.

The Bollardists, in their life of the saint, were able to add some new facts to that history. For the third centenary Father Meschler, a German Jesuit living in exile in Holland, composed a new life of our saint, which speedily reached a second edition. It is no mere republication of the old lives. He brings out clearly every little incident in the short career of our saint, and draws the proper lesson.

The work was translated almost immediately into French by the Abbé Lebrequier, of the diocese of Bayeux, and now Mr. Herder publishes this beautiful Spanish translation, which has the approbation of many of the Spanish bishops. As it was printed at their press in Freiburg, Breisgau, it is a model both in type and paper. Three phototypes embellish the volume. Two are portraits of the saint taken from authentic paintings; the one represents him as a page at court, and the other as a novice of the Society of Jesus. This latter is familiar to us from having seen the face in the room where he died in the Roman College. It is the only true picture we have ever seen published. This alone should induce lovers of St. Aloysius to buy this book. The frontispiece represents St. Charles giving his first communion to St. Aloysius.

THE HISTORY OF ST. DOMINIC. Founder of the Friars preachers. By *Augusta Theodosia Drane*, author of "The History of St. Catherine of Sienna and Her Companions," "Christian Schools and Schools," etc. London: Longmans, Green & Co.; and New York: 15 East 16th Street. 1891.

We take the greatest pleasure in recommending to the Catholic world this delightful "History of St. Dominic." The title of the book does it but scant justice. It is, to be sure, a history of St. Dominic, but it is much more, much more that is pre-eminently interesting and instructive and of highest value to the cause of truth and religion. Of the times of St. Dominic, the state of society and of religion, as then existing, the author has given us a picture most vivid and, we are convinced, most truthful. Of the Albigenses we have here read as never before had we read. How strange it is that from time to time we meet with men who take it upon themselves to defend so vile and wicked an association; for not only were their doctrines antagonistic to the Church, but subversive of all morality and destructive of authority, civil as well as ecclesiastical. For her noble and heroic work in overthrowing that gigantic evil which struck at the very foundations of domestic life and civic order, the Church is deserving the everlasting gratitude of Christendom. She was in that instance the veritable saviour of the world. Of the noble part borne by St. Dominic in that mighty struggle, of his sweet patience under the most trying circumstances, of his deep and pure love for the salvation of men's souls as brought out in that struggle, the author tells us in a masterly way. The history of the foundation and growth of our Saint's order as told us by the author is indeed delightful reading, fascinating as anything we have read for many a day.

The book is written in excellent style and taste, and we trust will meet with the success it merits.

LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN DURING HIS LIFE IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH. With a brief autobiography. Edited at Cardinal Manning's request, by *Anne Mosley*. New York and London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

The two volumes of which this work consists, reached us as the last form of the REVIEW was on the point of going to press, and too late to permit the writing of a Notice at all commensurate with the high interest and value of the work. We have only time and room to say that no one can have a full and complete knowledge of the life and interior character of Cardinal Newman up to the time of his reception into the Catholic Church without a careful perusal of these volumes. Taken together with his *Apologia* they furnish a faithful and vivid portrait of this eminently great and holy man, his ruling ideas, and inmost thoughts. They throw a clear light, too, upon university life at Oxford and upon many incidents connected with the Tractarian movement, heretofore not clearly known or understood.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KATERI TEKAKWITHA, THE LILY OF THE MOHAWKS, 1656-1680. By *Ellen H. Walworth*, author of "An Old World as Seen through Young Eyes." Buffalo: Peter Paul & Brother. 1891.

"The Life and Times of Kateri Takakwitha" is a charming story, charmingly told. Interwoven with the story of the Indian maiden's life, is a wealth of Indian history and tradition that is delightfully refreshing. Incidentally the book throws much light on the history of the early missions to the Indians of the Mohawk Valley and adjacent country. The author's style is clear and simple. We like it much. We trust that she will go on in her chosen field, in which she will attain, we have not a doubt, the most enviable success.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW (Monthly). Edited by *Rev. H. J. Heuser*. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati. October, 1891.

The *American Ecclesiastical Review* grows in interest and in value with each succeeding number. That for October has the following table of contents: The Commonwealth and the Incomplete Societies within the Commonwealth; The Ministry of Catechising; A Legend of Our Lady; Irregularitas ex Hæresi; The Church and the Irish Language; Letters on Christian Art; Titular Feasts in October; Conference; Analecta; Book Review; List of Books Received.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

VISITS TO THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT AND TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY (for every day in the month). By *St. Alphonsus de Liguori*, Doctor of the Church. New York, Cincinnati and St. Louis: Benziger Brothers.

THE SCHISM OF THE WEST AND THE FREEDOM OF PAPAL ELECTIONS. By *Rev. Henry A. Braun, D.D.*, Rector of St. Agnes Church, New York: Benziger Bros. 1891.

SIMPLICITY IN PRAYER. By the author of "Les Petites Fleurs." From the French. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1891.

THE HOLY MASS EXPLAINED. By *Rev. F. X. Schoupe, S. J.* Translated by *Rev. P. O'Hare*. Fr. Pustet & Co.: New York and Cincinnati.

THE PRECIOUS BLOOD. By *Richard F. Clarke, S. J.* Benziger Brothers. 1891.

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